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ST. LOUIS

The Fourth City

1764-1909

By WALTER B. STEVENS

"He said he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement which might become one of the finest cities of America."—Laclede's prophecy, from the narrative of the settlement of St. Louis by Auguste Chouteau.

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To the men and women who made
St. Louis the Fourth City

THE MOTIVE.

This is not a book of dates. It does not abound in statistics. It avoids controversies of the past and prophecies of the future. The motive is to present in plain, newspaper style a narrative of the rise and progress of St. Louis to the fourth place among American cities. To personal factors rather than to general causes is credited the high position which the community has attained. Men and women, more than location and events, have made St. Louis the Fourth City.

The site chosen was fortunate. Of much greater import was the character of those who came to settle. American history, as told from the Atlantic seaboard points of view, classed St. Louis as "a little trading post." The settlement of Laclede was planned for permanence. It established stable government by consent of the governed. It embodied the homestead principle in a land system. It developed the American spirit while "good old colony times" prevailed along the Atlantic coast. Home rule found in St. Louis its first habitat on this continent.

Living under Spanish sovereignty in mildest form, these republican Frenchmen supplied lead for Washington's armies. They extended sympathy and substantial aid to George Rogers Clark. They performed no inconsiderable part in the saving of the Mississippi Valley, east of the river, to the American republic. They helped materially to make the Great Lakes the British boundary. They were ready for the peaceful transfer of authority at St. Louis to the United States, March 10, 1804. They responded with patriotic enthusiasm and with courageous effect when the second break with England came in 1812, campaigning with William Henry Harrison.

In the winning of the west there is no more stirring story than that which follows the growing column of immigration across the Mississippi, at St. Louis, after Amos Stoddard raised the flag of the United States. St. Louis had a population of about 1,000 when the acquisition went into effect. Beyond were wilds in undisputed possession of Indians and "varmints" except for the fur traders' posts along the Missouri. But such was the incoming of settlers that in eight years the government at Washington recognized Upper Louisiana as a political territory, established a capital at St. Louis and organized five counties with a legislature. And six years later this territory, growing as have few other subdivisions of the United States, was asking the statehood, which was granted in 1821 to 70,647 people.

In the forty years preceding the Civil war, St. Louis was the gateway to the west; was on the debatable border between the north and the south. The city grew in population, in trade relations, in wealth, while the irrepressible issue of slavery hung, a darkening cloud, overhead. Strong individualities matured

in that period—St. Louisans who are to be taken into account in national as well as in local history.

Flood, fire and pestilence together failed to check the progress of this indomitable community. During the decade when the city passed through these visitations the phenomenal percentage of growth was made.

In 1861 St. Louis put the seal of disapproval upon disunion. Out of a few days of political chaos, in which the pavements were spattered with the blood of citizens, the community emerged with law and order asserted and with civil government fully restored, not by outside force, but through the inherent, instinctive regard of the people. The record of St. Louis for 1861-5 is a monument. Here centered the ghastly horrors of war. Here was carried through by St. Louisans, on their own initiative and by their own efforts, the work of mitigation of those horrors.

The last third of the century brought the supreme test of the fibre of St. Louisans. The city had waxed great and opulent on waterway transportation. The in hoc signo on the municipal seal was a steamboat. The age of the locomotive matured. In two decades rails took the place of rivers. No other American city has been called upon to adapt itself so quickly to such radical changes in business, in industrial life. St. Louis marked time, caught the cadence of the shriller whistle and moved on with added prestige.

From the beginning the settlement developed distinctive character. St. Louis came to possess traits which helped it to outstrip other cities. Here, through the generations, elements of population have been blending. They have produced a people who have exerted far reaching influence and who have performed no insignificant part in the making of the American nation. In the commingling of these elements has been wrought the evolution of the Fourth City.

Most American of American communities,—a people drawn from all parts of the world,—St. Louis is still making history. The first decade of the new century has added thirty per centum to the population. Within that period St. Louisans created and conducted the greatest of World's Fairs—a Universal Exposition in the comprehensive meaning of the words. Metropolitan progress has been more rapid and more important for this city in the past ten years than in thrice that time preceding. Growth in business and values has been prodigious. Advancement along educational, architectural, artistic lines has been notable. New forces for higher civilization have become powerful. The time is fitting to look backward.

THE PORTRAIT OF LACLEDE.

The portrait of Laclede, which is given the place of honor in St. Louis, the Fourth City, is an engraved copy of the original in the family chateau at Bedous. Until recently the existence of this original portrait of the founder was not known to St. Louisans. Before the World's Fair, a commission was given to Jonathan Scott Hartley, one of the best, if not the best of

PIERRE LACLEDE, THE FOUNDER OF ST. LOUIS
Statue by Hartley.

Lachlan McIntosh Esq.

Jacob Sigisbert

American portrait sculptors of this generation, to produce a statue of Laclede. Mr. Hartley became deeply interested in his subject. He devoted much time to the collection of all of the information then obtainable about the personality of Laclede. From descendants, from family traditions, from descriptions given by those who had known the founder and who had given their recollections to early historians, Mr. Hartley gathered his impressions. He embodied them in the statue of Laclede, which was placed on the World's Fair grounds and which is now preserved in the art museum. A picture of Mr. Hartley's statue is given herewith. The idealization as to form is undoubtedly accurate. The sculptor presented the founder in the dress of a captain-commandant of the period. He portrayed Laclede as wearing a sword and holding in his right hand a scroll conveying the exclusive trading privilege which prompted the settlement of St. Louis.

Discovery of the original portrait of Laclede followed the World's Fair. In a measure this discovery may be attributed to the stimulus which the World's Fair gave to historic research along local lines. Very little was known, even by the St. Louis descendants of Laclede, about his origin or early life until within the past two or three years.

In 1877 Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, then United States minister to France, obtained, officially, information of the antecedents of Pierre Laclede. He was prompted to make the inquiry because of his family relationship to the founder of St. Louis. Mrs. Washburne was a descendant of Laclede. She was a Gratiot. Her father was Henry Gratiot, a grandson of Laclede.

The inquiry was conducted by Minister Washburne through Pierre Margry, who consulted the records in the Ministry of the Marine of the Colonies. "M. Margry was able," he wrote, "to indicate the connections of the founder of St. Louis, which are not such as stated in a newspaper of that city in 1845, according to the report of Mr. Nicollet."

From the official records of France, Mr. Margry gave the following information respecting the Laclede family:

"Pierre Laclede Liguest was a native of the parish of Bedous, Valle d'Aspe, diocese d'Oloron en Bearn, about fifteen leagues from Pau (Basses-Pyrennes). He was the younger brother of a Mr. Laclede, maitre particulier des Eaux et Forets of the province of Bearn pays de Soule et Basse Navarre. (I don't think this has ever been published). Pierre Laclede went to Louisiana in 1755, and founded a commercial establishment in New Orleans."

In 1905 and 1906, Theophile Papin, jr., a descendant of Laclede, was traveling in Europe. He had become very much interested in the life and character of Laclede as known in connection with the founding and early history of St. Louis. Accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Theophile Papin, sr., Mr. Papin made a pilgrimage to the family home of the Lacledes in the Valley of Aspe. There was no difficulty in finding the Laclede chateau. The family had been prominent and influential for generations. Mr. Papin learned that the father of Pierre Laclede was syndic and mayor-lieutenant of the Valley of the Aspe; that he was identified with the history of that part of France, near the border of Spain; that his name was Jean de Laclede.

No descendants in France now bear the family name. The male line has not been perpetuated. Mr. Papin found a lineal descendant of the brother of Pierre Laclede in the person of the wife of Dr. Alfred Madamet; the mother of Madame Madamet was born Laclede. As the representative of the American branch of the family, Mr. Papin was made welcome and was given every assistance to add to his information about the early years of Pierre Laclede. He was shown, in the chateau, the portrait of Pierre Laclede, painted about the age of thirty, when he was preparing to leave France to establish himself in the Mississippi Valley. Even then Laclede had in mind the forming of a settlement. He organized a small company of young men from the immediate vicinity of Bedous and intended to lead them. One of these young men was Ortes, who remained with Laclede and came with him to St. Louis. Every facility was afforded by Dr. and Madame Madamet to Mr. Papin to obtain a perfect copy of the portrait, which is reproduced in this work. The portrait was painted 154 years ago. It was in a state of perfect preservation, as the engraving would indicate. In accordance with the custom of that period, the artist gave to the background the sentimental suggestion of the occasion for the painting of the portrait. Laclede was about to leave for the New World. In the distance was painted a ship with sails set for the voyage. The artist added his idea of the destination in the form of a rugged shore line and a tropical tree. Bordeaux was then the seaport for the part of France in which the Lacledes lived. Pierre Laclede, according to the family history, sailed from Bordeaux, with his little colony, for New Orleans.

The elder brother of Pierre Laclede was, as Margry reported to Minister Washburne, master of streams and forests for a province, an official position of importance. Upon the family estate of the Lacledes was an old mill, which was operated, according to family history, in connection with the farming when Pierre Laclede was a young man. When the founder of St. Louis left his ancestral home, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of agriculture and of milling; he was well versed in civil engineering as understood and practiced a century and a half ago; he was, in a general way, well educated. The family of the Lacledes were sufficiently prosperous to give this younger son the capital with which to establish himself in the New World.

Pierre Laclede was a man of striking physique. According to the family traditions, he was of erect, commanding presence. In stature, he was above the average in the community. He is said to have been about five feet and eight and a half or nine inches in height. He had a dark complexion, olive rather than swarthy. His forehead was broad, the nose was prominent. Laclede's black eyes, which seemed to penetrate, are remembered as constituting one of the most impressive of his physical traits.

Pierre Laclede, as the traditions hold, was a man of restless energy. He made frequent trips, arduous as the mode of transportation was in those days, between St. Louis and New Orleans. In winter time he made the journey on horseback, through the Indian country. He gave his personal attention to the fur trading affairs of his house. He was the outside ac-

tive director, leaving to Auguste Chouteau, who was methodical and painstaking, the care of the books, of the stocks and of the office business generally.

When Richard Edwards wrote his Great West, about 1855, he consulted with Madame Elizabeth Ortes. He said she was at that time "the only woman living who recollects the founder of St. Louis." Mr. Edwards gave from the recollection of Madame Ortes, this description of Laclede:

"He was little above the medium size, of very dark complexion, with a large nose, expansive brow, and piercing and expressive eyes."

Madame Ortes was born at Vincennes the year that St. Louis was founded, 1764, and came in her childhood to St. Louis. She was fourteen years of age when Laclede died. Her opportunity to know the founder was excellent. Jean B. Ortes, the husband of Elizabeth Ortes, was one of the companions of Laclede who came with him from the old home on the southern border of France. Jean B. Ortes built the first church in St. Louis. He was a carpenter, a cabinet maker and was living in the town when the first newspaper was started. Madame Ortes survived him many years and according to Edwards, was in good health with an astonishing memory at the age of ninety-six. The Philibert family descended from her, a daughter having married Joseph Philibert, who was one of the early fur traders.

The traditions handed down in St. Louis confirm the information which Mr. Papin obtained from family sources in France, that Laclede had in mind, from the time he left home, the founding of a colony of his own somewhere in the Mississippi Valley. By years of planning he prepared himself for the establishment of St. Louis.

The transfer of sovereignty from France to Spain did not at all change Laclede's ambition. The founder had been reared at the foot of the Pyrenees almost on the border of Spain and had acquired a knowledge of the language of Spain, as well as of the laws and customs of the Spanish people.

Pierre Laclede adopted an American, democratic style of writing his name when he became a resident of the Mississippi Valley. He dropped the "De Laclede." No signature of his which bears that form can be found. His favorite way of signing his name was "Laclede" or "Laclede Liguest."

When he died in 1778, Laclede was fifty-four years of age. He had been in this country twenty-three years. He left France when he was about thirty-one years old.

In the possession of this generation of the Laclede family in France is the silver plate used by the father and the brother of the founder of St. Louis. The pieces bear the family coat of arms. The reproduction, in black and white, does not do justice to the beautiful coloring of the heraldic design. The coat of arms of the Lacledes is described, technically, as, "blue with face of gold, accompanied in chief with three towers of silver; in the point, a woodcock in silver with two roses of same color. On the sides are two eagles with spreading wings supporting the crest. The escutcheon is surmounted with a crown in the impression of the full coat of

arms upon the plate. Used as a seal the escutcheon was surmounted by a helmet." The Lacledes were authorized to use the crown or the helmet at will above the escutcheon.

To Mr. Papin, whom he addressed as "my dear cousin," Dr. Madamet not long ago sent copies of the coat of arms taken from silver plate of the family. He also sent, as a souvenir, a book from the library in the chateau, concluding his letter, "The old home of the Lacledes is open cordially to you." Dr. Madamet is a surgeon of high rank in the French army. Madame Madamet was born Garneau. Her mother was born Laclede, the last to bear the name of the immediate family.

Interesting, in connection with this recent discovery by a Laclede descendant, of the family coat-of-arms, was the statement which the venerable Cerre Chouteau made in his latter days. Cerre Chouteau was a grandson of Pierre Laclede. He described to younger members of the family a seal bearing this same design which had belonged to Laclede Liguest and which at one time had been in his possession but had been lost. The historian Margry, in correspondence with descendants of Laclede described the family coat-of-arms as presented.

LACLEDE COAT OF ARMS

"St. Louis is the natural center of the vast fertile territory of the Southwest, and with her natural advantages must inevitably become the most important metropolis of this country."—From the address of Hon. James Bryce, British Ambassador, before the Commercial Club of St. Louis, June 19, 1907.

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St. Louis, the Fourth City

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDING.

He was delighted to see the situation. He did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all of the advantages that one could desire to found a settlement that might become very considerable hereafter.—*Auguste Chouteau's Narrative.*

A man and two treaties made St. Louis.

The man was the founder. The treaties were the opportunity.

The man was Laclede. His judgment determined the site in December, 1763.

In November, 1762, Louis XV. of France gave, on paper, to the King of Spain Louisiana. The undelivered gift was kept an international secret.

In February, 1763, Louis purchased peace by giving England what had been French possessions east of the Mississippi.

These were the two treaties. They afforded Laclede his opportunity to found a settlement instead of a trading post. They influenced the French villagers to leave the east side and to join Laclede at St. Louis.

The fifteenth Louis was weak in war. He was crafty in diplomacy. Affection for his "dear cousin," the King of Spain, had nothing to do with the gift of territory. By that gift England was kept east of the Mississippi.

While France, England, Spain and Portugal were changing the map of America, Pierre Laclede and Antoine Maxent and a few others who stood high with French authority at New Orleans were planning the enterprise out of which came the creation of St. Louis.

Laclede was thirty-one years old when he arrived in New Orleans. His older brother was an official of importance in one of the southern provinces of France. The ancestral acres of the Laclede family were in the valley of the Aspe. Laclede was a well-educated man. He had learned agriculture and milling in his youth. He left France in 1755 to seek his fortune in the New World.

Planting was tried. Hurricane and high water discouraged. With some capital brought from France, Laclede invested in business in New Orleans. The mercantile and shipping interests suffered severely from the war between England and France. Laclede volunteered for service in the inter-colonial war. He was assigned to duty on the staff of Colonel Antoine Maxent. Between the colonel and his staff officer developed esteem which led to life-long friendship

and confidence. Maxent was much older. He had means and influence. Laclede's services strongly commended him to the colonial authorities.

In 1762 Maxent and Laclede were in position to ask favor of the government. Laclede, ambitious and hopeful, hungered for an opportunity. Maxent, with an older man's admiration for the younger's enthusiasm, was ready to risk. The colonel and the staff officer went to the acting governor-general with their proposition. They were received favorably. A grant was issued to them conferring the privilege of "exclusive trade with the savages of the Missouri and with all of the nations residing west of the Mississippi for the term of eight years."

A company was organized to operate the grant. The syndicate was called "Maxent, Laclede and Company." Occasional references in the archives mention "Antoine Maxent, Pierre Liguest Laclede and Company." Colonel Maxent was the financial manager. He raised most of the capital. Merchandise in quantities and suitable for the trade was ordered from abroad. The stock was such as the partners deemed "necessary to sustain on a large scale their commerce which they proposed to extend as much as possible." Upon Laclede devolved the practical work of organizing the expedition. By him the boats were secured and the force was recruited. The merchandise did not arrive as soon as expected. Winter and spring passed. When the boats were loaded the summer of 1763 had come. Laclede had hoped to start up the river in the spring. He got away the 3rd of August.

By one who traveled with it, the flotilla of Laclede was called "a considerable armament." Eight miles a day was the limit of progress. The boats were low hulls. They resembled somewhat the more rudely constructed barges of the present day. There were no cabins. The boats were without accommodations for the crew. Bales and barrels of goods for the trade, materials and tools for the post filled the hulls. About the center of each boat was a stubby, strong mast, well braced. Tied to the mast was a rope several hundred feet long. This was the cordelle. The loose end of the rope was ashore, in the hands of the cordellers. In single file the cordellers moved at a slow walk dragging the boat after them. The bank was the tow path. The river was the canal. The fifteen to thirty men were the motive power. In shallows, poles were used. When the wind blew up-stream, sails were spread.

Stops were frequent. In advance of the cordellers were men with axes. The path must be cleared of fallen trees, of vines. The chasseurs de bois were part of Laclede's organization. They left the boats in the morning and hunted in the woods for game to supply the commissary. When one bank of the river was found to be utterly impassable for the cordellers, the boats were tied to the bank until the ropes could be carried across to the other side. Thus the armament was shifted from side to side. When darkness came on, the boats were tied to the bank. A shelter tent was pitched for the family of Laclede. The men slept on the ground or on the cargoes. In later years, as commerce on the river increased, before the day of steamboats, the path of the cordellers became beaten. When Laclede came up to the river, the cordellers traveled a trail upon which were countless obstructions.

Through August, September, October, the expedition toiled along the river banks. November came before Ste. Genevieve was sighted. Full three months the journey had required. While Laclede was laboriously making his eight miles a day, news having vital bearing on his plans had reached the Illinois country. Laclede heard it at Ste. Genevieve. He faced a situation before which one less resolute would have faltered. France had ceded to England the country east of the Mississippi. That was the news. The war was over. The cession was the price which bought peace.

Laclede acted quickly. Ste. Genevieve had the growing lead industry behind it. Storage rooms for the goods with which the "armament" was loaded could not be found. Moreover, Laclede looked at the flat upon which the Ste. Genevieve of that day was built. Another and higher site was chosen a few years later. Laclede remembered his experience with high water near the lower coast. He "deemed the location insalubrious" for his business. So he said to Auguste Chouteau, the stepson not yet fourteen years old, upon whom he looked even then as his lieutenant. An officer came down from Fort Chartres. The expedition of Laclede had been heralded. Courtesies were due from one officer to another. The commandant at the fort sent his greeting to Laclede. He offered a storage place within the fort. At the same time he explained that he was expecting to evacuate upon the arrival of an English garrison. While he waited the facilities of the fort were offered to the expedition. Services that Maxent and Laclede had rendered the colonial government warranted this tender.

Laclede pushed on. Fort Chartres was six miles above Kaskaskia. The massive stone walls, eighteen feet high, were near to the landing. They enclosed four acres of ground. The storehouse, into which Laclede's boatmen carried the goods, was a stone building ninety feet long. Government house, barracks, coach house, guard house, bakery—all of the structures were of stone with doors of wood and iron. Cannon were in the embrasures covering approach from every direction. Fort Chartres had stood a third of a century. It was considered the strongest fortification in America. Seven years after Laclede made the fort his temporary stopping place, the wall nearest the river was undermined and slipped into the water. In 1772 Fort Chartres was abandoned.

Neyon de Villiers was the commandant of the Illinois, stationed at Fort Chartres. He was calling in the garrisons of outlying posts when Laclede arrived. Preparations to depart for New Orleans were under way. Commandant de Villiers contemplated more than a military movement. He considered it proper to advise the settlers to follow the French flag down the river. He thought to leave only the stone fort and the soil to the new authority.

Under the shadow and protection of Fort Chartres was a considerable settlement—St. Anne de Fort Chartres. A few miles away was Kaskaskia. To the north was Notre Dame de Kahokias. Villages and hamlets on the east side of the river had been growing slowly while the French flag floated over Fort Chartres from 1720 to 1763. And now Neyon de Villiers proposed a general exodus. He was the representative of France in the Illinois. His advice was impressive. Many French settlers were preparing to follow it. On the Missouri side there was no settlement north of Ste. Genevieve. Up to that time the

east side had been favored by the pioneer immigration. But now, if Neyon de Villiers had his way, the skirmish line of civilization was to fall back from the country of the Illinois.

Laclede had learned patience as he waited costly months for his goods to come from abroad. He had faced hardships, such as he had never known previously, in his three months' voyage up the river. The crisis of his enterprise confronted him at Fort Chartres. The goods were stored. Some presents were made ready for the Indian tribes with whom Laclede intended to trade. Friendly relations were established with the officers at the fort. Acquaintance was cultivated with the habitants. Much information Laclede sought about the surrounding country. The goods were shown. The prospects of trade were discussed. The local sentiment was extremely discouraging. It was December. Ice was running in the river. Laclede declared himself. He would found "an establishment suitable to his commerce." No turning back for him! Ste. Genevieve would not do. When he stopped there he did not find storage room sufficient for one-fourth of his cargoes. Furthermore he rejected it "because of its distance from the Missouri."

Of his courage and decision of character, Laclede gave the wondering habitants immediate illustration. With Auguste Chouteau he crossed to the west side of the Mississippi. Very thoroughly Laclede explored the country northward, all of the way to the mouth of the Missouri. It was not a due course. Topography was studied. Two natural conditions were taken into careful account,—the west bank of the river and the country some distance back from the bank.

Turning southward from the limestone bluffs near the mouth of the Missouri, Laclede and Auguste Chouteau passed through groves of oaks and across small prairies. They went some distance west of the river front. On the way northward Laclede looked for water power. The little river flowing through what is now Mill Creek Valley attracted his attention. He noted that it was fed by large springs. Coming southward, on the return, as he neared the slope leading downward to the ravine through which ran the little river, Laclede led the way to a considerable elevation. From that vantage point he looked over the tree tops to the river. This elevation became "the Hill" of St. Louis for a third of a century. Upon it, but graded down somewhat, stands today the courthouse. From this hill Laclede surveyed the locality in detail. He went down through the trees to the river. The distance from the hill to the water was about one thousand feet. It included two gentle descents and two plateaus about three hundred feet wide. Laclede saw with satisfaction that the plateaus, or terraces they might be termed, were heavily wooded. Here was building material at hand for the first house construction. At the eastern edge of the lower plateau, the explorers came to a sharp, rocky bluff. Precipice might better describe the topography. But the drop to the sandy beach was a short one. At most this precipice or bluff was thirty-five feet high. In places the distance was only twenty feet down to the sandy beach. Both to the north and to the south, as Laclede traversed the water front, he discovered that the rocky bluff sloped down gradually until it was lost in the alluvial low land.

AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

LACLEDE'S HOUSE

BOAT WITH CORDELLE, SAIL AND POLES

By This Means of Transportation Laclede Ascended the Mississippi to Found St. Louis

In the rocky river bluff, which he examined arpent by arpent, Laclede found breaks or gullies through which the water line was easily reached from the first plateau or terrace. One of the depressions was at the foot of Walnut street as now located. The other, the most rugged of the two, some distance north. From the edge of the rock-bound front, Laclede closely scanned the river movement. He saw that the current ran strong in shore; that the water deepened rapidly just off the strip of wet sand.

"He was delighted to see the situation," the boy Auguste remembered to write years afterwards of that eventful December day; "he did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all the advantages that one could desire, to found a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter."

As long as he lived, Auguste Chouteau recalled vividly the doings of that December day which determined the location of St. Louis. He told how Laclede, "after having examined all thoroughly, fixed upon the place where he wished to form his settlement."

The two approaches to the river's edge were compared. The one north of what is now the foot of Washington avenue had been worn by the steady flow of water from a spring. The depression at Walnut street was wider. Laclede followed the gully down to the water. He pointed out to Auguste Chouteau that this afforded the easiest route from the river to the plateau. He determined that there should be the boat landing. Then the founder went back through the gully to the first plateau and examined the ground. Trees of considerable size were growing on the terraces and slopes westward to a short distance beyond the hill. Thence, from the timber line, stretched "a grand prairie." This open, rolling ground Laclede commented upon with satisfaction. It offered the "common fields" waiting for the farmer.

Stopping on the lower plateau, near the head of the gully, Laclede "marked with his own hands some trees."

Where those trees were marked became the center of the trade and commerce of St. Louis, to continue more than one hundred years. With the expansion of the city this center moved slowly westward and northward. Today the financial and commercial heart of the Fourth City is within rifle shot of the place where Laclede marked the trees in December, 1763.

As he thus determined the site, the founder said to the all-observant boy beside him.

"You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form a settlement after the plan that I shall give you."

Immediately following his decision on the site, Laclede returned as quickly as the journey would permit to Fort Chartres.

"He said, with enthusiasm, to Neyon de Villiers and to the officers, that he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement which might become, hereafter, one of the finest cities of America—so many advantages were embraced in this site, by its locality and its central position, for forming settlements."

But more than he told to Neyon de Villiers, he said to the settlers. His courage in that critical period was splendid. His enthusiasm was infectious.

Gradually it neutralized the spirit of exodus which at the time of Laclede's arrival was in a way to become a panic.

Neyon de Villiers was much more than commandant at Fort Chartres. His authority extended over the garrisons of Fort des Pees on the Illinois river, Fort Massiaque on the Ohio, and Fort Vincennes on the Wabash. From these posts, de Villiers ordered the soldiers to come to Fort Chartres. That was to be the rendezvous preparatory to the departure for New Orleans. The commandant even called in the little force at Fort des Causes although it was west of the Mississippi. He summoned back the officer he had sent some time before to build a fort on the Osage. His orders called for evacuation of the east side and delivery to the English when they came. De Villiers was taking from the west side the protection of the lead mining industry against the Indians. His policy jeopardized all of the trading plans of Laclede.

As the troops assembled at Fort Chartres, Commandant de Villiers became more insistent that the settlers should abandon their homes and go with him.

With tact Laclede opposed the influence of the commandant over the French settlers. During the midwinter weeks he pushed preparations for his own settlement. He assembled tools and provisions. He recruited a picked force of thirty men, "nearly all mechanics." Among them were joiners, millers, blacksmiths and farmers, most of them young and unmarried—men who were inspired with the founder's hopefulness and who turned their backs upon de Villiers' warnings. While he prepared for the forming of his settlement Laclede talked with the French habitants at every opportunity. He advised them not leave the country where many of them had lived for years. If they were unwilling to be under British authority, he offered to provide them with homes in his settlement.

A mild winter favored the founder. Early in February the channel partly cleared of ice. Navigation was possible. Into a boat were hastily loaded tools and provisions and some goods for barter. With the cordelle over their shoulders the thirty men bravely started along the river bank. To a boy of thirteen years and six months as he gave him charge of the thirty men and of "the first boat," Laclede said:

"You will proceed and land at the place where we marked the trees. You will commence to have the place cleared. Build a large shed to contain the provisions and the tools, and some small cabins to lodge the men. I give you two men on whom you can depend, who will aid you very much. I will rejoin you before long."

The start was made on the 10th of February. The distance was over sixty miles. Jagged edges of ice fringed the shore. Not so much as the trail of a tow path existed. Late on the 14th of February the toiling cordellers reached the mouth of the gully at the head of which Laclede had marked the trees. They pulled the rope to the nearest tree and made fast. They did no more that day.

"The morning of the next day," wrote Auguste Chouteau, "I put the men to work. They commenced the shed which was built in a short time. The little cabins for the men were built in the vicinity."

Good reason Laclede had for sending Auguste Chouteau to the site as early as possible. The same reason prompted him to remain at Fort Chartres. All winter the founder stimulated interest in his settlement. He extolled the advantages of the location he had chosen. Neyon de Villiers saw his proposed depopulation checked. The pliant and the weak were disposed to go with the commandant and the soldiers. The determined and the adventurous showed increasing confidence in Laclede. De Villiers was resentful. Relations between the commandant and the founder became uncomfortable. Laclede maintained a courteous front but he lost no opportunity to firmly express his opinion counter to the commandant on the exodus policy. He did not leave Fort Chartres until spring was well advanced. Even then the trip he made to his settlement was a flying one. The conditions at the Fort and in the French villages still demanded his watchfulness. But some of the habitants on the east side were now ready to move to "Laclede's Settlement," as they called it. They wished to locate on the west side before the English came and de Villiers departed. To his settlement Laclede hastened. Further instructions were to be given to the boy leader and the thirty pioneers.

"In the early part of April Laclede arrived among us," wrote Auguste Chouteau. "He occupied himself with his settlement, fixed the place where he wished to build his house, laid a plan of the village which he wished to found and ordered me to follow the plan exactly, because he could not remain any-longer with us. He was obliged to proceed to Fort de Chartres to remove the goods that he had in the fort before the arrival of the English, who were expected every day to take possession of it. I followed to the best of my ability his plan, and used the utmost diligence to accelerate the building of the house."

The "plan" which was given to Auguste Chouteau is the basis of the map of St. Louis today. The Rue Principale of 1764 is the Main street of 1909. It was on the first plateau above the river. It paralleled the edge of the rocky bluff back some three hundred feet. On the west side of that street, near the approach through the gully to the river, Laclede located his house and the business headquarters of Maxent, Laclede and Company. He gave the directions for the cellar and for the assembling of material of which the house was to be built. And then he hurried back to the east side of the river.

About this time Madame Chouteau and the children were moved from Fort Chartres to Cahokia. The oldest of the children was Pierre, who was seven. The family remained at Cahokia until fall, awaiting the completion of the stone house.

Midsummer came before the critical situation at Fort Chartres was cleared up. Leclede had made two hurried trips to St. Louis. With great tact he avoided open antagonism. In June the commandant and the troops departed for New Orleans. The English had not arrived. St. Ange de Bellerive had come from Vincennes with his garrison. He was selected by de Villiers to remain at Fort Chartres to make the formal delivery of the post to the British who were expected daily. Here fortune favored Laclede although he did not realize it at the time. To St. Ange, the commandant gave forty men, one captain and two lieutenants. A considerable number of the inhabitants of the two villages, Fort Chartres and Prairie du Rocher, followed the commandant. Neyon de

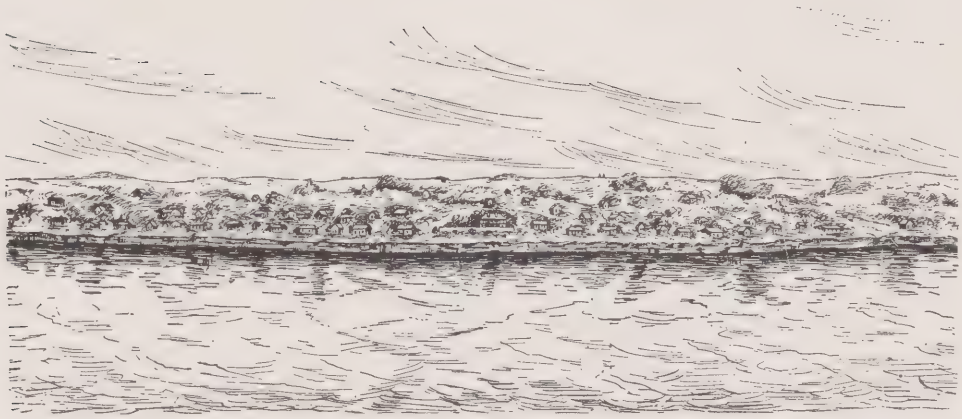
Villiers promised to obtain for them free grants of land near New Orleans to compensate them for the sacrifice they were making. Ostensibly the commandant did all this pursuading and promising to enable these people to settle in Lower Louisiana under the French government rather than to pass under the dominion of the English whom he called heretics.

Years afterwards Auguste Chouteau wrote the story of those last eventful weeks at Fort Chartres, as Laclede told it to him. He pointed out the reasons which had prompted the commandant. He showed how much the efforts of Laclede to counteract the course of de Valliers meant to the settlement of St. Louis. This is what Chouteau set down in his Narrative:

"The real motive of M. de Neyon was to take with him a numerous train and to descend the Mississippi in triumph, to make the government believe that all of these people followed him for the great esteem which they had for his person; thereby to gain the confidence of the authorities in order to obtain a place that he had in view. But when he learned on arriving in New Orleans that the country was ceded to Spain, he determined to return to Europe. He forgot all of the promises that he had made to these poor credulous people, who remained upon the strand without knowing where to lay their heads, and the government officials troubled themselves but little about them because they knew that the colony would soon change masters. So that these unfortunate people, who had abandoned the little property which they possessed in Illinois to go and live under the French government found themselves completely disappointed in their hopes. Some of them, in order to live, went with their families to Opelousas, others to Attakapas, where, however, they could not carry, on account of the want of facilities for transportation, the materials which they had brought down with them, and they were obliged to give them for almost nothing in order to procure a little maize and rice. Those, who having some means returned to Illinois, were very happy to find there M. de Laclede, who aided them in a great many ways, and observed to them that if they had been willing to follow his advice, as others had done, who had not wished to follow their evil destiny, they would not now be in the unpleasant situation in which they found themselves.

"M. de Laclede, penetrating the motive of M. de Neyon, did all in his power to hinder them from going down. He did it without any interested view, but through humanity, telling them that the English government was not so terrible, that for his part he had a much more favorable opinion of it. However, if, in consequence of false prejudice, they did not wish to remain under this government, he would recommend them to go up to his new settlement. He would facilitate for them the means of getting there. As for their animals, it was very easy to conduct them by land, since the journey was only nineteen leagues by a good road. Several families accepted these offers and obtained immediately the wagons and the necessary harness to proceed to St. Louis. And there he aided them in settling and ordered me to assign them lands, according to the plan which he had made, which I did as exactly as possible."

Those who followed de Villiers in his fleet of twenty-one boats numbered eighty. They were for the most part from the immediate vicinity of the Fort. In the spring of 1764 a few families moved to Laclede's settlement. After Neyon de Villiers had gone with most of the soldiers, the habitants who remained began preparations to join Laclede. Those who were farmers waited to make sure of their crops. Through the fall and early winter they were moving, family after family, to Laclede's St. Louis. The months went by and still the flag of France floated over Fort Chartres. But in the villages and hamlets of the eastern side the houses of posts, without doors or windows and in many cases without roofs, stood for the census of the families who had joined Laclede.



ST. LOUIS IN 1770, AT THE END OF THE ST. ANGE GOVERNMENT

HOME OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, SR.,
Main and Market Streets, on Lot Given to Him by His Mother

Not for the want of naming did the new community thrive as "Laclede's Settlement." The founder chose the name with the same prompt decision that marked his manner in the selection of the site. Upon his visit to the scene of activity in April, Laclede coupled with the selection of location for his house and with the plan of the settlement the formal designation of it.

"He named it St. Louis," wrote Auguste Chouteau, "in honor of Louis XV, whose subject he expected to remain a long time (he never imagined he was a subject of the king of Spain) and of the king's patron saint, Louis IX."

Historians generally who have had occasion to speak of the naming of St. Louis have said it was in honor of the crusader, the law giver, the good Louis. They were at least half right. Auguste Chouteau was the first historian of St. Louis. Only a few pages of his Narrative are extant. The most of it went into a fire through the fault of one who should have been most careful to preserve it. Twenty years Auguste Chouteau kept a journal. He intended it to be "a full account of the leading events of our early history." In a fit of ill temper, or indifference, so the tradition goes, the greater part of this journal was destroyed by an historical writer to whom it was loaned many years ago.

Louis XV. was the wicked Louis, the Louis who was under the influence of the noted DuBarry and Pompadour, the Louis who lived riotously, in whose reign were planted the seeds of popular hatred of royalty which fruited in the French Revolution.

It is history that Louis XV. was king of France when Laclede founded his settlement. Because of the change of sovereignty east of the river Laclede sought his site west of the river. By the secret treaty of 1762 France had ceded the territory west of the river to Spain. This, Laclede did not know. He was drawing to him the French habitants east of the river with the inducement that here they would live under the flag of France. He chose for his settlement a name that would appeal to them. He was where he was by virtue of a privilege granted from French authority at New Orleans. Perhaps for business reasons he felt that the name should in some degree recognize the source of his privilege. He "named it St. Louis in honor of Louis XV. and of the king's patron saint Louis IX."

This act was not extraordinary. LaSalle, long before, had named two of his posts, St. Louis, and had recorded that he did so "in honor of Louis XIV," then reigning. The attempt had been made to substitute for the Indian name Mississippi, the name of St. Louis to apply to the great river. Business reasons prompted Laclede's choice of name for the settlement. The founder cared little for royalty. He was no courtier. He was by instinct, if not by reasoning, a republican, as events subsequently showed.

Perhaps the most significant thing about Auguste Chouteau's reference to Louis XV in the naming of St. Louis is the evidence it affords that the settlement was formed and obtained its first impetus on the mistaken belief that it was on French soil. Not until the 18th of April, 1764, did d'Abbadie, the French commander at New Orleans, write in his journal, "the rumors of the cession of this colony to Spain have the appearance of truth."

This is a song of the axmen who cleared the way for the future,
Sung for the glory of them who live not in song or story!
Glory of seer and of prophet, glory of dream and of vision
Live though we know not of it, potent in lives of all men,
Strong with the strength of the axmen who cleared the way for the future,
Seeking not praise for their labor, forgetting the deed in the doing;
Strong for their way's whole length, achieving and still pursuing,
Leaving each deed for the future, leaving the meed and the guerdon;
Dying, forgotton and fameless, rewarded with rest after labor,
Living in work well done, immortal but evermore nameless!

Stroke after stroke of the axmen, clearing the way for the future,
Fell on the oak till it trembled and crashed to the ground by the river;
So with a sound that echoed around the world of the future
Fell the first oak of the vast wild that stretched to the Western ocean;
So as the lot was cast from the lap of the whirling planet
Vanished the ages past in the future's dim commotion!
True was the stroke of the steel blade, true was the axman who held it,
Making a way as the oak fell for the new age following after;
Seeking for roof-tree and rafter to build for his children their cabin,
Builder he of a city, mother of states and of cities,
Mighty with stalwart grace of the myriad nameless builders,
Bred to the trade of the steel blade, bred to the grace that fails not,
Mighty where all else fails, availing where strength avails not—
Grace of the stroke repeated with the axman's sure precision,
Falling again on the place where the first stroke failed of its purpose;
Falling again and again with a patience never defeated!

The Axmen of St. Louis, by William Vincent Byars.

CHAPTER II.

PERMANENCE 1764-1770.

Probably no people were ever blessed with a more suitable and worthy person for governing chief than St. Ange de Bellerive was for them; and their sound judgment and necessity at once assigned him to the place.—*Elihu H. Shepard.*

Conditions in the autumn of 1764, Auguste Chouteau wrote, "commenced to give some permanence to St. Louis," Neyon de Villiers and the soldiers had gone south from Fort Chartres. The settlement was growing. Laclede had taken possession of the stone house. The fur trade promised to yield at last 200 per cent. profit. But in the years from 1764 to 1770 the resources, the tact and the courage of the founder were taxed to carry the settlement through a succession of crises.

The first season fully redeemed expectations of the fur trade. The percentage of profit was realized. This prosperity had its complications. The whole community was fascinated with the fur trade. Too many merchants! Too few farmers! From Ste. Genevieve and from other settlements the food supply was drawn. Within three years, Laclede's settlement became known from Montreal to New Orleans as Pain Court which, tradition has it, meant "short loaf." The settlement was short of bread of its own making. Laclede remedied the situation, but the nickname was in use for many years. The English made it Pencur and Pancur. Even in their official reports of the period they so designated the settlement.

Situations more serious than bread shortage presented themselves. Revolution was breeding in New Orleans. Rather than accept Spanish authority, the French habitants there proposed to declare a republic. With Laclede had joined their fortunes the Papins and the Chauvins from Fort Chartres. These were near kinsfolk of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in Lower Louisiana. While commercial fortune smiled on the founder, political uncertainty involved the future of St. Louis. Upon Laclede's mind had grown stronger, as the months went by, the ambition to establish firmly "a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter." The founder of St. Louis came of a creative family. His father and his brother held offices in their province in southern France which called for constructive talents. They had charge of the forests. They looked after the pastoral interests of their section. They conducted engineering works. Pierre Laclede of Bedous came well by the public spirit which inspired him during the period in which St. Louis was obtaining permanence—1764-70. With that inspiration the secret treaty giving Louisiana to Spain was vitally related.

The first attempt to enforce Spanish authority at New Orleans was made. At the same time a considerable expedition was undertaken to build forts at

the mouth of the Missouri river, above St. Louis. More than that, the instructions of the Spanish government provided for establishing around these forts a colony to absorb St. Louis. Forts and colony were to be the seat of military power, the center of population and of trade for the possessions of Spain from the Mississippi westward.

The cradle of St. Louis was "Laclede's house." In the original plan which he handed to Auguste Chouteau, the founder laid out a public square. He called it Place d'Armes. This square was on the river front, at the first landing. It was bounded on the south, the west and the north by three narrow streets. These streets are today Walnut, Main and Market. Immediately west of the Place d'Armes, upon a square of like dimensions, the founder located the headquarters of Maxent, Laclede and Company. There he built the warehouse for the goods and for the furs. There he constructed the stone building with the high basement and full front gallery which for years was called "Laclede's house." The building was used for office purposes. It served as home for the family of Laclede until another house a block north was built for a dwelling. The square west of Laclede's house was set apart for the church and the burying ground. It is today the site of the old cathedral.

The three squares, extending from the river front westward to Third street composed the nucleus. The settlement grew northward and southward slowly along the narrow streets, somewhat narrower than they are now, paralleling the river.

In Laclede's house St. Louis was nursed. Government was established, not too elaborate, not theoretical, but sufficient to the needs of a community which did not know whether it was under a colonial flag or was to be part of a new nation. When, in 1770, conditions became settled there was nothing that Laclede and his associates had done which required undoing. The community had faced and overcome successive crises.

This narrative does not deal with events at Fort Chartres or New Orleans except in so far as they have direct and important bearing upon St. Louis. Conditions under which St. Ange remained at Fort Chartres, circumstances under which he "established himself" at St. Louis have essential relation to what followed. Civil government was inaugurated. Upon what authority? Land titles of the Fourth City trace back to that beginning. Was it self government? Was consent of the governed, plain and simple, the basis of the law and order established in this community? If so, a chapter in American history is to be written. The principle of Americanism was born in St. Louis. The man from Bedous in the Pyrennees is entitled to recognition which has not been accorded him.

Many years ago the late Sylvester Waterhouse, of the faculty of Washington University, gave no little study to the establishment of government at St. Louis. Documents of importance to the question, which have since come to light, were not then available. Nevertheless Professor Waterhouse reached definite conclusions. He said:

> Under the stress of a felt necessity, and without the sanction of Spanish authority, the people unanimously vested in St. Ange the powers of self government until the

arrival of his legally appointed successor. It was reasonably presumed that Spain would promptly imitate the example of England in taking possession of its newly acquired territory. It was not at all anticipated that years would elapse before the assertion of the Spanish right of sovereignty.

It is a singular incident in the history of St. Louis, that its first form of government, though instituted in a period of rigid imperialism, was distinctly republican *in* character. The authority under which de Bellerive ruled was conferred by popular action. In its methods of creation this self-constituted government was purely democratic. The King of France could not legally appoint the lieutenant-governor of a province that had ceased to be a part of the French empire. Still less could the vice-regent in New Orleans do an act which his sovereign was not empowered to perform. But though the governor-general could not confirm the action of the St. Louis colonists with the full sanction of law, he yet sustained the popular choice by his personal approval—the appointment of officers whose purely ministerial functions did not involve the grant of lands vested in the director-general of Louisiana, until Spain assumed control of its possessions. In the exercise of this right, Governor Aubry completed the organization of the civil government of St. Louis by the appointment of two judges, an attorney general and a notary.

Richard Edwards, painstaking in his searching for historical truth about St. Louis, was in doubt about the conditions under which St. Ange removed to St. Louis. In 1859, after a careful examination of all records accessible to him, Mr. Edwards wrote:

> Whether this advent of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive was authorized by M. Aubry, the commandant-general at New Orleans, or whether it is to be attributed to a voluntary act on his part can never, with certainty, be decided; we have only the light of surrounding circumstances from which to form an opinion, and we are inclined to the belief that he had received orders from his superior in New Orleans to remove to St. Louis; for the inhabitants at that time, both of Upper and Lower Louisiana, had come to the firm conclusion of resisting, to the last extremity any attempt of the Spaniards to enforce their authority in New Orleans or on the west banks of the Mississippi. These hostile intentions, so manifest at the time, probably induced the commandant-general to give St. Ange de Bellerive instructions to remove to St. Louis with the few troops remaining in his charge after the evacuation of Fort de Chartres. This, of course is only a conjecture, but we would think it was inconsistent with the character of a royal officer's fame, on his own authority to remove to any post with the troops under his command. He was an officer under the king, and had no room to act, except in obedience to the dictates of his superiors.

But Mr. Edwards concluded that consent of the governed entered into the new government which was established at St. Louis. He wrote: "St. Ange de Bellerive was most popular, both as an officer and a man, and according to the general wish of the inhabitants, he was placed at the head of affairs, and exercised all the functions of a commandant-general."

Two judges, a procureur-general and a notary were appointed to complete the organization of government at St. Louis. Edwards said: "This was done most probably by the commandant-general of New Orleans." He added: "All that Aubry, the commandant-general, of New Orleans could do, he probably did by the appointment of these officers. That it was by his approbation that St. Ange de Bellerive accepted of the authority which the people vested in him, there is no doubt."

John Canon O'Hanlon, who came to St. Louis in 1843 and studied at the Lazarist seminary for the priesthood, devoted not little attention to the early

history of the settlement. His conclusion about the status of St. Ange de Bellerive was this:

"By the acclaim of the inhabitants, he was then appointed governor of Upper Louisiana, of which that town (St. Louis) was then regarded as the capital."

"Very liberal arrangements," this writer said, "were made by Captain St. Ange de Bellerive for dividing the lands about St. Louis in favor of the settlers. Allotments with title were inscribed in the 'Livre Terrien,' while choice of quantity and location seemed to have been fairly apportioned. New colonists began to arrive and St. Louis grew apace. Under a mild and patriarchal form of government, simplicity of habits, and happy social relations seemed to warrant a peaceful existence, and a prosperous future for the thrifty settlers."

Elihu H. Shepard, in his early history of St. Louis, described the installation of government, with St. Ange de Bellerive as executive, in these words:

"By their unanimous desire he was vested with the authority of commandant-general, with full power to grant lands and to do all other acts consistent with that office as though he held it by royal authority."

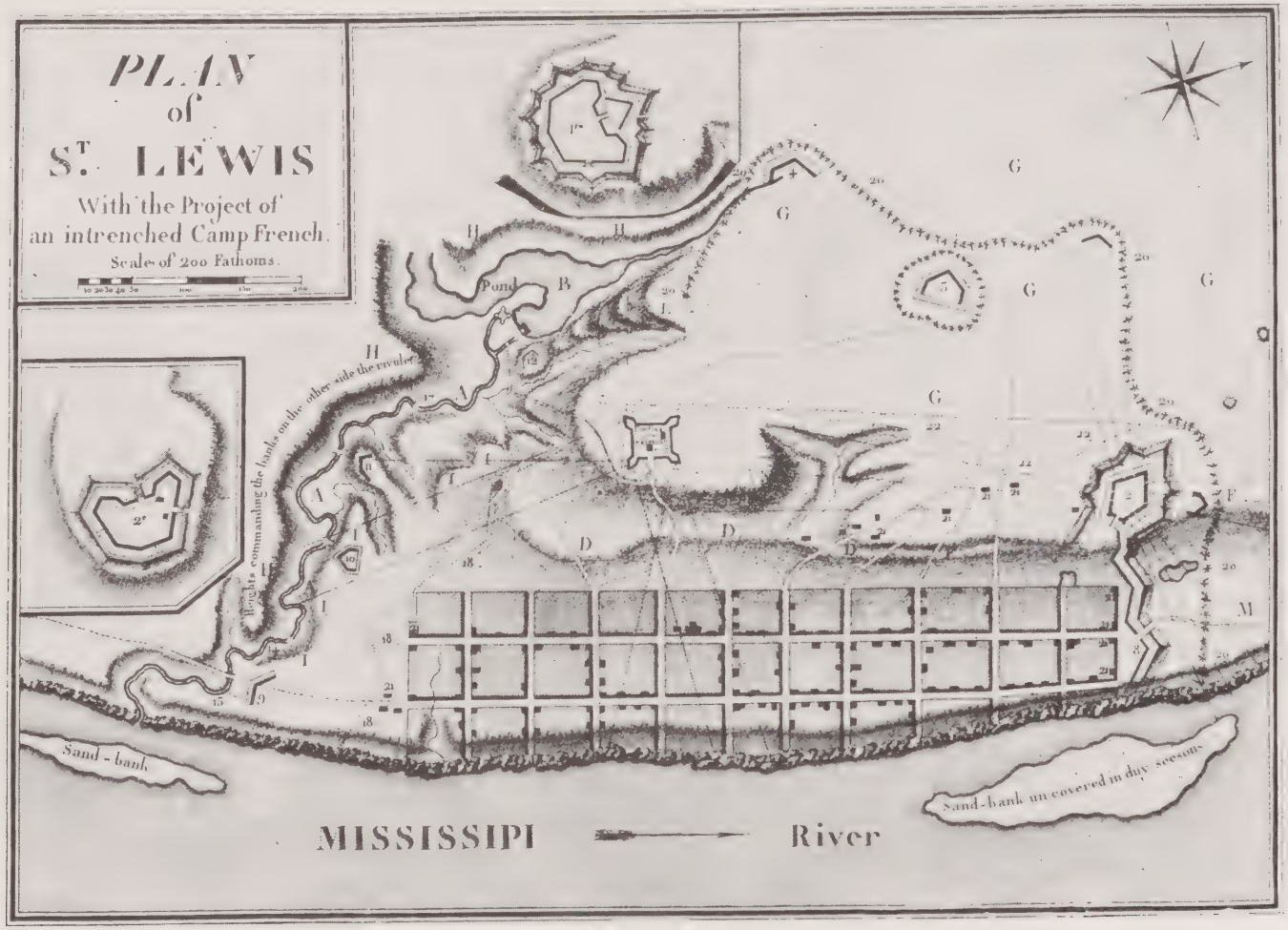
Scharff, the historian, said that St. Ange, in January, 1766, "assumed by general consent the position of lieutenant-governor."

The chain of events, the official record, can be given in brief but complete form.

On the 30th of January, 1764, D'Abbadie, the representative of France in Louisiana, forwarded orders to Neyon de Villiers, commandant of the Illinois, to evacuate the posts and the territory and to report at New Orleans with his troops and with as many of the settlers as chose to come with him. The order was comprehensive. It applied to the west side as well as to the east side of the Mississippi. While concentrating the troops from the several posts on both sides of the river, and as far as Vincennes, Neyon received a second order telling him to leave a garrison of forty men under St. Ange at Fort Chartres to remain until the arrival of the English garrison. The second order was sent at the request of Robert Farnum, British commandant, to whom the French had shortly before turned over Mobile under the treaty of cession to England.

Farnum had intended to have British garrisons take possession of the posts in the Illinois as Neyon de Villiers evacuated them. He started Major Loftus with an expedition up the Mississippi in 1764. The British were fired on by the Indians in ambush not far above New Orleans and returned down the river. To Farnum was brought the disquieting news that Pontiac was organizing the Indian tribes to prevent British occupation of the posts in the Illinois country. Then it was that Farnum asked that a detail be left at Fort Chartres to hold the place until the British could get there. To this the representative of France assented. The order to Neyon to leave St. Ange with a garrison of forty men was forwarded. St. Ange became temporary commandant at Fort Chartres. Neyon de Villiers completed his arrangements and sailed from Fort Chartres for New Orleans June 15th, 1764.

The second British movement to occupy Fort Chartres was from Canada. Again an expedition turned back. Pontiac's force was deemed too strong to



THE COLLOT MAP OF ST. LOUIS IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society

venture hostilities. The third attempt to send troops to Fort Chartres was made by way of Pittsburg and the Ohio river. A force of Highlanders, one hundred strong, reached the fort. St. Ange made delivery on October 10th, 1765. He had remained fifteen months after the departure of Neyon de Villiers. In the meantime the death of D'Abbadie had occurred. Aubry, next in command, was the French representative at New Orleans. He was waiting only to receive the Spanish and to put Spain formally in possession of the isle of Orleans and of the territory west of the Mississippi. France had ceded; Spain had accepted the territory but had not occupied it.

Aubry kept a journal. He recorded in minute detail the progress of events in the chaotic period between the receipt of the letter directing that Spain be put in possession of Louisiana and the consummation of the delivery —a period of five years, from 1764 to 1769. The tenor of Aubry's journal seems to show that France formally retired from the Illinois with the withdrawal of Neyon de Villiers and that St. Ange remained only to garrison the fort until the British arrived.

Friction attended the delivery of Fort Chartres. Aubry mentions this. "The same difficulty as at Mobile," he wrote in his journal, "occurred at the Illinois. The English claimed the cannon and implements of the fort, but they secured only seven little cannon of which four were damaged, precaution having been taken to remove the rest to the other side of the river. After having protested, St. Ange passed to the other side with two officers and thirty-five men."

At this point, in his journal, Aubry makes the only mention of the action taken by St. Ange which proved of such importance to St. Louis.

"He established himself at Pain Court, near Ste. Genevieve, and returned to me fifteen men because of lack of flour left him by the English."

Aubry comments on the ingratitude of the English as shown at Fort Chartres:

"It was only on the incessant prayers of Mr. Farnum that Mr. D'Abbadie left in Fort Chartres a garrison and cannon instead of evacuating it. It does not seem just that the English in taking possession of the fort which we had guarded for them only from kindness should oppose us in taking the effects of the king."

From the journal it seems that there can be no misunderstanding of the status of St. Ange and of the garrison of forty following the withdrawal from the Illinois of Neyon de Villiers, the soldiers and the settlers. A reason existed for the choice of St. Ange to guard the fort until the English came. Of all the officers who were evacuating French posts in the Illinois, St. Ange had the most influence with Pontiac. He was a very brave soldier. As soon as it was known to the Indians that France had ceded the Illinois to England the warriors began to assemble in the vicinity of Fort Chartres and to threaten that the English should never be allowed to occupy it. All of St. Ange's influence and power of persuasion were required to prevent actual hostilities.

St. Ange marched up the river, fifty miles, to St. Louis. He was received in Laclede's house. His soldiers were quartered near by. The garrison re-

mained year after year. As he had done from Fort Chartres St. Ange continued to send reports from St. Louis to Aubry, upon conditions, especially as to the Indians. It does not appear that he received specific orders from Aubry. It does appear that Aubry knew what was going on at St. Louis and that he did not disapprove. Was St. Ange given latitude to act upon a general understanding that he might be useful in the Illinois for the "security of the habitants who remained?" Had he come under the spell of Laclede's personality as had so many of the settlers on the east side of the river? St. Ange never left St. Louis. When he retired from active service, on the coming of the first Spanish lieutenant-governor, he continued to reside in Laclede's family. When he died he intrusted the disposition of his estate to Laclede.

Until the coming of St. Ange and the soldiers, Laclede had governed St. Louis by the force of his personality. Up to this time he had been supreme in all matters. The settlement was growing rapidly. It was reaching out for the fur trade of the Missouri country. It was assuming important relations with the Indian nations.

The first great day in the history of St. Louis was when the boy, Auguste Chouteau, arrived "with the first thirty" and felled the first tree. The second great day was when St. Ange de Bellerive marched in at the head of his soldiers. Gladly Laclede welcomed the garrison. Military authority was established, so far as seemed necessary to insure tranquillity. French settlers on the east side, who had delayed departure so long as the French flag floated over Fort Chartres, followed the garrison to St. Louis.

St. Ange assumed no civil functions upon his arrival. When he delivered Fort Chartres to the English he referred to himself as "captain of infantry commanding for the king." Had he succeeded Neyon de Villiers he would have added, probably, to the designation of himself, "commandant of the Illinois." Sterling, the English officer, receipted to St, Ange for the fort. He made no mention of anything beyond that.

Three months St. Ange continued in military authority at St. Louis before he began to exercise civil functions. He was a soldier. He expected orders. He stood ready to obey them. No orders came. St. Ange was willing to act in some minor matters not strictly military but he was not willing to perform duties which partook of judicial character. Not until January, 1766, did St. Ange begin to yield to the public pressure and to the arguments of the strong men of the community.

The civil government for St. Louis was planned in Laclede's house. To the new settlement came from the east side of the river Joseph Labusciere and Joseph Lefebvre. Perhaps the names should be reversed. At the time of coming Lefebvre was the most important person. But Labusciere soon became the most prominent of the two in St. Louis. Both were educated, shrewd men. They had been strongly attracted by Laclede's personality. They caught his confidence in the future of St. Louis. They were among the foremost to accept Laclede's leadership rather than Neyon's advice.

"Judge" Lefebvre, he was, at Fort Chartres. In 1743 he came from France bringing his wife and son to Louisiana. He must have had influential friends. A year after his arrival in New Orleans, Lefebvre was given a grant of the ex-

clusive privilege to trade with the Indians of the Illinois district for five years. He settled at Fort Chartres and remained after his privilege expired. He became the judge of the district.

Labusciere came from Canada to Fort Chartres before Laclede founded St. Louis. He was a lawyer, skilled in the drawing of official papers. He married in the village of St. Phillippe, four miles above Fort Chartres and became the leading citizen of that community. St. Phillippe was the settlement from which the entire population, with the exception of the miller, moved to St. Louis. It is not difficult to infer that Labusciere was the leader in the migration. That he was regarded as a person of importance by the founder is seen in the fact that Labusciere was allotted an entire block of ground in St. Louis. He received the verbal assignment of the block bounded by Main and the river, Vine and Washington avenue. At Fort Chartres, Labusciere had performed notarial functions. He had been called deputy for the king's attorney. When the form of grant or title to real estate was agreed upon at Laclede's house, Labusciere's lot was one of the earliest, if not the first to be entered in the register or livre terrien.

On his arrival in 1765, about the time of St. Ange's coming with the troops, Lefebvre was given by Laclede a half block of ground. He built a house of posts at the corner of Main and Locust. Their course indicated a complete understanding on the part of Lefebvre and Labusciere with Laclede arrived at before the coming of Captain Sterling and the Highlanders to Fort Chartres. The judge and the notary had decided not to follow Neyon down the river. They had agreed together to join their fortunes with Laclede. The year 1765 found them permanently settled in St. Louis.

Judge Lefebvre strongly supported Laclede's views in favor of the establishment of civil government. Labusciere contended that, without systematic recording of public events and official acts, in time all matters would become confused. Many things would be forgotten. There would ensue much trouble. The weeks went by with the almost daily conferences until at last St. Ange yielded. The plan of government was agreed upon. Lefebvre and Labusciere were to assist. Both of these men, as already stated, had been prominent in affairs of government on the east side of the river before the cession. Their willingness to act with the old soldier doubtless had its influence to bring about his reluctant consent. The settlers in St. Louis were summoned to Laclede's house. Announcement was made that St. Ange, assisted by Lefevbre, would administer public affairs. The announcement met with the approval of the settlers. And thus, what might be called acting independent government was established and became effective at St. Louis. A tablet erected by the Wednesday Club, on Main street just north of Walnut, bears this inscription:

On this site
January 21, 1766,
in the house of
Maxent, Laclede & Co.
civil government was first

established in St. Louis,
by
Capt. Louis St. Ange de Bellerive,
Died Dec. 27, 1774,
Military Commandant.
and Acting Governor of
Upper Louisiana.

Thus a third great day was entered upon the calendar of St. Louis. True to his character as a soldier, St. Ange made up a full report of the conditions which had led to the establishment of government, most extraordinary in form for those times. Promptly the report was sent to New Orleans. It carried the information that, for the first time in America, government had proceeded not from the king down but from the people up. At St. Louis it was known that the land was Spain's; that had been formerly announced at New Orleans in October, 1764. d'Abbadie had died in February, 1765, Aubry was in command only until the Spanish arrived to take possession. It was known that a condition of great uncertainty prevailed at New Orleans, with a movement gathering head to proclaim a republic rather than to accept Spanish domination.

To Aubry was conveyed the report of the radical steps taken at St. Louis. The records are silent as to the identity of the person who carried the report of St. Ange, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that Laclede made the horseback journey in midwinter and presented in person the account of what had taken place. Aubry was expecting Ulloa, the Spanish governor, by every sailing. A revolution was impending. It bore such close relation to St. Louis that the story of it, briefly told, is not out of place.

"Without liberty there are few virtues. Despotism breeds pusillanimity and deepens the abyss of vices."

So read the first American Declaration of Independence. It was proclaimed against the King of Spain, not the King of England. The initial stand of this hemisphere for republican principles was made on the bank of the Mississippi.

For freedom of conscience men laid down their lives in the Province of Louisiana before they did in the Colony of Massachusetts. The protest against monarchy blazed from the musket's mouth at New Orleans earlier than it did at Lexington. Years before the taxed tea was thrown overboard in Boston harbor, the revolution in Louisiana had sent about his business the Spanish Governor who came to rule over the people of that Province. In the decree of expulsion it was declared:

> Without population there can be no commerce and without commerce no population. Both are fed by liberty and competition which are the nursing mother of the State; of which the spirit of monopoly is the tyrant and stepmother. Where is the liberty of our planters, of our merchants, of all our inhabitants? Protection and benevolence have given way to despotism. A single authority seeks to absorb and annihilate everything. Without running the risk of being taxed with guilt, no man of any class can longer do anything but tremble, bow his neck and kiss the ground.

These were bold words. They were pronounced with all of the authority

of an organized movement at New Orleans nearly ten years before Thomas Jefferson put pen on paper to write "When in the course of human events"—They were uttered with all the formality by the superior council of Louisiana, a body which had taken the place of royal authority to govern.

In the histories of the United States there is but brief mention of the first revolution on American soil against absolutism. And yet the 28th of October, 1768, is entitled to a red letter place in the American calendar of patriotic days. The name of Lafreniere deserves rank with those of foremost American patriots.

This movement for independence in America began when Louis XV in 1764 sent a letter to d'Abbadie in New Orleans telling him France had withdrawn her soverignty from all parts of North America and had divided her colonies there between England and Spain. The King of France commanded d'Abbadie to deliver the Province to Spanish authority. d'Abbadie communicated the letter to the superior council which shared with him the administration of government in the Province. At the head of the council, with the title of King's Attorney, was Nicholas Chauvin de Lafreniere. He became the head of the movement to found a Republic on American soil. George Washington was then in his early twenties, passing through some interesting love-making experiences. Patrick Henry was a student and had not thought of "Give me Liberty or give me Death."

Lafreniere was a native of the Province of Louisiana, the son of a Canadian woodsman. His father had followed Bienville, the explorer, to Louisiana. He had acquired sufficient means to send Nicholas to France to be educated. Returning to the Province the young man had risen until he had become the orator and lawyer of the Colony. He had received the appointment of King's attorney in the Superior Council and was the recognized popular leader of Louisiana. His talents and following fitted him to be the head of the Revolutionary movement.

In the house of Madame Pradel, retired from the street and surrounded by a large garden, where magnolias of luxurious foliage defended them from observation, Lafreniere, the King's Attorney, and his associates, met night after night to plan the Republic of Louisiana. Among these patriots were Chevalier Masan, Captain and Lieutenant Bienville, nephews of the great explorer; Jean and Joseph Milhet, Commander Villare, Hardy de Boisblanc, Marquis, Cariss, Petit, and several others.

The influential merchants and planters were in sympathy with the movement. Lafreniere retained his place in the Superior Council, which body the patriots controlled. There was no disposition to move rapidly or prematurely.

In the midsummer of 1765 a letter received at New Orleans prompted the first public act of the Revolutionary movement. It was from Don Antonio de Ulloa, who wrote from Havana that he had been appointed by the King of Spain to take posession of Louisiana Province and was on the way to do so.

Following the publication of this letter from Ulloa, a popular convention of the Province of Louisiana was called. It was the first of its kind on American soil. It was composed of delegates from the parishes. In that convention the leaders of the movement came into public view. Lafreniere was the dom-

inant spirit. This convention appointed Jean Milhet, the richest business man in the Colony, to go to France and to urge that Government to recede from the treaty with Spain and to retain possession of Louisiana.

Just at the time the Acadians, expelled by England from Nova Scotia upon the cession of that Province by France, were arriving in Louisiana. The sufferings of the exiles served to intensify the feeling of hostility at New Orleans toward Spain. Milhet went upon his mission.

Ulloa arrived in New Orleans in the spring of 1766. He had two companies of Spanish regulars. He learned quickly that it would be useless to attempt to take control. He induced Aubry, the French officer, who had succeeded d'Abbadie, to remain temporarily to administer government in the name of France. He postponed the raising of the Spanish flag. In September of that year Ulloa sent a squad of his soldiers through the streets and, with the beating of a drum to command attention, announced a decree. This proclamation ordered all ship owners, on arrival in New Orleans, to appear before Ulloa that he might fix the prices at which their cargoes must be sold. The penalty of refusal was that they would not be allowed to sell in the Colony. The decree further ordered that the depreciated paper money must be accepted. It sought to regulate outgoing cargoes so that the Government could control the exports.

The shipping interests at once allied themselves with the people on the side of Lafreniere and the patriot leaders. Ulloa left the city and went down to the mouth of the river to spend the winter.

Milhet came back from France. He had been unable to accomplish the thing desired. The King of France considered Spain already in possession of Louisiana.

Milhet reported the failure of his mission. The Revolutionists agreed that the time had come. They were in control of the Superior Council, which, by the failure of Spain to assume sovereignty, was the highest authority in the Province.

In the dead of night, October 28, 1768, preceding the day on which a meeting of the superior council had been called, a band of patriots gathered about the cannon at the Tchoupitoulas gate of the city and spiked them. At daybreak Captain Noyan, who had held a commission with the French Regulars, marched in at the head of a body of Acadian exiles. About the same time the German colonists came in from the east, under command of Villare. The planters from the south forced their way through the gates on that side. New Orleans was in possession of the revolutionary army of the Republic of Louisiana. The description of the forces recalls the conditions at Lexington a few years later. The revolutionists were armed with all manner of improvised weapons, but they were enthusiastic. Aubry, the French representative, protested, but offered no resistance. A few persons loyal to the Spanish authority went to Ulloa's house barricaded and prepared for siege. There was no assault. Sentiment was all one way, but not disposed to violence. The superior council was in session the 28th and 29th of October. It adopted the Declaration of Independence, the sentiments of which have been given. It decreed that Ulloa, as the representative of Spain, must leave and gave him three days

in which to take his departure. Before the decree was made public, Ulloa had betaken himself to a frigate in the river. On the 31st day of October, without waiting for his days of grace, he sailed away. Aubry again protested in the name of the King of France. The superior council proceeded to govern the Province and to prepare papers for the establishment of the Republic of Louisiana with Lafreniere as "Protector." The patriot leaders worked upon a Republican Constitution and they sent throughout the Province republican documents.

At Madrid, the Spanish capital, the character of this movement in the Province of Louisiana was not misunderstood; the importance was not mistaken. After Ulloa, the Spanish Governor, had been expelled by the Revolution, the King of Spain called on his Ministers to advise. Aranda was then the leading statesman of Spain. He counseled the prompt suppression of the Revolution no matter at what cost. His reason was given in plain words. Spain could not afford to have an American Republic on the Gulf of Mexico and in the Mississippi Valley, endangering her other possessions on the east and on the west. For it must be remembered that at this time Spain claimed sovereignty over the Floridas, parts of Georiga, Alabama and Mississippi. State papers of Spain tell of the serious estimate put upon this revolution at New Orleans and its possible consequences. Aranda submitted to the Royal Council at Madrid March 22nd, 1769, this statement:

> The insurrection at New Orleans seems to be an object of the greatest importance, not only for the reasons which have been expressed above but on account of its consequences. Its situation on the Gulf of Mexico,—it being already as it were, a European town, by its population, and it being converted into a free port which no doubt would be the case,—would attract thither large numbers from Europe. A republic in Louisiana would be independent of all European powers. It would then become the interest of all to keep on terms of amity with her, and to support her existence. The favorable position in which Louisiana would then be placed, would not only increase her population, but also enlarge her limits, and transform her into a rich, flourishing and free State in sight of our provinces which would present the melancholy contrast of exhaustion and want of cultivation. From the example under their eyes the inhabitants of our vast Mexican domains would be led to consider their utter want of commerce, the extortions of their different governors, the little esteem in which they are held, the few offices which they are permitted to fill. These things will weight the great inducements which they have to hate still more the Spanish domination and to think they can brave it with more security, when they shall see that a province, weak when compared with their extensive and populous country, can make good her position with impunity and secure her prosperity.

From October, 1768 to July 1769 the condition continued in Louisiana while in the Thirteen Colonies the discontent with English rule was growing apparent. When General Gage at Boston was calling in the British red coats from outlying western posts and getting ready to suppress revolt against the stamp taxes of King George the Third, the Count O'Reilly sailed up the Mississippi with a powerful Spanish fleet to suppress the Republic of Louisiana. O'Reilly had been given by King Charles a fleet of twenty-four vessels and 2,600 men to put down the revolution and to establish Spanish dominion. There were 1,398 men able to bear arms on the part of the Republic. But they were not all willing. There were royalists who, if they could not have France, preferred Spain to the dangers of an infant republic. There were others who

urged the uselessness of a struggle in which it was evident Spain, France and England would be arrayed against them.

Marquis, the Commander-in-Chief of the Republican forces, made a final appeal to his troops to rally and resist the Spanish Army. The number that responded was insufficient to justify defense. The odds were pitiful.

The leaders of the Revolution conferred with Aubry, the retiring French official. Aubry undertook to act as the medium of communication with O'Reilly. He encouraged the belief that terms might be arranged and suggested general amnesty. As the result of negotiations Lafreniere, Marquis, Milhet and other leaders were induced to go aboard the flagship and meet O'Reilly. They were invited to dine and were treated with great apparent consideration. The Spanish troops landed without any show of resistance. O'Reilly immediately ordered the arrest of all the leading patriots. Villare, the commander of the German colonists in the Army of the Republic, was bayonetted by the Spanish soldiers who went to take him and died in prison. Nevertheless his memory was tried by military court and condemned with the others to infamous death.

The sentence was pronounced by Count O'Reilly in these words:

I have to condemn and I do condemn the aforesaid Nicholas Chauvin de Lafreniere, Jean Baptiste, Noyan, Pierre, Carisse, Pierre Marquis and Joseph Milhet as chiefs and principal movers of the conspiracy aforesaid to the ordinary pain of the gallows which they have deserved by the infamy of their conduct and ipso jure by their participation in so horrible a crime; and to be led to the place of execution, mounted on asses and each one with a rope around his neck, to be then and there hanged until death ensues and to remain suspended on the gallows until further orders, it being hereby understood that any one having the temerity to carry away their bodies without leave, or contravening in whole or in part the execution of the said sentence shall suffer death. And as it results from the said trial and from the declarations of the aforesaid attorney general, that the late Joseph Villare stands convicted likewise of having been one of the most obstinate promoters of the aforesaid conspiracy, I condemn in the like manner his memory to be held forever infamous; and doing equal justice to the other accused after having taken into consideration the enormity of their crime as proved at the trial, I condemn the said Petit to perpetual imprisonment in such castle or fortress as it may please his Majesty to designate; the aforesaid Balthasar Masau and Julien Jerome Doucet to ten years' imprisonment; and Pierre Hardy de Boisblanc, Jean Milhet and Pierre Poupet to six years' imprisonment with the understanding that none of them shall ever be permitted to live in any dominions of His Catholic Majesty, reserving to myself the care to have every one of these sentences provisionally executed and to cause to be gathered up together and burnt by the hand of the common hangman all the printed copies of the document entitled "Memorial of the Planters, Merchants and other Inhabitants of Louisiana on the event of the 28th of October, 1868" and all other publications relative to said conspiracy to be dealt with in the same manner; and I have further to declare and I do decree in conformity with the same laws that the property of every one of the accused be confiscated to the profit of the King's Treasury.

The common hangman refused to carry out the sentence. The united voice of the people of Louisiana Province cried out in protest. No one could be found to conduct the execution. O'Reilly changed the sentence to death by shooting. Noyan was young and just married. Friends planned for him an escape, to which O'Reilly consented. The young patriot refused it and declared he would die with his friends.

On the 25th day of October, 1769, Lafreniere, Noyan and Milhet were

ST. LOUIS IN 1850

Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society

led out to the Place des Armes and shot to death by a file of Spanish soldiers. The others were sent to prison. On the day following the execution the Spanish troops were drawn up on the Market Place. The Declaration of Independence and all documents relating to the Republic of Louisiana were burned by the common hangman. But the words of Lafreniere still lived—"Without liberty there are few virtues—Despotism breeds pusillanimity and deepens the abyss of vices."

While revolution ran its unsuccessful course at New Orleans, the government established at St. Louis still lived. Lefebvre, as assistant to the commandant, relieved him of much of the detail of civil affairs, for which St. Ange had no liking. Labusciere, the scrivener, was secretary to the government. He kept the records. He wrote marriage contracts, deeds, inventories, wills, leases, affidavits. He signed papers as "Labusciere, notary."

In the summer of 1766, Lefebvre was appointed by St. Ange keeper of the king's warehouse. Before the removal from Fort Chartres took place, a variety of military stores not included in the cession was taken to St. Louis. Of these Lefebvre remained the custodian until his death. The inventory then taken, 1767, showed guns, tomahawks, powder, ball, uniforms, tools, trinkets for Indians and a miscellaneous lot of not very valuable junk which might have accumulated in a military storehouse through a long series of years.

When Lefebvre became keeper of the king's warehouse, Labusciere succeeded him as assistant to St. Ange in the exercise of the civil functions. He continued to keep the records. He wrote the titles which St. Ange signed. He did all that a notary might do. The community wanted government. Laclede, St. Ange, Lefebvre and Labusciere filled the want. The community accepted. Among the successful experiments in organization and maintenance of government of pioneer communities on the American continent there is none better than that offered by Laclede's settlement.

When he took the inventory of property in the King's warehouse after Lefebvre's death in 1767, Labusciere signed it as "deputy of the attorney general of the king in Illinois, acting as judge in the place of Judge Lefebvre, deceased." This designated official position about as well as anything else could. The government was "acting." To this might have been added "with the consent of the governed" but universal acquiescence made that unnecessary.

Labusciere was a model secretary. He was painstaking. He wrote legibly. He preserved with scrupulous fidelity every document. When the first Spanish governor came to St. Louis in 1770 Labusicere delivered to him a collection of papers neatly arranged with a summary showing the number and character under this caption:

"Statements of the deeds, contracts and other papers executed before Joseph Labusciere, former attorney for the king and notary public under the French government in the Illinois, from April 21, 1766, to 20th May, 1770."

This collection of papers was the beginning of records of St. Louis. It was accepted as official. It was handed down by one Spanish governor to another. Each governor added his own records. At the time of American occupation, in 1804, there had accumulated 3,000 of these documents. An Amer-

ican official had the sheets stitched and deposited them with the recorder. Many of the documents were not strictly public records. They were agreements between persons, acknowledged before government officials. Apparently they were left with the government for safe keeping; that custom seems to have had its beginning in the confidence reposed in Labusciere.

Laclede's house was the seat of government. It had been so from the day the founder moved into it in the early fall of 1764. It continued to be so after St. Ange came and took up headquarters there. After January 21, 1766, when civil government went into operation with the duties divided among St. Ange, Lefebvre and Labusciere, Laclede's house was still the government house. The firm of Maxent, Laclede & Company furnished quarters rent free to the officials. The firm must have met the small expenses of government which were not covered by fees. Behind St. Ange and his associates in office was the master spirit of this government, Laclede. And thus in a well-ordered way government was administered at St. Louis, while at New Orleans there was political turmoil, revolution, bloodshed.

At one time it seemed as if the government at St. Louis was in serious danger. Early in 1767 Ulloa sent an expedition to St. Louis. New Orleans had refused to accept Spanish authority. Ulloa, as an act of prudence had gone down to Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi. Spending the winter there, he planned the movement to St. Louis. Riu, or Rios, was chosen to command. Elaborate instructions were drafted by Ulloa. They were in two divisions. One set of instructions was for the guidance of the command on the journey and after arrival at St. Louis. The other was sealed. It was sent to St. Ange to deliver to Rios on his arrival. It had to do with relations between Spain and England. It was to guide the Spanish commandant if trouble arose through British trespass on the west side of the Mississippi. It provided for strong fortifications of the mouth of the Missouri to control that river, both the north and the south side of it, for Spain. The secret instructions showed the Spanish apprehension that the British would push west of the Mississippi.

The histories tell briefly that Rios, with a Spanish force ascended the river to St. Louis in 1767. It is of record that he made considerable progress with a fort on the south side of the Missori near the mouth. But Rios did not assert Spanish authority at St. Louis. He remained here several months. He went down the river in 1768. Some of the people who came with him remained in St. Louis. The government formed with St. Ange as the executive head, and with French soldiers as the military power continued as it was before the coming of Rios.

Ulloa's instructions, both sets, remained buried in the archives at Seville. Copies came into possession of the Missouri Historical Society for the first time in 1907. The secret instructions, bearing the signature of Antonio Ulloa, were dated January 7, 1767. They explained that "for the best success of this important matter the intended purpose will not be given publicity before the plan is carried out."

St. Louis was not mentioned in the instructions but was referred to as "Pencur" or Illinois. The commander was told that "it will be advisable to

carry from Ste. Genevieve or Pencur in Illinois all that will be needed in the way of supplies."

"At the mouth of the river Missouri two forts must be built, one on one side, the other opposite. The one on the northern side, the upper side, must be the largest."

The instructions even provided the names for the forts, the one on the north side of the river was to be "Fort King Charles III." The one on the south side was to be named "Fort Charles, Prince of Asturias."

The officers put in charge of the two forts were told that they must remember they were defending the dominions of His Majesty, the king of Spain and the frontiers of Mexico.

"The Missouri river belongs entirely to the Dominion of His Majesty as it has been stipulated in the last treaties between France and England. Up to this date the mouth of the Missouri has been without any population or defense. Therefore the English people have introduced themselves through this river. Going farther into the country they have made treaties with the savages. This must be stopped."

The instructions anticipated that as soon as the fort building began the British would become troublesome. At the first attempt of the British traders to pass up the Missouri, the commandant was to send a sergeant to the British commander at Fort Chartres with the request that he compel his people to remain out of the Missouri. The refusal of the British commander to observe the terms of the treaty provided for in the instructions might follow. In that event the Spanish commandant was to collect testimony showing violation of the treaty in order that protest might be made and the matter might go to the governments at home.

If the controversy came to force, if the British insisted that work stop on the forts at the mouth of the Missouri, "we must fight with all of the zeal and energy that honor demands. To give up territory which has been occupied and which belongs to the king is a very shameful thing."

The French at St. Louis were to be asked to send all of the men and provisions they could spare for the defense against the British if the attack was made against the fortifications at the mouth of the Missouri. One reason given for keeping these instructions secret was the fear that if the possibility of fighting with the British was known there might be strong disinclination on the part of the Spanish force to go up to the mouth of the Missouri.

When Ulloa sent Rios up the Mississippi in 1767 he had in mind much more than the establishment of Spanish authority at the mouth of the Missouri. He intended to build two forts. He intended to form a colony which would be "of the greatest importance." Upon one fort was to be placed five cannon and on the other three. Houses were to be built for colonists. The savages were to be given presents and informed of the intention to fortify the mouth of the Missouri so that they might not be taken by surprise." Then followed a significant paragraph. The people of St. Louis were not to be informed of the purpose of Spain to establish the colony and the government at the mouth of the Missouri. They were to be told only of the purpose to build forts. They were not to learn that it was the plan to make the new settle-

ment at the mouth of the Missouri the principal one in Louisiana Province, overshadowing Laclede's.

"Mr. St. Ange, as an experienced man in handling the savages, will give his advice as to what shall be done with them. As he does not know the object of this establishment, and as there is no need for him to know it, he may suggest that the forts be established in Illinois (St. Louis) instead of at the mouth of the Missouri. His views in this matter must not be considered or let interfere with this final decision. Therefore the force must stop at Illinois (St. Louis) only twelve or fifteen days to rest and to take the necessary provisions. If they can shorten this time it will be a great deal better as any delay may prove of great disadvantage to the purpose intended in the erection of these establishments."

To build the forts and to establish the colony at the mouth of the Missouri, which was to overshadow if it did not at once absorb St. Louis, Ulloa sent a military force which exceeded the garrison of St. Ange at St. Louis two to one. He sent a marine composed of ten oarsmen for each boat. Two French officers accompanied the expedition, one of whom was to be the engineer of the colony. A priest, a surgeon, a carpenter, a mason, a stone cutter and several laborers and apprentices were included. The families of the married soldiers were encouraged to go.

"The workmen brought from Havana must be married and bring their families with them. Steps have been taken so that the marine people will also get married. In order to succeed great care must be taken and everything must be done in favor of the married men. Treat them nicely and prevent them in a prudent way from using much liquor."

To the soldiers unmarried inducements to take wives with them were offered.

"The captain will offer the sergeants and corporals and soldiers a dower if they wish to marry before they go. They can obtain wives among the Acadians. A sergeant will be given fifty dollars, a corporal forty dollars, a soldier thirty dollars to buy whatever furniture is most needed for their homes. They will be alloted some land so they can cultivate it. They will be allowed to work it during the days they are not on duty and when there is nothing urgent for them to do. The married soldier will live with his wife in the house that they build on the land provided he will return on the days when he is on duty. This dower will be paid upon receipt given by the soldier, signed by the girl. The signature of the priest also must appear."

Even more than the dower, Ulloa's plan to make a city at the mouth of the Missouri provided. Soldiers whose terms expired were to be induced to become settlers:

"They must be persuaded to establish themselves there. Some land will be allotted them. They can take possession of it with the understanding that should they not be married within a year they shall lose the right to the land and will have to leave it."

Merchants, from St. Louis or elsewhere, were to be made welcome in the settlement at the mouth of the Missouri. They were to be given lots on which to establish themselves.

"They must be given to understand that within two years they must marry or else they will have to go away."

Don Antonio was an astute promoter. It occurred to him that such regulations to encourage matrimony might be thwarted by a dearth of the gentler sex. He inserted in his seventy-six rules for the colony at the mouth of the Missouri the following:

"In case people establish themselves there and cannot get married before their terms are over, because, there are no women, the government must be advised so that steps will be taken to bring to the colony orphan girls or some Florida girls from Havana where there are plenty of nice girls without means. They are white and of very good morals."

Ulloa held out the hope of almost immediate increase of population. The migration of the Acadians was to be turned to account for the proposed Spanish colonial metropolis at the mouth of the Missouri.

"From news obtained we have learned that families of Acadians are to arrive. As soon as this occurs, these families to the number of thirty or forty, will be sent to increase the population. They are law abiding people of good morals, meek and religious. At the time of their departure instructions will be given as to the way in which they shall be received. Land will be allotted them in the same manner as to other settlers."

Immediately upon the arrival of the expedition at the mouth of the Missouri the regulations required the planting of a large vegetable garden.

"Corn fields must be sown immediately, large enough for the demands of the place, as everybody must have enough to eat and hunger must not be known there. Later on wheat will be sown."

Ulloa evidently knew something of the region to which he was sending his colony with such elaborate instructions.

"At the beginning of this establishment there is much to be done. But it is a great relief to realize that just by using the gun and powder we can get enough meat to eat; that the lands are fertile and everything can be produced in abundance, the climate is so good and the soil so rich. Also it is a great consolation to know that the climate is healthy and suitable for the people. Measures have been taken so that the largest possible number of families will come in order to have the best results."

Rios came up the river with the troops and colonists of whom Ulloa expected so much. He stopped at St. Louis and then went on to the south of the Missouri. Immediately he discovered that the low, flat ground on the north side was no place for a fort. On the south side he selected a site on the rocky bluff some distance above the mouth of the river. There Rios put his force to work building Fort Chartres, the Prince. He made no effort to establish a colony. The captain spent most of his time in St. Louis. Valleau, the surgeon of the party, prepared to acquire property and to locate in St. Louis. The Spanish officers were treated courteously by Laclede and St. Ange. They were given quarters. They made no attempt to establish authority in St. Louis but contented themselves with the fort building to the extent that they deemed practicable. They seem to have concluded very soon after their arrival that Laclede had chosen the best location for a settlement and

that any attempt to overshadow it with Ulloa's proposed colony at the mouth of the Missouri would fail.

Meantime Ulloa was having his own troubles at New Orleans. Rios received orders to return, and sailed down the river.

St. Louis got into print for the first time in 1770. That year Captain Philip Pitman published in London a book on his observations along the Mississippi. He described St. Louis as he saw the settlement in 1767, when it was just three years old.

Pitman was an officer in the engineer corps of the British army. He was detailed by General Gage to visit the Mississippi Valley. The year before, 1765 Sterling and his Highlanders had reached Fort Chartres by way of the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river. The British government wanted an expert report on the territory acquired from France on the east side of the Mississippi. Gage was in command of the military forces of Great Britain in America. The middle of the next decade this same General Gage precipitated the Revolution by sending the redcoats out of Boston to seize arms at Concord, bringing on the Battle of Lexington.

Pitman was an officer in the engineer corps of the British army. He was 1766. He traveled about several months. He sent in his report to General Gage in 1767. Three years later he gave to the public a narrative of his observations and impressions. He noted the migration of the French settlers on the east side to St. Louis but he did not call Laclede's settlement by the name the founder gave it. "Paincourt" is the name by which Pitman designated St. Louis. In one place he used the proper name and that was where he incidentally explained how the settlement came by its nickname. In his description of Ste. Genevieve the army engineer said:

"The village of St. Louis is supplied with flour and other provisions from hence."

St. Louis, as Pitman found it in the early months of 1767, was described in these words:

"This village is one league and a half above Kaoquias, on the west side of the Mississippi, being the present headquarters of the French in these parts. It was first established in the year 1764 by a company of merchants, to whom Mons. d'Abbadie had given an exclusive grant for the commerce with the Indian nations on the River Missoury; and for the security and encouragement of this settlement the staff of French officers and the commissary were ordered to remove there, upon the rendering Fort Chartres to the English; and great encouragement was given to the inhabitants to remove with them, most of whom did. The company has built a large house and stores here, and there are about forty-five houses and as many families. No fort or barracks are yet built. The French garrison consists of a captain-commandant, two lieutenants, a fort major, one serjeant, one corporal and twenty men."

The judgment Laclede exercised in the location of his settlement was in strong contrast with that of the other town builders. Pitman, the English engineer officer, reported that "Cascasquias is by far the most considerable settlement in the Illinois country." That was in 1766. St. Louis was two years old. Some of the people of Kaskaskia moved to St. Louis. Others went

elsewhere. "The Paris of America," as it was called, and the first capital of Illinois crumbled and went into the river. Cahokia, Pitman described as "the first settlement in the country." In the year of the great waters, "Kaoquias" as Pitman called it, went under to a depth of several feet. Most of the habitants moved to St. Louis. Saint Phillippe was another town upon which the English engineer reported. When Pitman arrived there he found "about sixteen deserted houses and a small church still standing, all having been deserted in 1765, the inhabitants crossing over to the French side (St. Louis), leaving only the captain of the militia, who was compelled to remain, having a grist mill and a saw mill which he could not dispose of." Prairie du Rocher and Fort Chartres village were communities much older than St. Louis, both of them having churches when Pitman reported upon them. The engineer described Fort Chartres as "generally considered the most convenient and best built fort in North America." It slipped into the treacherous river some years later. Even Ste. Genevieve which looked upon St. Louis as in no sense a rival in Laclede's time failed to vindicate the reputation of its founder. There came in 1784 an unlooked for stage of water which compelled the removal of the town to higher land.

Ste. Genevieve disputed the supremacy of St. Louis. In the spring of 1765, the merchants of the older settlement ignored the exclusive privilege of Laclede. They went after the furs of the Missouri country just as they had done before St. Louis was founded. Joseph Calve started up the Missouri with a boat load of goods to trade to the Indians for furs. He was the clerk for two Ste. Genevieve traders, John Duchurut and Louis Viviat. Laclede sent a posse of his employes after Calve. The boat was seized. The goods were unloaded and stored at St. Louis. Duchurut and Viviat made complaint to the superior council at New Orleans. The council concluded that the seizure of the Ste. Genevieve boat was unjustifiable. Laclede was directed to pay to the merchants the value of the goods but no damages for the detention or loss of the trade. The case was concluded in April, 1767, just two years after the seizure. Appraisers found the value to be 6,485 livres, 8 sols. This was about $1,297.

Two of the thirty men who "came in the first boat with Chouteau" to St. Louis were millers. Their names were Joseph and Roger Taillon. Afterwards the name was spelled as pronounced and was given to Tayon avenue. The Taillons located on the little river. They built a dam across the valley about where Eighth street is. They erected a small wooden mill near what is today Cupples' Station. The plant was wholly inadequate. Laclede bought out the Taillons, obtaining a grant covering about 1,000 acres. He raised the dam and built a larger mill. All of this was done at a cost the founder could not well afford. The investment was not profitable but the people of St. Louis were in a year or two beyond the reproach of being "short of bread."

The tradition that Paincourt was a nickname of St. Louis, given in reproach, has been handed down through generations with seeming accuracy. It is not altogether consistent with the records of the old cathedral. When the first priest came to take formal charge of church interests at St. Louis he bore credentials naming him to be "cure of the parochial church of St.

Louis of the Illinois, post of Paincourt, with all rights and dependencies." There was a Paincourt in France.

Among the earliest acts of Laclede were the locations of the common fields and the commons. The founder did not wait for the first season to pass before he designated the boundaries. By the united efforts of the settlers the two tracts were fenced and were in use the second summer. The common fields were enclosed in one great tract. The fence of the east side of the common fields was about where Fourth street is now. The southern boundary was near the line of Market street. These common fields extended westward to about Jefferson avenue and northward to about Cass avenue. Within the enclosure were apportioned long, narrow lots to be tilled by the farmers of the settlement. Crops were raised in 1765.

The commons' enclosure was south and west of the settlement. This land had more forest growth than the common fields. It was well watered by springs. There the habitants kept cows and ponies in one large pasture.

Beginning with the issue to Labusciere on April 27, 1766, the St. Ange government issued the title deeds to real estate as circumstances required. That these acts were not forbidden by higher authority at New Orleans seems to have been sufficient for the government of St. Louis. The exercise of this self-constituted right to distribute land went on through the years of 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769 and 1770. In all there were granted by the St. Ange government eighty-one of these titles. They were bestowed upon actual settlers and without price. Therein they form an interesting precedent to the homestead law of the United States which came years afterwards.

In 1770 O'Reilly, who had suppressed the revolution at New Orleans, sent word to St. Louis that the issue of these titles by the St. Ange government must stop until Spanish authority could be established here. These titles issued by the St. Ange government were never disturbed, but were accepted as settling property rights both by Spain and by the United States.

"Under the condition that this land shall be improved within one year and a day," the St. Ange government put into all of the title deeds issued. And thereby the principle of the homestead was further recognized. In each case the title was conceded "upon the demand" of the would be settler. The deed located the land "upon the Spanish part of Illinois." To that extent it recognized the cession of Louisiana to Spain. The French flag, as Aubry reported, was still flying over St. Louis. During the five years of the development and continuance of the land system which Laclede and St. Ange and their associates devised the French flag continued to fly. St. Ange called himself "captain commanding for the king" and Lefebvre identified himself in these deeds as "sub-delegate of the intendant of the governor of Louisiana and justice of the peace." They conceded the land in each instance "by virtue of the power given to us by the governor and intendant of Louisiana." Ulloa, the Spanish governor, arrived in New Orleans, March 5, 1766. He sent Rios to build the forts at the mouth of the Missouri in the summer of 1768 and Rios reached St. Louis August 11, 1768. Ulloa was expelled November 1, 1768. The first deed was issued by the St. Ange government April 27, 1766. Twenty-six of the deeds were issued that year. The others were

issued during the years following, the last being dated Feb. 7, 1770. Ulloa did not interfere with St. Louis. Presumably he sanctioned the acts of the St. Ange government but the official record of such approval is wanting.

The issuing of titles by the St. Ange government went on while Rios was in St. Louis. At least one deed was issued to a member of the Rios expedition who decided that he wished to reside in St. Louis. The issuing of the deeds went on after the departure of Ulloa and Rios. It continued to the time O'Reilly gave notice to suspend.

Laclede's course during the years of confusion at New Orleans was wise. He shared the feeling of resentment of the Frenchmen of Lower Louisiana when they found the door of their mother country closed. He did not essay the impossible by armed resistance when Rios came with the first Spanish troops in 1767. He made the Spaniard his guest. He preserved an attitude that obtained for St. Louis later the mildest form of Spanish rule. But Laclede sympathized with the movement to establish an American republic. He inspired in his community a sentiment for liberty from European domination which revealed its strength within less than a decade. When George Rogers Clark came in 1778 with his little band of Virginians to take Kaskaskia he drew from Laclede's settlement many of his recruits and his resources to make the campaign against Vincennes. He found in St. Louis and in the French traders and trappers the support of his plans which his own state denied him.

"A trading post" St. Louis has been called by most of the historians. A trading post was what the syndicate of New Orleans merchants contemplated when they formed the company, and when Laclede started up the river with his "considerable armament." But when the flotilla reached Fort Chartres and the situation with respect to change of sovereignty was revealed, Laclede began the active, aggressive planning for a settlement, not a trading post. He laid out the plan of streets and blocks. He invited settlers. He verbally assigned them property the first summer of the existence of the community. Then came the organization of government as has been explained. Immediately thereafter was developed the land system, with permanent titles and property rights. This is not the history of a trading post.

The platting of a townsite, the assigning of lots to settlers on condition of improvement, the giving of written titles—these were departures from what had been the usual methods. Communities had been established but the colonial government did not grant land to the ordinary settler. Land was for the gentry. The communal system prevailed. Around the post or fort gathered the community. There were set apart common fields for cultivation. Families were given ground to cultivate, were allowed ground on which to live, but not to own as individuals. That was the custom in the country of the Illinois. If a grant was made it was to some official or colonist of high birth. The communities of Canada were formed upon much the same plan, with very few individual owners of real estate. In Louisiana, the lower part of the province, were plantations owned by colonists. St. Louis was of its own class. It began without the usual military garrison and Indian contingent. It had no land-holding aristocracy and tenantry. It was no haphazard assembling of squatters about a central point. It started with a site mapped. To every family

which came to settle was given a lot and the title was confirmed in writing. The joiner, the miller, the blacksmith, the baker were among the first to secure homes "in fee simple;" those were words of the deeds which St. Ange signed. More than one element of Americanism had its beginning in the founding, the self-government and the land system of St. Louis, before 1770. The battle of Lexington was in 1773.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANISH GOVERNORS.

The source and origin of all empires has been the refuge and kind usage which men find in the gentleness of the laws. The evil administration of them is the greatest impediment to the building of a government; for not only are those who are present and who are exposed to them exasperated, but others are prevented from coming. Hence, as our laws are extremely mild, they ought not to be obscured by ambition and self interest as has been the case with some settlements formed by the king.—Royal decree sent to the Spanish Governor. St. Louis, 1778.

With six officers and twenty soldiers, Don Pedro Piernas arrived in St. Louis in 1770. He was the first Spanish lieutenant governor. Making no demonstration of authority, he took his residence, as a guest, at Laclede's house. The government went on as before, except that no land titles were issued. The wife of Piernas was French. Laclede, it is said, spoke Spanish. Piernas made himself agreeable. He did not formally begin the discharge of the duties of his office for some weeks. The first official act of the governor found in the archives bears date of May 20, 1770. Laclede and St. Ange laid before Piernas the details of the de facto administration. Piernas accepted the forms and methods with only slight changes to conform to Spanish laws. He went even farther in his policy of conciliation. He retained in minor positions the appointees of the St. Ange government. He gave St. Ange a Spanish commission, said to have been that of captain of infantry. The old Canadian, however, declined further active service, and retired.

Piernas did one thing which, more than all of the rest, made easy the transition of government. When St. Ange and Labusciere brought to the attention of the governor the eighty-one titles to ground in St. Louis which they had issued to settlers, Piernas accepted them and announced publicly his recognition of them so far as his authority went. In short, the Spanish official took St. Louis as he found it, ratified all that the community had done during the six years previous and proceeded along the lines familiar and acceptable to the seven hundred inhabitants.

With all of his circumspection and mildness of method, Governor Piernas encountered at least one unpleasant proof of the spirit of liberty which the settlers of St. Louis had acquired in their experiment of governing themselves. Before he had been in office six months Don Pedro posted at the door of the church a notice declaring "Amable Latourneau duly attainted and convicted of seditious language and a disturber of the public peace." The governor sentenced Latourneau to "ten years' banishment from His Majesty's settlements, with still heavier punishment should he disregard this sentence and reappear."

Latourneau was a Canadian. He had come to St. Louis in 1764. Piernas, to obtain some revenue to pay the expenses of Spanish government, imposed a tax on provisions. The ordinance was posted in a public place. Latourneau saw it and spoke rebelliously. He claimed that all he said was that if the other

young men in the community were like him they "would not work for forty sous a day in peltries." The governor took evidence and concluded that the time was opportune to make an example. Latourneau moved across the river. Before the term of Piernas expired the merchants of St. Louis were getting even with Spain for what they deemed excessive duty on imports. They were receiving goods through the British country across the river instead of by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi. Perhaps it was smuggling but it was peaceful evasion of what prompted the throwing overboard of the tea in Boston harbor some time later. The offense of Latourneau was officially described in the records as "derisively commenting on an ordinance laying an excise tax on provisions." Others than Latourneau had the instinct of self government but they were politic. They made no protest against the tax in theory but found ways to defeat it in practice.

In strong contrast with his measures at New Orleans to suppress the movement for independence, was O'Reilly's policy toward St. Louis. In New Orleans the representative of Spain was "Cruel" O'Reilly. When he sent Piernas to set up Spanish authority at St. Louis he told him to cultivate friendly relations with St. Ange, the head of the de facto government. He spoke in his instructions of St. Ange as one whose practical relations with the Indians will be very useful. The lieutenant-governor was told to do whatever he could to gain the good will of St. Ange, to listen to the opinions of St. Ange, and to accept his views as far as possible without prejudice to the service.

Piernas wrote back to his chief, O'Reilly, at New Orleans, that if the settlers at St. Louis, or, as he called it in Spanish, San Luis, went on with the energy and enterprise they had thus far shown they would "make the settlement one of the most populous, extensive, well managed and respectable of all that have been established." St. Louis had not then completed the first decade of its existence.

Laclede's house was built originally with one chimney. The first St. Louis winter showed that more heat was needed. A second chimney was added. This was constructed on the outside of the north wall. An opening for the fireplace was made from the inside. At a later date more patching was applied to meet the needs of the seat of government of the growing settlement. An addition was built on the south side. This was intended for a prison when needed. At least one prisoner was confined in the jail. He was a soldier charged with homicide. What became of the case does not appear. That the prisoner regularly left the jail without escort to go to his meals and as regularly returned to confinement is recorded. In the yard of Laclede's house, after it became the property of Auguste Chouteau, was dug the first well. Until that time the river and the springs had been the sources of water supply. The river was within easy reach of all of the houses of the period.

With the coming of this first Spanish governor in 1770, Laclede's house lost none of its official significance. It was still government house. There the Spanish governor was quartered. In the high basement the Spanish soldiers on duty were stationed. The Spanish flag took the place of the French flag on the same flag staff. Successive Spanish governors occupied this house until the

TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF ST. LOUIS IN 1796

Found by George E. Leighton in Paris.

Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society

years of use and weather began to tell upon it. The time came when the governor decided that the house was no longer habitable. He moved his headquarters across the street on the south. When the estate of Laclede was settled and when the affairs of the firm of Maxent, Laclede and Company were adjusted, this house became the property of Auguste Chouteau. After the Spanish government moved out, Auguste Chouteau put the building in thorough repair adding another story. There he lived until his death in 1829. Even after the historic Laclede's house became the mansion of Auguste Chouteau, it was still the nursery of St. Louis. The mantle of the founder fell upon the shoulders of Auguste Chouteau. Although the offices of the government were moved formally over the way, questions of local policy were still settled in the old house. At Auguste Chouteau's the conferences were held. There the conclusions were reached, to be officially published from headquarters. Where the infant Fourth City was born, the cradle was rocked through forty years.

When the first Spanish governor retired from St. Louis he carried this remarkable testimonial signed by fifty French residents, heads of families:

> We, the undersigned inhabitants, merchants, tradesmen, hunters and traders of the post of St. Louis, assembled in the government chamber by direction of Governor Don Francisco Cruzat, of the Illinois, certify to all whom it may concern, that we have no subject of complaint to allege against the manner in which we were governed by his excellency, the late Governor Don Pedro Piernas; that he rendered us all the justice to which we were entitled; that neither he nor the company of soldiers he commanded in this post ever committed any excess or extortion, or were guilty of any wrong on any of the inhabitants; that said company occasioned no trouble, nor gave any scandal or bad example; that no one received any violence or bad treatment without cause; that we are not aware that he had any pecuniary agreement or understanding with any one whomsoever, on this or the other side in regard to business. It was never perceived by any one that he had injured the public by restricting trade. He never exacted anything from merchants and traders for licenses or passports necessary for their affairs, either in setting out or on their return. He never excluded any one from this trade, which he distributed alternately each year to the best of his judgment for the public interest and the number of traders. No one received any ill treatment from the Indian tribes for having been badly received by him at this post. They never heard from said Indians any complaint of him, his behavior, or of the Spanish government, and they are peaceable and contented, as well as we ourselves. In short we can only speak well of him and with respect and gratitude.

As the result of considerable research, Pierre Chouteau, the third of that name, has fixed the terms of the Spanish governors at St. Louis. It will be observed that the length of service was from two to seven years:

Piernas, from May 20, 1770 to May 19, 1775.
Cruzat, from May 20, 1775 to June 17, 1778.
De Leyba, from June 18, 1778 to June 28, 1780.
Cruzat, from September 24, 1780 to November 25, 1787.
Perez, from November 25, 1787 to July 24, 1792.
Trudeau, from July 21, 1792 to August 28, 1799.
De Lassus, from August 29, 1799 to March 9, 1804.

De Leyba died and the gap between the end of his administration and the beginning of Cruzat's second term was filled by the lieutenant, Don Silvio de Cartabona. The record shows a loss of three days between the terms of Perez

and Trudeau. The St. Louisans had long before shown a capacity for taking care of themselves; the discrepancy in the dates is considered by Mr. Chouteau "not important."

The government which Spain applied to St. Louis was mild. That is the descriptive term the historians apply. The more definite truth is the governors imposed very limited government. Spanish laws were presumably operative. In fact, few of them were in force. Those relating to land and to government organization were invoked by the governors. In business affairs, in court contracts, in the practical essentials, the people of St. Louis went on governing themselves, much as they had done under Laclede and St. Ange. The legal customs of the French colonies continued to prevail. Arbitration was common in business differences. The governor sometimes appointed the arbitrators. He conducted the arbitration. He might enforce the finding of the arbitrators. It was seldom this extremity was needed. The principle of arbitration was recognized by the community. When the decree was given, it was accepted. The governor had a few soldiers. He seldom called on them to enforce Spanish authority over the community. The military presence was looked upon rather as protection against Indian trouble. On a very few occasions in the period of Spanish government, undesirables were escorted by soldiers to the bank of the river, put in boats and sent over to Illinois. In these cases the action was taken on the complaint of the habitants of St. Louis. The governors did not initiate radical reforms or impose oppressive measures. The only shadow of despotism in the Spanish government of St. Louis was that cast by the flag floating in front of Laclede's house.

About the only regulations which the Spanish governors enforced rigidly were those which public sentiment sustained as for the common good. In the case of the banishment of Amable Latourneau, it is said that Don Pedro acted only when the officers of the St. Ange administration furnished the evidence and urged the show of authority as desirable for the good order of the community.

Habitants looked well to their reputations in early St. Louis. A strict code of respectability was enforced by public sentiment. Joseph Robidou came with his father, who was a shoemaker, from Montreal when St. Louis was about half through the first decade. Even then antecedents were scrutinized. Joseph Robidou courted Mademoiselle Becquet, the daughter of the blacksmith. The young lady was responsive. The young man went to the blacksmith and asked for the daughter. The blacksmith, young Robidou said in his complaint to the Spanish governor—"appeared pleased with the proposal and asked for three days to consider it. Your petitioner was very much surprised at the expiration of the time that Mr. Becquet should say to him he would not give his consent to the marriage because he had learned there were some in your petitioner's family who had surrendered their souls to the devil. As there were no wicked ones in the Becquet family, he would not introduce any."

The blacksmith did not go into the particulars when pressed, but Miss Becquet did. An uncle of the young lady had told her sister that he had learned Joseph Robidou had an uncle who had killed his wife. This uncle, according to the report, had also killed the man for whom he had worked.

PASCAL L. CERRE

JOSEPH ROBIDOU

FORT SAN CARLOS, OR ST. CHARLES

Fourth and Walnut Streets, Principal Spanish Fortification

Robidou became busy with the old habitants and with some recent comers from Canada. They gave him certificates that there was no blemish on the character of his family. One of those who testified was old Mr. Tabeau, a Canadian before he became a St. Louisan.

"Of what are you accused" asked Mr. Tabeau, according to the statement which Robidou filed with the governor, "There is nothing to repeat about your family. I know them and it is only through mischief that these things are said." Robidou told Mr. Tabeau that the story was "one Demer, an uncle, had killed his wife and his employer." Tabeau replied he "knew of no stain on the family of Robidou."

Robidou demanded of Becquet the authority for the statements reflecting upon him. Becquet refused to tell but Madame Becquet gave the young man two names. To Governor De Leyba went Robidou for satisfaction. Both of the men whose names had been given by Madame Becquet denied that they had said anything to the detriment of Robidou. The governor's decision was that there had been too much talk and that the case was not one which called for a penalty on anybody. He advised Robidou to obtain from Montreal certificates as to the respectability of his family. Robidou went into the business of fur trading and became wealthy. He ceased to mourn for the blacksmith's daughter. Three years after his first affair he wooed and won Catharine Rollet. When he died in 1809, he left a considerable estate and six sons who were men of affairs. Auguste Chouteau administered upon the estate, which was evidence of the excellent position Robidou had obtained in the community.

The wisdom of Solomon was in some of the decisions of the Spanish governors of St. Louis. Before De Leyba, in 1780, was brought a suit for slander. Estimable ladies living in one of the best neighborhoods of the settlement, Main and Elm streets, only a square away from the government house, within sight of Father Valentin's church, talked about one another. The talk was carried. One of the ladies complained to the governor. De Leyba called all of them before him and took their affidavits. Then he settled the case in this way:

"All attentively considered and examined, it appears that there are no grounds for a suit in this case, it being at most but the idle scandal of babbling women, which took place long since and is now revived by dissensions and broils among themselves. I throw the matter out of court as too trivial, and impose silence in the future on the subject on all implicated therein, strictly forbidding any reflection on each other that might tend to the injury of their reputations, under the utmost vigor of the law to be imposed upon the first transgressor. I condemn the two parties in the case each to one-half the costs and expenses of the suit."

De Leyba came in state to enter upon the duties of governor at St. Louis. He traveled up the river from New Orleans in a batteau with two swivel guns. He was received, as he described the arrival, "by all the habitants with extraordinary signs of rejoicing." When he had been here a short time he wrote to the governor-general at New Orleans:

"Since this district is commanded by a person chosen by your lordship, they have whatever is necessary for their progress and happiness."

De Leyba made a good record as a judge in such ordinary disputes as were brought to his attention, but in a great emergency he failed utterly. The memorial of protest and repudiation by the people of St. Louis was carried to New Orleans by the first citizen, Auguste Chouteau. Of the six Spanish governors of St. Louis, De Leyba was the only one not well remembered.

O'Hanlon, the Irish historian came to St. Louis while some who were here in 1780, "the year of the blow"—L'Anne du Coup,—were still living. He obtained from eye witnesses and from the family traditions, then fresh, the details for the most definite and graphic recital of that affair which has been written. Father O'Hanlon was for some time stationed at the cathedral about 1848. He saw the records. He sought the recollections from those best qualified to speak. And this is what he wrote:

A few days before the attack was made an old man named Quenelle, who was a resident of St. Louis, had gone over to the mouth of Cahokia creek, on a fishing excursion. While watching his lines on the south side of the creek, he heard a slight noise at the opposite side. On looking up he beheld an acquaintance, who had formerly resided in St. Louis. The man had absconded on account of some crime he had committed. His name was Ducharme. Afterwards it was ascertained that he was one of the chief leaders in the attack. The sudden and strange appearance of Ducharme, the circumstances under which he had left and the rumor of a meditated attack, induced Quenelle to refuse Ducharme's invitation to cross the creek. The wary fisherman was confirmed the more in his refusal by observing the bright eyes of several Indians glaring upon him from out of the bushes.

"Come over," Ducharme said, "I have something very particular to tell you."

"No," said Quenelle, "your request is not intended for my benefit, nor for the gratification of your friendly feelings. Though I am an old man and bald, yet I value my scalp too highly to trust myself with you and your friends."

So saying, the fisherman promptly re-embarked in his canoe. He crossed over to St. Louis, and without delay he informed the commandant of what he had seen and heard. The people became alarmed when such tidings reached them. Instead of commending, De Leyba called his informant an old dotard and ordered him to be put in prison. This strange proceeding had the effect of calming people's minds and banishing apprehension.

The 25th of May that year brought the festival of Corpus Christi. This was a day highly venerated by the inhabitants. Had the assault occurred then, in all probability it must have proved fatal to them; for after Divine worship and procession, all of the townspeople, as they had been accustomed, went to gather strawberries which grew wild on the prairies near. The town could have been taken with ease, while the unsuspecting inhabitants, who were roaming about in search of fruit, could have been massacred. Fortunately few only of the enemy had crossed the river and ambushed themselves on the prairie. The villagers frequently came so near them that, from their places of concealment, the Indians could have reached these strollers with their hands. But they knew not how many whites were still remaining in the town. On the 26th the main body crossed and marched directly toward the fields, expecting to find the greater part of the villagers there. They were disappointed, few only among the tillers having gone out to view their crops. These perceived the approach of their savage foes and immediately commenced to retreat toward the town.

One man, named Chancellor, had gone out that day before the attack to get strawberries. His wife, two daughters and an American,—the first that had ever lived in St. Louis,—accompanied him in a cart which was drawn by two horses. When they perceived the Indians, these excursionists fled towards the town. Chancellor was seated in front and driving, while the American was posted behind in order to protect the women. During

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
At Old Vincennes in 1803

DON CARLOS DE HAULT DELASSUS,
Last Spanish Governor at St. Louis

Copyright, 1897, by Pierre Chouteau

GOVERNMENT HOUSE AS REMODELED BY AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

the flight the American was mortally wounded and as he was falling out of the cart, Chancellor seized him and threw him in the midst of the women, exclaiming:

"Those Indians shall not get the scalp of my American."

At the same time, Chancellor was struck by two balls which broke his arm in as many places, above the elbow. His wife received a bullet through the middle of her hand. The elder daughter was shot through the shoulder. The younger was struck on the forehead, the ball glancing and only stunning her. This family had a most providential escape for the moment Chancellor arrived at the town gate, his horses dropped dead, having been pierced with wounds while galloping homewards, impelled by the owner's shouts and whip.

Had those who discovered their foes in the prairie fled to the lower gate, they could have escaped. The greater part of them took that road which led to the upper gate through the very midst of their enemies. About twenty persons, it was computed, met death while endeavoring to get within the entrenchments. A Mr. Belhomme had his thigh broken by a ball fired from an Indian's gun. He managed to crawl toward the great bend of a pond opposite to a mill. In the evening when the Indians had disappeared, he began to call aloud for help. Finding this unavailing, Belhomme fired his gun. He continued this until all of his ammunition was expended. The people in the town heard the report but fearing the Indians were still lurking about, they dared not obey the signal of distress. The unfortunate man was found dead a few days after, having perished through loss of blood and through hunger.

Julian Roy was pursued by an Indian who wished to take him prisoner. Finding that his enemy gained on him at every step, the creole determined to give him battle. He turned, and, taking aim, fired at the Indian's head and shattered his jawbone. The Indian fell. Roy ran up to him and tearing his shirt, bound up the wound. The Indian was grateful and guarded Roy through the ranks into St. Louis.

This rencontre greatly alarmed those who remained in the town and immediately the cry was raised, "To arms! To arms!" From every direction the townsmen rushed towards the works, and threw open the gates to save their brethren. The Indians advanced slowly but steadily towards the ramparts. Taken by surprise, and almost deprived of hope, owing to the superiority of numbers of their assailants, the courageous inhabitants determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. About fifteen men were posted at each gate. The rest were scattered along the line of defense. The Indians began an irregular fire. This was answered with grape shot from the cannon. For awhile the contest was very warm. On account of the intrenchments and deterred by the cannon, the Indians deliberately retired.

The inhabitants proceeded to gather the slain and bury their bodies that lay scattered in all parts of the prairie. Seven were at first found and buried in one grave. Ten or twelve others were discovered in the course of a fortnight in the long grass. The acts of the Indians were accompanied by their characteristic ferocity. Some of the victims were horribly mangled. In the cathedral register of St. Louis Father Bernard, the Capuchin missionary, records as a fact that on the 26th day of May, 1780, he interred in the cemetery of the parish the bodies of Charles Bizet, Amable Guion, Calve and a negro. These men were massacred by the Indians. Their corpses seem to have been the first recovered.

The conduct of the Spanish governor, De Leyba in connection with the British-Indian attack on St. Louis has been one of the subjects of controversy among historians of St. Louis. Father O'Hanlon's researches prompted him to conclusions very discreditable to the Spanish governor. He said that De Leyba did not make his appearance until the Indians had begun to retire from the attack:

Being an invalid he was rolled in a barrow to the scene of action. It is traditionally stated that immediately he ordered several pieces of cannon, which were posted in front of the government house to be spiked, and to be filled with sand. In a very peremptory tone De Leyba commanded the inhabitants to cease firing and to regain their homes.

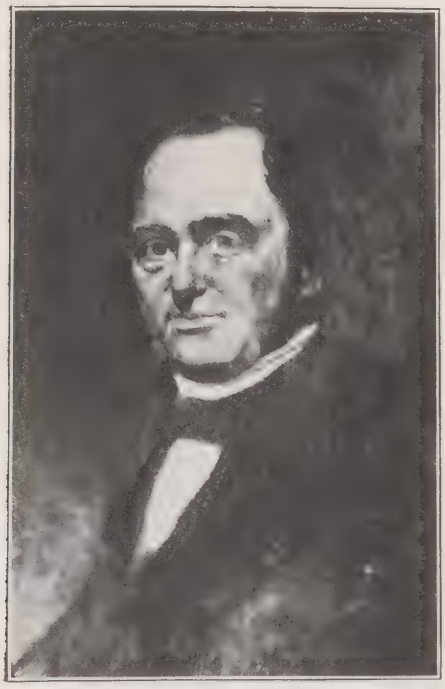
Those posted at the lower gate did not hear the order and consequently kept their stations. The commandant perceived this and ordered a cannon to be fired at them. They had barely time to throw themselves on the ground when the volley passed over them. The shot struck against the wall and tore down a portion of it. The tenor of De Leba's conduct gave rise to suspicions of treachery on the part of the governor. Under the pretext of proving that there was no danger of an attack, only a few days before it actually occurred, De Leyba sold the government ammunition to the traders. The townspeople would have been left defenseless had they not found in a private house eight barrels of powder belonging to a trader. This they seized upon the first alarm. These very singular circumstances gave rise to the strongest possible aversion for their commandant and which showed itself in execration of his base character for a long time afterwards.

The action of St. Louis upon the conduct of the Spanish governor, De Leyba, in relation to the attack of 1780, was an illustration of the independent spirit of the community. These bold settlers, after their narrow escape from destruction, did not condone the course of the governor. They sent to New Orleans, by a special representative, a full statement of the actions of De Leyba, with a detailed account of the attack and repulse. Father O'Hanlon says:

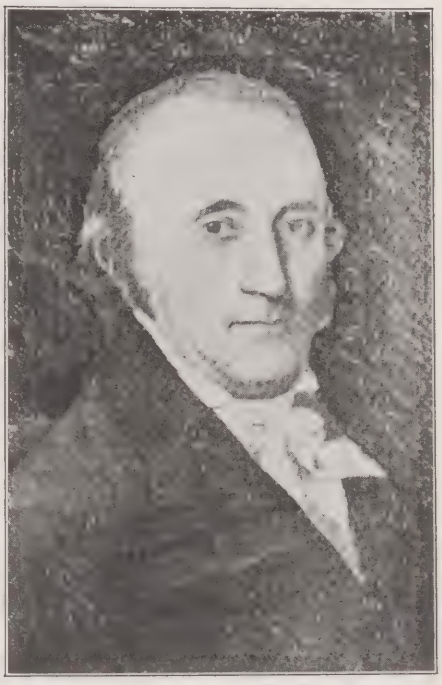
There can hardly be a doubt that De Leyba had been seduced into defection from his duty, and that it was only the unflinching heroism of the St. Louis people that saved their infant outpost from utter destruction. Their defense against this attack and that bold spirit manifested on the occasion were in keeping with the deeds of their brethren, the French, who took part in the American Revolution; while their course of action has given them the right to say, that, on the occidental shores of the Mississippi river, they were the first to battle against English oppression and English ambition.

De Leyba made his will on the 10th of June, 1780, two weeks after the battle. Father Bernard entered in the cathedral register that Don Ferdinand De Leyba having received the sacraments of our Holy Mother the church had been inhumed immediately in front of the right hand balustrade of the St. Louis Old Church on the 28th of June, 1780. But it appears from the inventory of the governor's property, made with evident care, that he died on the 28th. That he was buried on the day of his death was so unusual as to suggest suspicion. In the families which preserved the traditions, there was transmitted a rumor that De Leyba died of poison administered by himself, as the result of shame and remorse.

The feeling in St. Louis toward the governor did not end with the indignant protest sent to the governor-general at New Orleans. It was not quieted by the death of De Leyba a month after his inexplicable conduct in the battle against the British and the Indians. John B. Trudeau, the village schoolmaster, Canadian by education, wrote a song, abounding in satire directed against the Spanish commandant. The composition was called the "Chanson de l'Anne du Coup." It was set to music and was sung by the St. Louisans of two or three generations. Aside from the historical interest, this song is significant as showing the boldness with which the independent spirit of the community was manifested under Spanish authority. There was a good deal of the instinct of Americanism in St. Louis as early as 1780. The Chanson of Trudeau was the Yankee Doodle of the St. Louisans. It is tradition that a copy of the song was transmitted to the governor-general at New



MOSES AUSTIN



ANTOINE SOULARD,
From a Painting made about 1804
Courtesy of Walter B. Douglas

THE OLD FORT AND STOCKADE WHEN DELASSUS WAS GOVERNOR

Orleans to inform him as to the sentiment of the community. On the 17th of February, 1845, the St. Louis Reveille printed the song in the original French and with it an English translation in verse by J. M. Field, the editor of the Reveille and the literary authority of St. Louis in that day. Trudeau gave the song the character of a musical dialogue between the governor-general at New Orleans and the messenger who had arrived from St. Louis with news of the battle and the settlers' charges against De Leyba. The chanson was sung as late as the time of Field's translation which began as follows:

Governor:

Courier, say, what is the news
That seems thy fancies to confuse?
What! Have we lost the Illinois?
The English—do they the land enjoy?
Downhearted thus! Speak, courier, say,
What great misfortune has happened, pray?

Courier:

Oh, General, General, all is lost,
If not redeemed with speed and cost.
We've been by savages attacked—
They threaten us, still, by others backed
Ever so many, alas! were killed;
Unable to aid them, with grief we're filled.

When the enemy first appeared,
To arms we ran, no one afeared;
Townsmen, traders, grave and gay,
Bravely to battle and win the day;
But by command we were forbid
To quit the trench where our ranks were hid.

The defenses of St. Louis in 1780 were temporary. They were constructed hurriedly when the rumor came of an attack being planned by the British. Trunks of small trees were planted in the ground in a double row a few inches apart. The space between was filled in with earth. This protection was five or six feet high. It began at the river bank, near where the electric plant is, near the foot of Biddle street. It extended up the hill to about Third street and curved southward with the present court house site as the highest point, reaching the river again some distance north of Chouteau avenue. In this rampart were three gates, one well to the south, the others on the high ground so located as to give exit to and entrance from the tilled fields on the northwest and the great pasture on the southwest. At the gates were posted cannon. These were, according to tradition, some of the pieces St. Ange had brought from Fort Chartres. They were kept loaded and in good condition. It is further tradition that the men of St. Louis built this fortification in the fall of 1779 without encouragement from De Leyba and in the face of repeated assurances from him that the rumors of an attack were false.

The fortifications of St. Louis did not amount to much until long after 1780. Church records at the old cathedral show that on the 17th of April, 1780, Father Bernard blessed the first stone of the fort on the hill. That was Fort St. Charles, named in honor of the king. It stood as late as 1820 very near what is now the southwest corner of Walnut and Fourth streets, where the Southern hotel corners. "The high-fenced house of thunder" was the name the Indians bestowed upon the fort.

Plans were drawn for elaborate defenses. Auguste Chouteau, at the request of the Spanish governor, made a study of the situation with a view to

the construction of substantial fortifications. But more was done on paper than with stone and timber and earth. The fort on the hill was, after many months, completed. At what is now Olive street, was built a circular tower and about Fourth and Poplar was another, with a third stone tower between that and the river. A square stone structure not far from what is the entrance to the Eads bridge was the bastion. Another piece of work in that vicinity was the half-moon. Governor Cruzat built a palisade of posts connecting the stone towers and other structures. Cannon were placed in the towers. The wall of posts was pierced with loopholes for firing. Soldiers went on guard at the fortifications.

When General George Victor Collot visited St. Louis during the Spanish regime, he obtained a plan, showing the streets and principal houses, the existing fort and the proposed additional defenses, some of which were never constructed. The map was drawn by Adjutant Warin.

While on a visit to Paris, George E. Leighton found in a second-hand bookstore what is, probably, the most elaborate map of St. Louis, made during the period of the Spanish governors. This plan was made in 1796 by a former French officer, George de Bois St. Lys. It gave the existing topography of St. Louis quite in detail and showed the plans proposed for the more complete fortification.

Relations between the Spanish soldiers and the habitants of St. Louis were pleasant. They bore out the theory that the military force was for protection, not for enforcement of sovereignty over the people. These soldiers occupied barracks just north of where the Southern hotel stands. A long one-story stone house was built westward from Fourth street. This was divided into rooms. The soldiers cultivated gardens near the barracks. They not only mingled freely with the people of the village but went out into the fields and helped with the planting and harvesting. The relations were so agreeable that some of these soldiers married French girls and became permanent and good residents of St. Louis.

Militia service under the Spanish governors was not a perfunctory performance. Scattered in little garrisons, "the regiment of Louisiana" did not appear formidable. But the regulars from Spain were reinforced by an enrolment of "all persons able to bear arms, from the age of fourteen years to fifty." One of the orders issued by a Spanish governor at St. Louis read:

"Innovation or not, the militia will assemble every fourteen days, on Sundays. Each commandant will exercise his company in marching by file, or in sections of four or eight, according to the number of men, teach them the manual of loading and firing to enable them to execute it promptly and with regularity."

There were penalties for those who shirked military duty. The Spanish governor put into his warning the reproach as well as the threat:

All enrolled militia men who exhibit an indisposition to comply with the order, by not appearing at the place of assembling when required, thus giving an unequivocal proof of little love of country, will, for the first offense, be reprimanded by eight days imprisonment and eight dollars fine; for the second time, by double the length of imprisonment and fine; the third time it will be signified to him that he must settle up his affairs and

ST. LOUIS IN 1785 WHEN THE SETTLEMENT WAS UNDER THE SPANISH FLAG AND BORE THE NAME OF SAN LUIS DE ILINÓA

leave the country. Understand that in the oath of allegiance administered to every new comer to the country, before a concession of land is granted to him, he must obligate himself to take arms against the enemies of the state and all malefactors whenever it may be required. As there may be found some of the inhabitants who have not yet taken the oath, the commandant will administer the same to all those he may find on each Sunday of assembling.

A stringent liquor law was promulgated from St. Louis by the Spanish authorities:

At each post there shall be but a certain number of tavern and dramshop keepers that we will appoint, who shall be persons of good conduct and devoted to the government. These under no pretext, can sell or give liquor to Indians or slaves. They will give immediate notice of the least disturbance at their houses which may lead to disorder, to the commandant or nearest syndic that he may apply the most prompt remedy. All persons other than those who shall be authorized to keep tavern, or dramshop, who shall be found to have sold liquor, shall undergo for the first offense three days imprisonment and two dollars fine; for the second offense fifty dollars fine and fifteen days imprisonment; for the third relapse they shall be sent to New Orleans under safe conduct at their own cost and expense.

Every person, either keeper of tavern or dramshop, or any other who shall be found to have given or sold liquor to Indians shall be at once arrested, put in irons and sent under escort of a detachment of militia at his cost and expense to New Orleans, and his effects shall be seized and sequestered until the decision of his lordship, the governor general.

Perhaps in all other Spanish colonial history there was not administered government so far dependent on consent of the governed as that which prevailed at St. Louis. Probably if the authority had been less tolerant, if the rod had been felt, the revolt would have come. The spirit of revolution could not flame out of such go-as-you-please political conditions. The militia and liquor laws were so manifestly in the public interest that they inspired no antagonism toward the government.

The habitants of St. Louis held town meetings to consider public improvements. As business conditions changed they adopted new methods. They carried their conclusions to government house. The governor often accepted the will of the people.

The collection of debts occasionally called for an application of authority. The creditor went to the governor and reported the debtor. A notice was sent from government house. If this did not bring a settlement, the second notice directed the debtor to appear before the governor. Should this be ignored, a squad of soldiers brought in the prisoner as a debtor. This was not often necessary; it was one of the few occasions for the show of the military.

Before the end of the Spanish regime, the business men of St. Louis were asserting a degree of commercial independence which caused the political authority no little concern but even that did not lead to harsh measures. In January, 1802, Governor-General Morales, at New Orleans, wrote to Governor Delassus:

After comparing the shipments of goods from this market and the arrivals of furs with those of 1781 and 1782 and other years, we find the difference is against this capital and therefore also against royal interests, because the duties are not paid as before when

goods were shipped. I am well aware that the Indian works do not produce as much as they did earlier. I also know this is not the only reason of the decline in mercantile relations between your region and this capital. The secret importation and exportation that I am informed the Englishmen and the Americans are doing contribute largely to the present condition of affairs. Therefore it is my duty to ask you to exert all your efforts to prevent such acts. Advise me what you think it would be necessary to do. If any expenditure is indispensable, I will consider the matter and try to do what will be in my power.

The consideration shown in the enforcement of authority at St. Louis was illustrated when Delassus reported to Salcedo in March, 1803, that he had been compelled to place Manuel Lisa, the fur trader, under arrest. The governor-general referred the matter to Counselor De Guerra. The latter sustained the action of the governor at St. Louis after this manner:

"It seems to me that you can approve the action he took against Manuel Lisa and his arrest for the insulting and disrespectful expressions he used in his writings, which are the more surprising because they come out as false and without any foundation according to the declarations made by his associates, as seen in the different documents. Therefore it is necessary that the said commander advise Lisa that in future he must behave himself with respect and moderation, as he ought to. Otherwise a different course will be taken for correction and punishment."

Salcedo wrote on the counselor's finding: "As I think this is satisfactory, I transmit it to you for compliance and in answer to your communication." The papers were returned to Delassus, addressed to him as "commander of the Illinois."

Monette, in his History of the Valley of the Mississippi, tells of the habit of dress which prevailed in St. Louis in colonial days. The leggins were of coarse linen in summer and of deerskin in winter. The principal garment in cold weather for the men was:

Generally a coarse blanket capote drawn over the shirt and long vest. The capote served the double purpose of cloak and hat; for the hood, attached to the collar behind, hung upon the back and shoulders as a cape, and, when desired, it served to cover the whole head from intense cold. Most commonly in summer and especially among the boatmen, voyageurs and coureurs des bois, the head was enveloped in a blue handkerchief, turban-like, as a protection from solar heat and noxious insects. The same material of lighter quality and fancy colors, wreathed with bright-colored ribbons, and sometimes flowers, formed the fancy headdress of the females on festive occasions; at other times they also used the handkerchief in the more patriarchal style. The dress of the matrons was simple and plain; the old-fashioned short jacket and petticoat, varied to suit the diversities of taste, was the most common over dress of the women. The feet in winter were protected by Indian moccasins, or the more unwieldy clog-shoe; but in summer, and in dry weather the foot was left uncovered and free, except on festive occasions and holidays, when it was adorned with the light moccasin, gorgeously ornamented with brilliants of porcupine quills, shells, beads or lace, ingeniously wrought over the front instead of buckles, and on the side flaps.

Immigration was a living issue at St. Louis in the days of the Spanish governors. Piernas reported to the governor general at New Orleans the continued movement of settlers "from the English Illinois" to the St. Louis side of the river. Cruzat, the second governor, was given authority to encour-

THE WIFE OF GOVERNOR PEREZ

DON MANUEL PEREZ,
The Spanish Governor.
Courtesy of Walter B. Douglas

DANIEL BOONE
By Enid Yandell

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK
By Elsie Ward

age immigration to St. Louis, especially from Canada. The Spanish government set apart 40,000 pesos to be used as an immigration fund. In 1780 Shadrach Bond led from Maryland and Virginia a colony of people who settled on the east side of the river between what is now East St. Louis and Kaskaskia. This colony gave to the long, fertile tract the name of the American Bottom. Much correspondence passed between St. Louis and New Orleans upon the policy toward immigration.

When Governor Delassus was appointed to the important position at St. Louis, Gayoso, the governor general, at New Orleans in March, 1799, gave him these instructions:

"I recommend to you Messrs. Chouteau, Cerre and Soulard. Please do what ever you can for them without showing any injustice to the rest. You must consider it a policy that, this being a time of general peace, it is not advisable to form or encourage new settlements unless with Canadian people. These are really the people we want. You can try to get information as to how it will be best to bring people from Canada at the smallest expense. You must not let the public notice you have adopted this policy. You understand that in things which cause interest and excitement you have to act with a great deal of tact."

Americans, who came to settle in St. Louis and the vicinity while the Spanish flag still floated, seldom complained of the government. They looked forward to the day when St. Louis would be an American city. But they found nothing oppressive in the Spanish authority. Many gave the governor credit for showing them unexpected consideration.

Spanish authority at St. Louis, or San Luis as it was called in the official correspondence, looked forward to American occupation by force years before the secret treaty retransferred Louisiana to France and paved the way to the cession by Napoleon in 1803. As early as 1797, Governor Delassus was having correspondence marked "confidential" with Carlos Howard at New Madrid as to what should be done if the Americans undertook to seize St. Louis. On the 9th of April, 1797, Don Carlos wrote to Governor Delassus advising him as to the proper course if the attack was made:

> You have shown your prudence and care in your letter of this date, in which you mention the situation on account of the weak state of defense. We have now with only one fortification in the post of St. Louis, to wit: one simple stockade, with four cannons, thirty-five soldiers, including two artillery-men. In case anything should come up between our court and the United States, we could not do very much. I must inform you that, although there are some rumors that such a thing will happen, it is improbable. I think, however, it would be advisable to be prepared. In case you feel certain that you will be attacked by the Americans, I am of the opinion that after you throw into the river the cannons, ammunition and powder, you should try to come to me by land. You may advise me in advance so that I may be able to help your march all I can. It is probable that upon the attack of the Americans they will try to call my attention to this side so that they can catch San Luis unprotected.

The aggressiveness of Americans at St. Louis and in that vicinity was giving Spanish authority occasional shocks before the transfer of the Louisiana

provinces. In January, 1801, Ramon de Lopez y Angulo, the governor general at New Orleans, felt constrained to warn Delassus in this manner:

> Notwithstanding the advantages which may result from the working of an iron mine in your country, according to the plans presented to you by an American, David Wilcox, which you enclose to me in your communication of the 28th of November last, it will not be advisable to permit any American or foreigner to establish works in our possessions. Therefore you must decline his proposition, not giving him to understand the reason why. You will do the same with all foreigners that may come, especially when they want concessions of land and establishments in this province.

Jefferson, Livingston and Monroe are accorded the credit of the Louisiana Purchase. History tells how the one as President, the second as Minister to France, and the third as Special Envoy or Commissioner conducted the negotiations with Bonaparte and Marbois. Still another eminent American, destined to become President, bore no insignificant relationship to this greatest of peaceful transfers of territory. Yet his name is seldom mentioned in this historical connection.

When Colonel Charles De Hault Delassus, the Spanish governor, had witnessed the transfer of sovereignty to the United States at St. Louis in 1804, he carried away with him the cannon, munitions and archives. This was under the terms of the treaty of purchase. The instructions to the governor of Upper Louisiana Territory were to leave behind only such papers as related to the private affairs of individuals. These papers included deeds and concessions and the ordinary records, personal in character, of communities. It is tradition in Missouri that, when full of years, Colonel Delassus was gathered to his fathers, he left in a mahogany box a collection of papers with instructions that all be burned after his death. If the tradition is well founded, the injunction was not kept. The contents of the mahogany box were not destroyed. Some of them are of rare historic interest and value, but until recently have not been available for public information.

The first information that Louisiana Territory had passed to the possession of the United States reached St. Louis through American channels. It was communicated to Delassus by William Henry Harrison, then governor of Northwest Territory, with headquarters at "Old Vincennes."

The order which bade him remove and return to Spanish dominion the archives of Upper Louisiana Territory was not construed by Governor Delassus to include correspondence with Governor Harrison, covering several years. These Harrison letters were preserved by the Spanish Governor of French name and descent. They were transmitted to his heirs. They shed light of no little importance upon the period of the Louisiana Purchase.

William Henry Harrison's place in American History is that of a soldier, rather than that of a statesman. He was elected to the Presidency on his war record and died before he had opportunity to impress upon the country his qualities as chief magistrate. There was, however, a diplomatic and statesman-like side to the character of "Old Tippecanoe." The letters reveal it. They show that at one of the crises in the life of the American Nation this man was performing a diplomatic part with no ordinary shrewdness. President Jefferson was confronted with a condition, along the Mississippi, of the gravest concern.

The action of the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans in placing burdensome restrictions upon the river commerce had brought almost open rupture between the American population east and the Spanish authority west of the Mississippi. Jefferson had Livingston at Paris conducting negotiations with the First Consul through Talleyrand and Marbois. He sent Monroe as a special commissioner to assist Livingston. Spain had secretly transferred Louisiana Territory by the treaty of Ildefonso back to France. France was about to take possession. As between Great Britain and France the government at Washington hardly knew where American interests lay. While these negotiations were in progress, Jefferson through William Henry Harrison at Vincennes, was keeping in close touch with affairs in Upper Louisiana Territory; General Harrison was in frequent correspondence with Governor Delassus. The letters he wrote speak for themselves. They show that by way of Vincennes and St. Louis the American government was establishing that relationship with Upper Louisiana which would have been of the greatest significance and importance had the diplomatic negotiations at Paris failed. The histories of that period dwell upon the events at Washington and Paris. They tell nothing of what was transpiring at Vincennes and St. Louis.

A few years ago President Benjamin Harrison learned of the existence of these letters, written by his grandfather in 1803 and 1804. Recognizing their important bearing upon American history, he endeavored to find some trace of the correspondence which passed, as these letters show, between Governor Delassus and William Henry Harrison. He had investigaton made among the archives at Washington, but could not find the correspondence. It is a fair supposition that William Henry Harrison regarded this correspondence of such personal and confidential character as not to warrant the incorporation of it in the public official files.

Yellowed by the century which has passed, worn and ragged with handling, but bold and distinct in unfading ink, the original letters from Harrison to Delassus are preserved. They passed into the possession of the late A. J. Tullock of Leavenworth, Kansas, who made a collection of books and manuscripts relating to the history of Louisiana and its acquisition by the United States. From Mr. Tullock, copies were obtained for publication.

Vincennes, March 6, 1803.

My Dear Sir:—

I had the pleasure to receive a few days ago from the hands of Colo. Dumoulin your favor of the 22nd ultimo. I should have written to you before the receipt of that letter but I waited to hear of your return from New Madrid.

The cession of Louisiana to France is confirmed beyond all doubt and nothing but the great misfortunes which have befallen the armament of that power which was sent to St. Domingo and the reduced state of Beunaparte's finances have prevented its being taken possession of before this. More of the circumstances attending the cession are still secret but it is believed, and I think truly, that the Ministry of Spain were much deceived and imposed upon by Beunaparte. It is very evident that the Prince of Peace knew nothing of the transaction. After the treaty was actually signed he was heard to tell Lucien Beunaparte that Spain would never give up Louisiana and that France had nothing to offer which would prove an equivalent for that province.

You have no doubt heard of the port of New Orleans having been shut by the intendant of that place to American vessels—this circumstance has occasioned much agita-

tion amongst the citizens of the United States—but I have great satisfaction in apprising you that it is believed to have been wholly unauthorized by the court of Spain. The measure appears to have proceeded from the *Cabinet of St. Clouds.*

The Cabinet of St. Clouds? you will say. Yes my friend, it is from this chateau of the former royal family of France that the Corsican Beunaparte gives law to an empire. Happy will it be for the world if his ambition is at length satisfied. But there is reason to believe that this native of a small island will not be contented until he has reduced a continent at least, perhaps the whole civilized world, to his dominion.

Our government has sent to Madrid Mr. Monroe (formerly our minister in Paris) as envoy extraordinary to represent the conduct of the intendant of New Orleans. He sailed about the first of the last month. Having accomplished his business in Spain he is then to proceed to France. And I think it is not improbable that the strong remonstrances of the United States backed by those of Great Britain, may prevail upon Beunaparte to give up his designs upon Louisiana and suffer it to be retained by Spain.

If your most respectable father should determine to move to this Government be perfectly assured my dear sir that every exertion on my part shall be made to sooth the evening of his life and make it as comfortable as possible.

I have just received information of my having been continued in the government of this territory for the three years succeeding the 13th of May next.

The bear chose to take up her winter quarters at Kaskaskias, but I expect her soon to arrive together with the other curiosities which you so profusely heaped upon me.

I go to Detroit in about ten days. When I return I will have the pleasure again to write to you.

Present me in the most respectful manner to Madam and Mr. Delassus and believe me to be, truly your friend.

(Signed) William Henry Harrison.

P. S.

I shall certainly attend to your request relative to the Creek Indians.

The Honbl.
Colo. Delassus,
etc., etc.

Delassus was a Frenchman in the service of the King of Spain. The government of his adoption had just transferred by secret treaty to the government of his nativity the great province of the upper part of which he was the official head.

In the light of such conditions the freedom with which General Harrison wrote is the more remarkable. It reveals how close and confidential must have been the relationship between these neighboring representatives of the governments at Washington and Madrid. General Harrison condemned Bonaparte, or Beunaparte as he wrote it, unsparingly. Undoubtedly he had learned from previous intercourse the real sentiments of Delassus. It is probably also true that he reflected the feeling of the Jefferson administration toward the First Consul. Accepting as "confirmed beyond all doubt" the cession of Louisiana to France, General Harrison forecasted what he believed to be the policy of this government to make common cause with Great Britain upon France to undo the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, and to prevail upon Bonaparte to permit Louisiana to be retained by Spain.

The action of the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans in shutting the port to American vessels was the chief cause of irritation on the American side, and the immediate provocation for President Jefferson sending James Monroe abroad as a special envoy. Yet General Harrison, in this letter to Delassus

Vincennes March 6th 1803

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The cession of Louisiana to France is confirmed beyond all doubt & nothing but the great misfortune which have befallen the armament of that power which was sent to St Domingo & the reduced state of Bonaparte's finances have prevented its being taken possession of before this Most of the circumstances attending the cession are still secret

but

but it is believd & I think truly, that the Ministry of Spain were much deceivd and imposed upon by Bunoparte - It is very evident that the Prince of Peace knew nothing of the transaction. After the treaty was actually signed he was heard to tell Lo uccen Bunaparte that Spain never would give up Louisiana & that France had nothing to offer which would prove an equivolent for that province

You have no doubt heard of the part of New Orleans having been sent by the Intendant of that place to American Vessels - this circumstance has occasiond much agitation amongst the Citizens of the United States - but I have great satisfaction in assuring you that it is believed to have been wholy unauthorised ~~by~~ by the Court of Spain - The measure appears to have proceeded from the Cabinet of St Clouds - "The Cabinet of St Clouds you will say?" Yes my friend - it is from this Chateau of the dominia Royal family of France that the Corsican Bunaparte gives law to an empire

Hop

Happy will it be for the world if his inordinate ambition is at length satisfied
But there is reason to believe that this Nature of a Small Island will not be contented with he has reduced a Continent at least perhaps the whole Civilized World to his dominion

Our Government has sent to Madrid Mr Monroe formerly our Minister in Paris) Co envoy extraordinary to represent the Coincidents of the Intendance of New Orleans — He sailed about the 1st of the last Month having accomplished his business in Spain he is then to proceed to France — and I think it not improbable that the strong remonstrances of the United States backed by those of Great Britain may prevail upon Buonoparte to give up his designs upon Louisiana & suffer it to be claimed by Spain

If your Most respectable father should determine to remain to his Government be perfectly assured My dear Sir that every exertion on my part shall be made to soothe the evening of his life & make it as Comfortable as possible

I have just received information

of my having been Continued in the Government of this Territory for the three years succeeding the 13th of May next -

The Cause Choose to take up his winter quarters at Rock Island has Deprived her most to answer together with the other Commodity which you so profusely heaped upon her -

I go to Detroit in about ten Days - when I return I will have the pleasure again to write to you

Present me in the most Respectful manner to Madam & Mr. De Lonfere

& believe me to be truly your

friend

Will.m Henry Harrison

P. S I shall certainly attend to your request relative to the Creek Indians

The Hon.ble

Col.o De Lafosse &c &c

acquitted the Spanish government of responsibility for this hostile act, and charged it upon the "Corsican Beunaparte."

The letter is a revelation of official sentiment and policy at Washington just preceding the Louisiana Purchase. It gives light from a new source upon diplomatic negotiations which have been the subject of controversy.

The treaty transferring the Louisiana Territory to the United States was signed at Paris, April 30th, 1803. By reference to the letter it will be seen that General Harrison wrote in the month preceding.

The personal suggestion of American residence for "your most respectable father" is not the least interesting feature of the correspondence, made as it was when international relations respecting the Louisiana Territory were approaching a crisis. It is impossible to believe that the American governor of Northwest Territory did not have the full concurrence of his government in the approaches he was making to the Spanish governor of Upper Louisiana.

The last months of the Spanish regime at St. Louis were made uncomfortable by some Americans from Connecticut, the Austins. Moses Austin had obtained from the Spanish a grant to mine at what is now Potosi. He was showing the pioneers how to make sheet lead by crude smelting of ore on flat rocks. About the end of January, 1804, Don Antonio Soulard commissioned Thomas Madden to measure a tract of land in the locality where Austin had located. The tract to be measured, Governor Delassus said in an official communication to Marquis de Casa Calvo had been granted to an inhabitant named Pascual Deschamandy. When the surveyor began his measurements "the inhabitants of the mine presented themselves well armed on a vacant lot of the royal dominion and opposed the functions of Madden. After they had mistreated Deschamandy and Madden they used very harmful phrases against the Spanish government, halloing 'Viva Gifferson!' As soon as I was informed I began getting ready to act against the guilty parties, but I have just received your orders to surrender Upper Louisiana and of course this order has compelled me to abandon the punishment of these people."

A few months later, as he floated down the river, taking the flag of Spain with him and gathering the munitions at various posts, the sorely tried, old Governor Delassus encountered more of this spirit of American aggression. When he reached Ste. Genevieve, Governor Delassus was told that two small pieces of artillery were in the possession of Austin at the lead mine, having been loaned to him when he was in favor with Spanish authority on the plea that he needed them for protection against the Indians. All that Francisco Valle at Ste. Genevieve could show for the artillery was the receipt of Austin, and with this Governor Delassus was compelled to be content, but he embalmed in his diary of the trip an expression of his sentiments about the American, Austin.

"It must be understood that the said Austin is generally busy; he was the principal one in the riot of the inhabitants of that mine when they opposed the work of the surveyor, as I informed the Marquis de Casa Calvo. And yet he has been favored by the Spanish government, having been given a large portion of land. It seems that his ungratefulness toward Spain has not de-

prived him of any merits with the republican government of the United States as he has been appointed the first judge by Mr. William Henry Harrison."

Moses Austin was to be heard from later in the winning of the southwest. He was one of the first Americans to obtain a grant in what is now Texas, on which to settle a colony. He died before he could carry out his plans, but his son, Stephen Fuller Austin, took up the duty of destiny and headed the colony. His activity in promoting united action among the American pioneers in Texas got him into prison on a charge of treason against Mexico. But he persisted with the same aggressiveness that made his father a thorn to Spanish authority at St. Louis. When Texas became a state of the American Union Stephen Fuller Austin, who was a boy of twelve when his father at Mine-a-Breton led the hallooing "Viva Gifferson!" was enrolled among the patriots and honored with the name of the capital of the Lone Star State.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN ST. LOUIS WAS A TOWN.

Since the first organization of this government, we have exhibited to the American people a spectacle novel and peculiar—an American republic on the confines of the Federal Union, exercising all the powers of sovereign government, with no actual political connection with the United States and nothing to bind us to them but a reverence for the same principles and an habitual attachment to them and their government.—Governor McNair's First Message.

History which describes the St. Louis of 1804 as a little settlement of French traders, trappers and boatmen is not accurate as to numbers or character. It does not tell the whole truth. Between the hill and the river the population which the American captain found, when he came to raise the flag in March, 1804, was about 1,000. But north to the Missouri and south to the Meramec and west to Creve Coeur and beyond were land-hungry Americans who had been coming for a decade. They were St. Louisans. They were to be considered.

When the last of the Spanish governors, Delassus, took the census, in 1799, he reported 681 white people, fifty free mulattoes, six free negroes, and 268 slaves in the settlement of St. Louis. But, beyond the palisades and the stone towers, within what are now the city limits and St. Louis county, were living 1203 white settlers, nearly twice the white population of the settlement under the hill; many of them were Americans. From that year, for three decades, the population outside increased more rapidly than did the population inside of the confined settlement along the river bank.

Captain Stoddard asked Governor Delassus for a list of the officials under him. He discovered that the syndics of the rural districts about St. Louis were, in several places, neither French nor Spanish but American. As he proceeded with his inquiries, the captain was somewhat surprised at the number of Americans he found residing in the vicinity of St. Louis. He estimated and reported that at least three-fifths of the country population was American and that in the settlement of St. Louis four-fifths was French and Canadian.

The people living beyond Barn street, which is now Third street, were St. Louisans in their political, business, social, and religious relations. They participated in the making of St. Louis. They were influential in the development of St. Louis—settlement, town and city. From the Atlantic states, from Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, from Germany, England and Ireland came, in advance of the flag, these pioneers. In the village of Carondelet were between forty and fifty families, chiefly Canadians. St. Ferdinand, which is now Florissant, was a considerable community of such promise that it was mentioned as a rival of St. Louis for the location of the seat of justice not long after the American flag was raised. John Mullanphy, first millionaire of St. Louis, in good faith proposed to pay the cost of the erection of a suitable

court house if the removal was made from St. Louis to St. Ferdinand. The mere suggestion was a revelation of the importance of suburban St. Louis at that time. In the northwestern part of what is now St. Louis county was a community called St. Andrews, which, tradition has it, was once larger than St. Louis. It was an agricultural community of Americans who had come from the states to St. Louis and had been given lands by the Spanish governors. The Missouri river encroached upon St. Andrews. Many of the people who first settled there moved to St. Louis after the American flag was raised. They established themselves in business and in the professions here.

Eminently wise was the American policy in St. Louis. Make little if any change in the forms of government, President Jefferson instructed his American captain. Stoddard was level headed. He remained in St. Louis as acting governor from the 10th of March to the 30th of September of that first year. The weeks and the months of American occupation slipped by without trouble. Stoddard studied the people. A New Englander he was, tactful and observant. About the habitants he formed some impressions which he wrote out in the form of "Notes," for the information of the people of the United States:

> They mostly limit their desires to vegetables, soups and coffee. They are great smokers of tobacco, and no doubt this gives a yellow tinge to their skins. Ardent spirits are seldom used except by the most laborious classes of society. They even dislike white wines because they possess too much spirit. Clarets and other light red wines are common among them; and those who can afford it are not sparing of this beverage. Great economy is displayed in their family meals. This is not the effect of a parsimonious disposition, nor always of the want of adequate means. It results from a conviction of what their constitutions require. They readily sacrifice what may be termed luxury for the preservation of health, and it is seldom they contract diseases from intemperate excesses. Naturally volatile in their dispositions, they sometimes precipitate themselves from one extreme to another. Hence it is that in making entertainment for their friends, especially for strangers of distinction, they study to render them sumptuous. Their tables are covered with a great variety of dishes; almost every sort of food, dressed in all manner of ways, is exhibited in profusion. The master of the house out of respect for his guests, frequently waits on them himself. On such occasions no trouble or expense is spared in procuring the best wines and other liquors the country affords. Their desserts are no less plentiful and there is no want of delicacy in their quality or variety. Many of these entertainments cost from $250 to $400.

The American captain did not find St. Louis the "land of steady habits" he had known in his youth. He did, however, discover in the habitants a distinctive character which in his judgment was admirable:

> Perhaps the levities displayed and the amusements pursued on Sunday may be considered by some to border on licentiousness. They attend mass in the morning with great devotion, but after the exercises of the church are over they usually collect in parties and pass away their time in social and merry intercourse. They play at billiards and other games, and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted. To those educated in regular and pious protestant habits such parties and amusements appear unseasonable, strange and odious, if not prophetic of some signal curse on the workers of iniquity. It must, however, be confessed that the French people, in these days, avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum. They are of opinion that there is true and undefiled religion in their amusements, much more, indeed, than they can see in certain night conferences and obscure meetings in various

parts among the tombs. When questioned relative to their gaiety on Sundays, they will answer that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of opinion that a sullen countenance, attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior are more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they say they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sunday will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the remainder of the week. Such are the religious sentiments of a people void of superstition; of a people prone to hospitality, urbanity of manners and innocent recreation, and who present their daily orisons at the throne of Grace with as much confidence of success as the most devout Puritan in Christendom.

The American captain and the new Americans of St. Louis and vicinity were not long in arriving at mutual respect. Representatives of the several districts of Louisiana met in St. Louis to prepare statements to Congress. When they adjourned in September, 1804, they expressed to Captain Stoddard "their unfeigned acknowledgments for your judicious attentive and exemplary dispensation of justice within this Territory during your administration, and the readiness which you have always shown to contribute to the public good." The address which was signed by Charles Gratiot, president, and P. Provenchere, secretary, concluded quaintly: "May Louisiana ever feel the same Regret in parting from its chief Magistrate—and may genuine Philanthropy, solid Parts unblemished Disinterestedness continue to characterize the Governors of Louisiana."

Assimilation wrought its perfect work in the extension of American authority over the Louisiana Territory. By the stroke of a pen the area of the United States was doubled. By the exercise of a wise policy the allegiance of the people was transferred without the firing of a gun, excepting the salutes of the flags. Many of these newly made Americans west of the Mississippi were of alien descent and of different tongues. Furthermore, many events of the decade preceding the purchase had been such as might be expected to provoke and intensify a spirit of hostility. The sentiment of the settlers east of the Mississippi had been more than once dangerously near actual violence against the Spanish rule west. Not long before negotiations culminated in the treaty of acquisition, a United States senator had been exposed in intrigue to incite war by the Indian Tribes of Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi against the Spanish garrisons and people on the Louisiana Territory side. So flagrant were the facts in the case that the Senator had been compelled to resign to escape impeachment. On the floor of Congress speeches were made foreshadowing open conflict along the Father of Waters if some settlement of international relations was not reached speedily. It was a period of unrest and of resort to arms the world over. Bonaparte sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States by a treaty of April 30, 1803. Less than three weeks later, on the 16th of May, war was declared by Great Britain against France. Russia put a squadron into commission. Other nations made preparations to take part in a world-wide contest for territory and power. Nevertheless, the United States proceeded to extend its authority over the new acquisition from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains without the massing of men, or the show of force. Notably prompt and gratifying was the acknowledgment of

the new allegiance made by the people of Upper Louisiana, of which St. Louis was the capital.

How was the assimiliation accomplished? The letters of William Henry Harrison, recently obtained for publication, illuminate the policy. From Vincennes the governor of the Northwest Territory worked out the problem with the Governor of Upper Louisiana, Charles De Hault Delassus.

News traveled slowly in those days. Although the treaty was signed in Paris on the 30th of April, 1803, the first information of it reached St. Louis through a letter sent by Governor Harrison to Governor Delassus, dated the 2nd of August at Vincennes. The treaty was not ratified at Washington until the 19th of October. Governor Harrison conveyed the intelligence to Governor Delassus in the following letter:

Vincennes, 12th Novr., 1803.,

My Dear Sir:—

Since the beginning of September I have been so severely afflicted with an inflammation in the eyes as to be entirely unable to answer the several kind letters which you have written me.

I believe that my trip to your country will be postponed for some time. I have been waiting for final orders which I have not yet received, but it is not impossible that I may receive orders this very day to go on immediately. Enclosed herewith you will receive the message of the President to Congress in which he communicates the purchase of Louisiana to that body. The treaty is now before the Senate whose constitutional power it is to advise the President to ratify it or not. That it will be ratified there is little doubt but I cannot say when possession will be taken.

There is nothing new from Europe but the probability of a revolt in France—everything seems to prognosticate it, and should it be successful the restoration of Monarchy is thought to be inevitable. Bonaparte, however, still threatens England with an invasion, and the English are straining every nerve to be in readiness to receive them. It is said of late, however, that the First Consul will not command in person because it is supposed that his embarcation will be the signal for the malcontents to rise. Spain has not yet, that we know of, taken part in the war; it is even said that the wishes of the Court are strongly in favor of England. The northern powers (Russia particularly) are very much offended at the operations of the French in Hanover. A strong squadron of Russian ships of war have been put in commission and were daily expected in one of the French Ports. What their ultimate destination may be is not known but it cannot be unfavorable to England as they are to use the ports of that kingdom to refit.

5 o'clock P. M.

The mail has just arrived and has brought us the intelligence of the Treaty with France having been ratified by the President and Senate of the United States. Enclosed herewith you will receive a copy of the Treaty and Conventions.

Some public business demanding my attention, I conclude with requesting you to present me in the most respectful terms to Madam and Mr. Delassus and believe me

Sincerely yr. friend

(Signed) Will'm Henry Harrison.

The Honble
Charles DeHault Delassus
Lt. Governor of Upper Louisiana.

The action of the Senate on October 19 reached Vincennes, it will be observed, on the 12th day of November. The Government at Washington proceeded deliberately in the matter. Not until the 20th of December, 1803, was the authority transferred at New Orleans. Nearly three months more elapsed

CHOUTEAU'S POND

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TYPES OF RESIDENCES WHEN ST. LOUIS WAS A TOWN

before the American officer, Captain Stoddard appeared at St. Louis and on March 10, 1804, formally raised the American flag.

In the meantime, Governor William Henry Harrison, acting for the administration at Washington, as may be read between the lines, was at work on the plans to make the acceptance of American citizenship easy and profitable to the people of the territory. He had written to Delassus when the first information of the signing of the treaty reached Vincennes:

"I do not know what the United States will do with Upper Louisiana, but think it probable that it will be annexed. Should this be the case, it may give me the opportunity of serving some of your friends. If this opportunity does offer, be assured, my dear sir, that it shall not be neglected."

As the assimilation policy of the administration at Washington developed, Governor Harrison went much farther in his overtures calculated to carry that policy into effect. He extended the assurance that no radical changes were to be made at once in the laws. He informed Governor Delassus that the districts were to remain geographically as constituted, and that commandants were to receive the pay and emoluments of colonels in the American Army. He even suggested the probability that one of these very important commissions might be bestowed upon the father of the Spanish governor. On the 25th of February, 1804, about three weeks before the transfer at St. Louis, Governor Harrison sent this letter to Governor Delassus.

Vincennes, 25th February, 1804.

My Dear Sir:—

I have delayed writing to you for some time under the expectation of being able to inform you of the final arrangement of our Government relative to Louisiana. I am however disappointed, for as yet I have seen only the draft of a law on the subject which has not yet been adopted, but I believe that or something very like it will ultimately pass. For Upper Louisiana a governor is to be appointed who is to be vested with all the powers of the late governor-gen'l., and the laws now in force are to prevail. The commandants, however, of the several districts are to be appointed by the President, their duties to be as heretofore, their compensation the pay and emoluments of a Colonel in our service, which is 75 dollars per month, twelve rations per diem and forage to the amount of $12 per month, making altogether a sum not less than $2,000 per annum. If your venerable father should determine to remain where he is, assure him, my friend, that every exertion in my power will be made to procure for him one of these appointments. I am not by any means sure that I shall succeed, but my friends have some influence. I mean to write myself immediately to the President on the subject, and I have some reason to believe that he will respect my recommendation.

I would like to know as soon as possible when you propose to take your departure, and if you go to New Orleans or embark at Philadelphia for Spain—in the latter case I would have the pleasure of seeing you here.

I am My Dear Sir Yours Most Sincerely.
(Signed) Will'm Henry Harrison.

The Hon'ble
Charles DeHault Delassus
Colonel in the Service of His Catholic Majesty etc., etc.
St. Louis.

Even after the formal transfer of sovereignty, when his authority was no more, Governor Delassus was sought and cultivated for the moral effect of

his influence. In May, two months after the stars and stripes had been raised at St. Louis, Governor Harrison addressed Delassus as "My Dear Friend," and bespoke his good will and action in the arrangement of details as follows:

Vincennes, 6th May, 1804.

My Dear Friend:—

Since I wrote to you last I have received a letter from you, for which I thank you. The law for the Government of Louisiana has at length been published. The upper part of that province, viz. from the 33 degree of latitude, is placed under my government, but as a separate territory, entirely distinct from Indiana.

By the above mentioned law it becomes my duty to lay out the Province in Suitable Districts and form the Inhabitants of each into a Militia, but as I am entirely unacquainted with the strength and situation of the several settlements I must request your friendly aid in the affair and will thank you to give me as soon as possible a list of the several settlements, their distance from each other, their strength of population, white and black, together with any other facts you may think proper to mention. Each of the above mentioned districts is to have an officer of Militia, who is, besides his commission in the Militia, to have brevet rank from the United States and is to command under the Governor the Regular troops as well as Militia in his District. He is to be under the same pay with an officer of the same rank in the Regular Army. It will be my endeavor to procure for your Respected father one of these appointments.

I am sorry to be under the necessity of troubling you for the information asked for above but I know of no person who possesses so much knowledge on that subject as yourself and as the information is necessary to me I am sure you will give it with cheerfulness. My powers do not extend to Louisiana until the 1st of October but it is necessary that every arrangement should be previously made particularly as I have to communicate with the President on the subject of the Districts.

If I was not very much pressed with business at this moment I would answer by the present conveyance a letter which I received some days ago from your venerable father. I will however soon write to him. In the meantime present me Respectfully both to him and Madam your Mother.

I shall not fail to pay all the attention in my power to the gentlemen you were so good as to mention to me.

As soon as you know your destination let me hear from you. If it is to be Madrid I wish you to take a letter to an intimate friend who is Secretary to the American Ambassador there and will by the time you reach it probably be our Charge d' affaires.

God bless and prosper you.

Your friend

(Signed) Will'm Henry Harrison.

Col'o Delassus

I recommend the bearer hereof Judge Jones to your notice.

Charles DeHault Delassus, Esq.

Colonel in the service of His Catholic Majesty.

St. Louis.

Thus was paved the way to peaceful acquisition of St. Louis and of all Upper Louisiana by the United States. The result was a transfer of territory and of citizenship which could hardly have taken place more smoothly if it had been annexation sought by the people rather than involuntary sale to serve the ends of a European Government.

When congress met it authorized the governor and the judge of Indiana Territory, which extended to the Mississippi, to put into form some laws for the District of Louisiana, as it was called. William Henry Harrison was the

new governor of Louisiana. He had been looking forward to this work. He came over to St. Louis for a close view of conditions.

A court of quarter sessions was established for St. Louis. The District of Louisiana was divided into five sub-districts—St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. Each sub-district had a sheriff.

One of the earliest acts of the court was the fining of James Rankin, sheriff, $6.33 "for insolence and contempt of court."

St. Louis, as seen from the Illinois side in 1807, was inspiring. So it seemed to a lady traveler. With artistic vision and facile pen the impression was preserved. It appeared in the "Literary Gazette" of Cincinnati. The name of the writer does not accompany the article. Influx of "the Bostons," as the old French habitants called the newcomers, had begun. It is surmised that the contributor to this pioneer periodical was the wife or daughter of some American who was staking his fortune on the future of St. Louis:

The traveler that pauses upon the eastern bank of the river immediately directs his eye to the opposite side of the river. He there contemplates a bold and rocky eminence, where the primeval materials of nature's strength seem piled in rude and disordered magnificence. The ascent is steep and difficult, and has the aspect at a distance of threatening to exclude you from the town, which it beautifully elevates to a considerable height above the water, at the same time proving an impenetrable rampart to ward off the encroachments of the river. You would almost believe the houses were united and that the roofs upheld and supported one another, so gradually and so beautifully has nature bent her brow for the reception of this village. From the opposite shore it has a majestic appearance, which it borrows from its elevated site and from a range of Spanish towers that crown the summit of the hill and lend their Gothic rudeness to complete a picture which scarcely has a parallel. The principal houses of St. Louis are surrounded by massive walls of stone to serve as defense in time of danger, the port holes with which they are pierced testifying that they were constructed as fortifications to repel the bold and sanguinary savage. Within these rough enclosures are planted trees of various descriptions, which, like infancy smiling in the arms of age, serve to decorate the otherwise sombre aspect of the town.

St. Louis became a town under act of the territorial legislature which "authorized the people of any village in the territory on petition of two-thirds of their taxable inhabitants to be incorporated into a town on application to the proper court." This act became effective on the 18th of June, 1808. Residents of St. Louis lost no time in moving to incorporate. They circulated a petition in this form:

To the Honorable Court of Common Pleas for the District of St. Louis:

By virtue of a law passed by the legislators, which authorizes the inhabitants of the towns and villages of this Territory to incorporate themselves if two-thirds of them should agree to the same, the undersigned citizens of the circuit of St. Louis, forming at least the number required by the said law, and wishing to establish an incorporation, beg of you to put the said law in force, in order that they may procure themselves the good order and a durable police in the inward parts of the circuit of their town and common, according to the plan that has been made of the said common, and following as much as possible the enclosure that served to separate the lands of the inhabitants and those of the common.

The undersigned reposing themselves in your wisdom have the honor to remain,

Gentlemen, your most devoted servants.

St. Louis, the 5th of July.

Then followed the signatures of eighty residents of St. Louis. Below

the names was the statement that eighteen were absent from home and that three refused to sign. At the bottom was written:

"The subscribers hereby certify that we were present when all of the above names were signed. Witness whereof we have set our hands and seals this 7th day of July, 1808." The witnesses were P. Lee and L. A. Beavis.

The original of this petition for town incorporation of St. Louis is in the hall of the Missouri Historical Society. It was written in French and in English, the two side by side. The signatures of the French were written underneath the petition in that language.

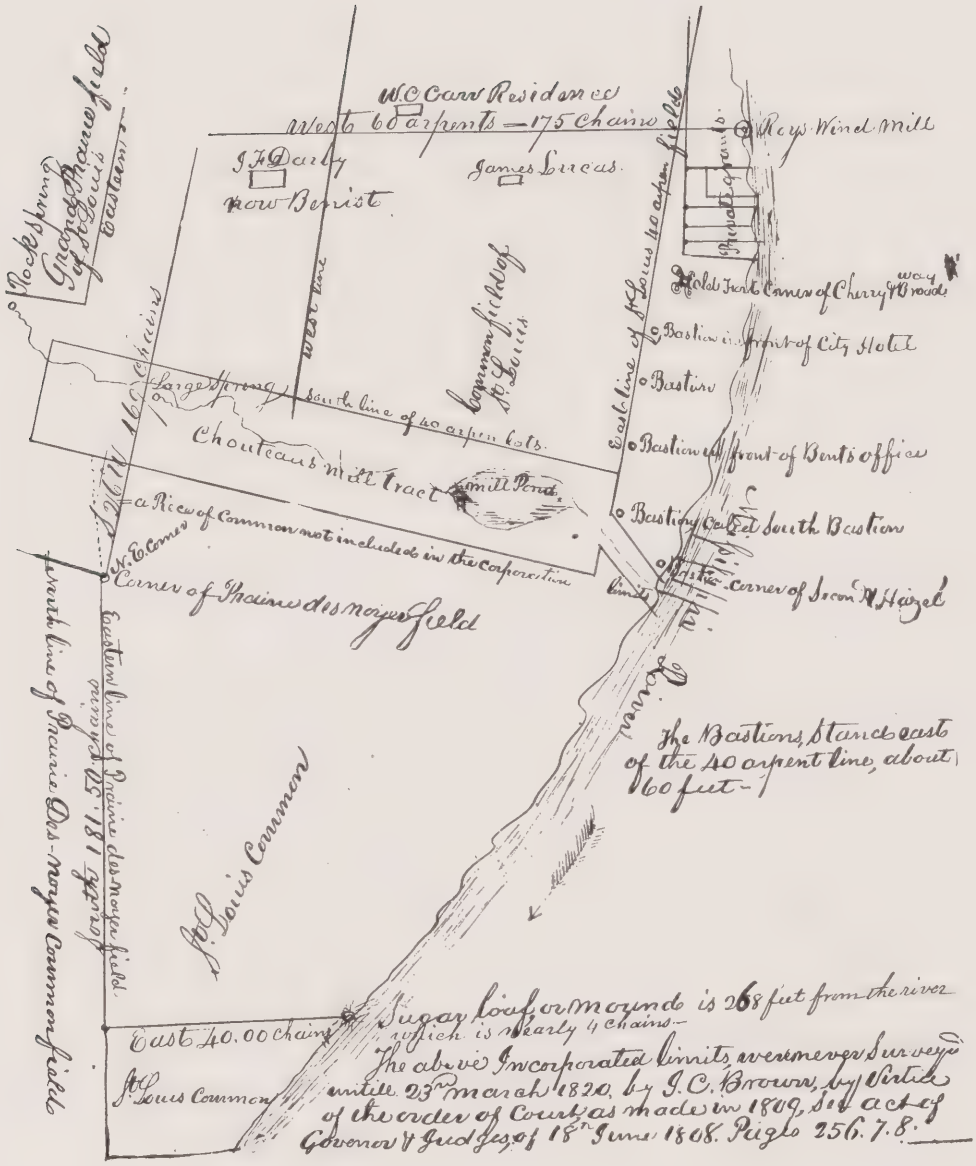
On the 23rd of July, 1808, the first election in St. Louis for any purpose was held at the court house. The people assembled in response to a call to organize the town. They elected five trustees to set up the new government. These trustees were Auguste Chouteau, Bernard Pratte, Edward Hempstead. Pierre Chouteau, Sr., and Alexander McNair. Elements of the population of that period were well represented. Auguste Chouteau and Pierre Chouteau, Sr., were of the original settlers. Edward Hempstead was from Connecticut. Alexander McNair was a Pennsylvanian. The representative character of Hempstead and McNair was subsequently shown by the election of Hempstead to be the first delegate to Congress and by the election of McNair to be the first governor. Bernard Pratte was a native of Ste. Genevieve. He stood for the element which recognized thus early that St. Louis was to be the center of business for the new American territory. He enjoyed the distinction of being the father of the first child born in St. Louis after the United States Senate ratified the treaty of purchase of Louisiana.

The trustees proceeded to govern the town. In August, 1808, the first town ordinance was enacted. It was elaborate. The ten sections were prompted by the community needs as the trustees viewed them. They required licenses to be taken out for several kinds of business. But the subject which received most attention was the regulation of the conduct of slaves.

In February, 1809, the Trustees took action for protection of the town against fire. They issued a proclamation. All citizens were called upon to organize fire companies. One of the provisions of the fire ordinance required each occupant of a house to provide himself with two buckets. These buckets were to be kept in a place convenient for immediate use whenever a fire started. All fire fighting at that early date was by bucket brigade.

Another of the provisions ordered by the trustees was that each owner of a building in the town of St. Louis must have the chimney of his house swept at least once a month. If a fire started in a chimney, the law presumed that the chimney had not been swept properly and it provided for a fine of $10.00 against the owner, unless he could show by witnesses that his chimney had been swept within four weeks preceding the fire.

The act of the legislature required that the petition for incorporation receive the approval of court. The record book of the court of common pleas shows this approval dated November 9, 1809, notwithstanding the fact that trustees had been elected and ordinances had been passed nearly a year and a half previously. The judges of the court were Silas Bent, Bernard Pratte


W.C. Carr Residence
West 60 arpents — 175 Chains
Reys Wind Mill
I.F. Darby
now Beyist
James Lucas
Rock Spring
Grounds of Religious Society
Eastern
West line
Common fields of St Louis
Large stone
South line of 40 arpen lots
Chouteaus Mill tract
Mill Ponds
a Rice of Common not included in the Corporation
St. E. Corner
Corner of Prairie des noyer field
Eastern line of Prairie des noyer field
St Louis Common
Fourth line of Prairie Des-noyer Common field
East 40.00 Chains
St Louis Common
Holds West Corner of Cherry & Broadway
Bastion in front of City Hotel
Bastion
Bastion in front of Bents office
Bastion Central South Bastion
Corner of Second & Hazel
The Bastions, Stands east of the 40 arpent line, about 60 feet
Sugar loaf or mound is 268 feet from the river which is Nearly 4 Chains
The above Incorporated limits were never Surveyed until 23rd March 1820. by J.C. Brouns, by Virtue of the order of Court as made in 1809, & act of Governor & Judges of 18th June 1808. Page 256. 7. 8.

ONE OF THE EARLIEST REAL ESTATE MAPS OF ST. LOUIS, AFTER THE INCORPORATION

Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society

and Louis Labeaume. Mr. Pratte was one of the five trustees elected in July, 1808.

The year of 1808 St. Louis had two hundred houses. Of these fifty were built of stone. The houses were scattered. Nearly every one occupied at least a quarter of a block of ground. Walls were whitened. The early inhabitants knew how to make lime; they used whitewash freely. The houses stood in the midst of orchards.

The Place D'Armes was the block between Main, Market, Walnut and the river front. There the farmers came with their cartloads of produce and wood to sell. The Market Place, rather than the Place D'Armes, it was called as the American element in the population increased.

Another center of interest in the community was the old government house, located at Main and Walnut streets. Dr. Saugrain was waiting for the first vaccine matter to come from the East, in order that he might begin free vaccination in St. Louis. His office was on Second street. The only bakery, LeClerc's was on Main street, between Elm and Walnut. There were three blacksmiths. There was one schoolmaster, Trudeau, who lived and taught in the same house. There were two merchants who had the enterprise to put signs over their store fronts. They were "Falconer & Comegys" and "Hunt & Hankinson." There was one butcher and he did not kill until the beef was spoken for in advance. Prairie chickens could be shot almost anywhere west of what is now Seventh street.

The trade of the town of St. Louis in 1808 was largely dependent upon barter. Advertisements in the earlier issues of the Gazette show how generally the merchants depended upon trade rather than cash customers. One of these advertisements reads as follows:

> Cheap Goods.—The subscriber has just opened a quantity of bleached country linen, cotton cloth, cotton and wool cards, German steel, smoothing irons, ladies' silk bonnets, artificial flowers, linen check, muslins, white thread, wool and cotton; a handsome new gig, with plated harness; cable and cordelle ropes, with a number of articles which suit this country, which he will sell on very low terms.
>
> He will take in pay, furs, hides, whiskey, country made sugar and beeswax.
>
> —John Arthur—
>
> P. S.—A negro girl, eighteen years of age, is also for sale. She is a good house servant.

St. Louisans going to eastern cities undertook commissions of almost any character for their neighbors. In the Missouri Gazette of 1809 appeared this announcement which was not an unusual one:

"Joseph Coppinger proposes setting off for New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington on the 1st of February, to return in May. He takes this method of offering his agency to his friends and the public, and expects reasonable compensation for any trust undertaken."

The year the first trustees were elected a regular ferry was established. Jefferson Barracks had not been selected as a site, much less constructed. At Bellefontaine, on the limestone cliff near the mouth of the Missouri, there was a cantonment where General Wilkinson kept a force of troops which contributed $60,000 a year to the volume of St. Louis trade.

The first assessment for town purposes was in 1811. Auguste Chouteau led the list of tax payers, his tax being $268.10 on an assessment of $76,000.

Two years after the Gazette started the editor was able to announce that every house in town was taken and that rents were increasing. During that season the community was congratulated upon the erection of seven buildings. The editor confidently predicted that during 1811 there would be, probably, twice that number added to the town.

The census was taken in 1810. Mr. Charless, the editor, found good ground for complaint that the figures did not do justice to St. Louis. The count included only those residents on the first Monday of August, 1810.

"Since that period," said the editor of the Gazette, "we have received a handsome increase of immigration, which might be set down at one hundred families of seven persons each. We have many of our citizens absent on hunts or down the river, etc.; for instance, there is with Mr. Henry on the west side of the Rocky Ridge 140 men."

This census of 1810 showed for the whole territory of Louisiana, which included Arkansas and Missouri, 20,840 persons. Of this number the town and county of St. Louis had 5,667; the town of St. Louis had about 1,200.

Five years later the sheriff, John W. Thompson, took a census of the town and county, finding 7,395. The population of the town was about 2,000. The government census of 1820 brought the town population up to 4,000 and St. Louis began to move in the direction of a city organization. The county of St. Louis, at that time, had 9,732. In 1828 the sheriff found 5,000 people in the city and 11,880 in the county. It was not until the thirties that the city passed the county in population.

After the starting of the first newspaper and the election of the first Board of Trustees, St. Louis began to feel the need of public improvements. Up to that time the square between Market and Walnut streets and Main and the river, had been an open plaza. Citizens had generally adopted the name of Centre Square for the earlier designation given by Laclede. The result of the agitation was that in a little over two years after the incorporation of the town, the Board of Trustees let a contract for the building of a market house on Centre Square. This market house was not much more than a large shed, under which produce might be exposed for sale. It stood on the same block as that occupied in part for many years by the Merchants' Exchange.

One of the progressive steps taken by the town organization was the passage of an ordinance providing for wharfage dues. Every boat of five tons capacity was required to pay a fee of $2.00 for landing.

A little more than a year after St. Louis became a town there occurred an event which caused more general sorrow than any other in the history of the settlement, since the death of the founder, Laclede. It is tradition that during 1808 and 1809 Governor Meriwether Lewis had been subject to mental depression. His friends endeavored to arouse his spirits. They could not understand why he should be depressed. There were no apparent causes for these attacks of melancholy. It was true that the governor complained rather bitterly of the tardiness with which the government at Washington met the

obligations incurred in connection with the expedition of Lewis and Clark. But such complaints were general in the community. St. Louis was a long way from Washington. There were others in the community who felt that government business did not receive the prompt attention it should. Friends of Meriwether Lewis looked after him carefully, showing him attention and in many ways endeavoring to cheer him. The governor announced his intention to proceed to Washington. He was encouraged to do so by those about him who thought the change of a journey might be beneficial to his mental condition. Then came the news of the death of the governor by a pistol supposed to have been fired by himself. The town of St. Louis mourned.

Not all of those who flocked here when St. Louis was a town were intending settlers. The observant and inquiring traveler was a frequent arrival. The town began to get into print. Nearly all that was written added to the good fame. Christian Schultz wrote two volumes about "travels on an inland voyage, performed in the years 1807 and 1809, including a tour of nearly 6,000 miles." He arrived in St. Louis on the 22nd of November, 1807. He came by land from Ste. Genevieve, taking the road on the Illinois side of the river, by way of Prairie du Rocher. He said that before arriving opposite St. Louis he rode "fifteen miles over one of the richest and most beautiful tracts I have ever seen. It is called the American bottom and is a prairie of such extent as to weary the eye in tracing its boundaries." Schultz crossed the Mississippi at the Cahokia ferry and rode three miles to "the metropolis of Louisiana." He gave his impressions with evident intention to be accurate. It is to be borne in mind that the time of this visit was only three years after the American flag had been raised. Subsequent to that period, the fur trade was reorganized, extended to the westward and northward and greatly expanded:

St. Louis is beautifully situated on an elevated bank on the west side of the river. It contains about two hundred houses, which, from the whiteness of a considerable number of them, as they are rough-cast and whitewashed, appear to great advantage as you approach the town. It is likewise a French settlement, established in the year 1764; the inhabitants are chiefly Roman Catholics, and have a chapel and a confessor. A small number of American families have of late years settled in this town, and have had so much influence as to give a decided American tone to the fashions of the place; but as their numbers are too few to erect a church of their own, they have, by way of amusement, made arrangement with the father confessor, to give them a little lecture in his chapel every Sunday evening.

I observed two or three big houses in the town, which are said to have cost from twenty to sixty thousand dollars, but they have nothing either of beauty or taste in their appearance to recommend them, being simply big, heavy, and unsightly structures. In this country, however, where fashion and taste differ so materially from fashion and taste with us, they are considered as something not only grand, but even elegant.

St. Louis has for many years past been the center of the fur trade in this country; but this branch of business I am informed, is now rapidly declining, in consequence of the game becoming scarce.

This town has been strongly fortified by the Spanish government, having two forts, two blockhouses, four stone towers, and one half moon. These encircle the whole town on the land side, and are within gunshot of each other. Some little care is still taken of forts and barracks occupied by the garrison which is stationed at this place, but the towers and blockhouses are entirely neglected, and, for want of repairs, already tumbling to pieces.

The comment on the weather would indicate that the traveler encountered a cold snap unusual for the last of November. He had one very uncomfortable experience. Setting out alone to visit the lead mines at Potosi he lost the way in the hills of the Meramec river, shivered all night and came back to St. Louis:

St. Louis is situated in lat. 38.18. N., long. 89.36. W. from which you would be inclined to believe the climate somewhat warmer than that of New York, in lat. 40.40; but I certainly do not think I ever experienced in that city colder weather, at this season of the year, than I have felt in St. Louis for these few days past. I made this remark to some gentlemen who have lived here for four or five years past, but who formerly resided in Philadelphia; and they were of opinion that the winters generally were equally severe, but did not last so long.

The fame of feminine St. Louis had reached Christian Schultz before he saw the town. He investigated and was satisfied; he found the ladies "eminently entitled" to their reputation:

The ladies of St. Louis I had heard generally celebrated through all the lower country for their beauty, modesty, and agreeable manners, as well as for their taste and the splendor of their dress. I was, therefore, very happy in having an opportunity of accepting an invitation to one of their balls, on the first Sunday evening after my arrival, having previously attended the chapel, for the express purpose of being able to form some kind of judgment with respect to their claims; and I must confess, that they appeared to be eminently entitled to all that I had heard in their favor.

St. Louis, the town, was not without its musical organization, although the association was without name and quite limited in number of performers. There were two musicians. They were inseparable. One of them was an old man with white hair. He was about five feet in height and very fat. He took life comfortably and had an inexhaustible fund of humor. He moved about very slowly and for this reason was commonly known as Monsieur Tardiff. The companion of Monsieur Tardiff was a negro, very tall and gaunt. He looked so much like a deer that he was called Chevreuil. The two musicians afforded the most striking contrast possible in physical appearance. They entertained with their instruments and amused with their looks.

The pioneer paid amusement was announced about 1812. This was a series of sleight-of-hand performances by John Eugene Leistendorfer. Among the "tricks"—for that was what the Gazette frankly called them—which the magician promised were these:

Any person of the company may cut off the head of a living chicken and then he will immediately restore it to life with its head on.

He will cause a shawl or handkerchief to be cut in two pieces. One of the halves will be burnt, the other cut into small pieces, and he will return it entire.

A new way of proving good whiskey, by putting a penknife or any other light article in a tumbler; and in pouring the whiskey on it, if there is any water in the whiskey, the penknife will move only; but if the whiskey is good, the penknife will jump itself out of the water.

He will catch between his teeth a ball discharged from a pistol, actually loaded and fired by one of the visitors, and after having performed a great many more tricks, too long to be enumerated, he will conclude by eating live coals of fire.

The Gazette explained that the magician was "the same Colonel Leisten-

ALEXANDER McNAIR,
First Governor

MERIWETHER LEWIS

CHOUTEAU'S POND

THE OLD MARKET,
Near Foot of Market Street

MISSOURI HOTEL,
Where First Legislature Sat, Main and Morgan Streets

dorfer who served under General Eaton in the capacity of guide, adjutant, inspector, general and chief engineer in passing the desert of Libia," The Gazette vouched for the colonel with the statement that "certificates from several gentlemen high in office in this government testify to his character and service." From the forecast of these performances it will be inferred properly that the art of advertising was understood by the earliest St. Louis press agent.

Colonel Leistendorfer gave his entertainments once a week for several months. He reaped a harvest. The performances took place at the Robidoux house. One evening the magician inspired by a crowded room, and seeing in the gathering some of the most prominent citizens, said he would hatch a chicken from an egg, bring it to full growth, cook it and serve it. There was great applause. Colonel Leistendorfer showed the egg and put it in a box. When the box was closed the chirping of the chicken was heard. When the box was opened there was the chicken. Into and out of several boxes the chicken passed, growing larger with each change, until it was shown full grown. With the spectators following every movement, the Colonel cut off the chicken's head. The body was put in a box and when the box was opened a well roasted chicken, with gravy dripping, was lifted out. The Colonel called for someone to serve the chicken. William C. Carr, a dignified young lawyer, afterwards circuit judge, was pushed forward. He took the knife and fork, but as he was about to begin by plunging the fork into the breast of the roasted chicken a live chicken flew out of the dish, splashing gravy liberally over his ruffled shirt front.

Colonel Leistendorfer had a very profitable season in the old Robidoux house. He liked St. Louis so well that he bought a home in Carondelet, where he raised a large family. The Leistendorfer descendants became quite prominent locally.

Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, an Englishman who traveled in North America and wrote a book, met this strange international character during his visit to St. Louis and Carondelet. He said of him:

> His name was given as Leistendorfer. I concluded he must be German but he answered me with such a strange patois in that language that I was soon convinced of my error; upon cross-examination of him I discovered that he was from the Italian side of the Tyrol and that his real name was Santuario. He boasted of speaking German, French, Spanish, Turkish and English equally well. He was made a sharp-shooter in the Austrian army; he was with Bonaparte; he was some years at Constantinople. Then he went to Egypt and contrived to render the pasha some service in Arabia; after which he was employed by General Eaton to assist in his expedition against the Bey of Tripoli, and was instrumental in the settlement of that trouble. For that he was made a colonel in the United States army; he lives now upon the proceeds of some land which he bought with the money earned by his services. He is a strangely prejudiced man but with a fine face and the remains of an athletic frame.

Because the town of St. Louis was small, it is not to be supposed that the Gazette was without sporting news. A local character was a man named Pierce, who was always ready for a fight or a foot race or any other kind of sport. Pierce was a bully. He had a series of encounters which established his supremacy in the community to such a degree that it was impossible to get

up a fight with him, except when some stranger, who did not know his prowess, arrived. Pierce was not only a hard hitter but he had a hard head, upon which no blow seemed to have any effect. He was so confident of his skull that one day he offered to fight a ram which was running at large in the commons and was the terror of all the small boys. Pierce said he could whip the ram at butting. He offered to try it on a bet of a gallon of whiskey to be given him, if he was successful. The population of the town turned out to see the fight between Pierce and the ram. After the ram had been teased to the fighting point, which did not take long, Pierce got down on his hands and knees. The ram was turned loose and made a bound toward the man. Pierce waited until the ram was almost upon him, then dropped his head and jerked it up in time to strike the under jaw of the ram, breaking the animal's neck. Having won this victory, Pierce was not satisfied to rest upon his laurels. He tried the performance again and again with increasing honors. At length a bout was arranged between Pierce and a ram of unusual size, owned by Colonel Chouteau. The usual preliminaries took place. Pierce following his hitherto successful tactics, dropped his head, but his nose struck a sharp pointed stub of a weed which penetrated the nostril. Involuntarily, Pierce threw up his head too soon and received upon his forehead the full force of the ram's bound. His skull was fractured and he died.

Henry M. Brackenridge, a young man from Pittsburg, came to St. Louis in 1810. While trying to choose between journalism and the law he did some writing for publication. His description of St. Louis as he saw it and studied it was graphic. His forecast was the more remarkable because both Ste. Genevieve and St. Charles at that time crowded St. Louis in population, and immigration seemed to be inclined to favor New Madrid. In his "Views of Louisiana" Brackenridge wrote of St. Louis:

> This place occupies one of the best situations on the Mississippi, both as to site and geographical position. In this last respect the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi has certainly much greater natural advantages, but the ground is subject to inundation, and St. Louis has taken a start which it will most probably retain. It is probably not saying too much that it bids fair to be second to New Orleans in importance on this river.
>
> St. Louis will probably become one of those great reservoirs of the valley between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, from whence merchandise will be distributed to an extensive country. It unites the advantages of three noble rivers, Mississippi, Illinois and Missouri. When their banks shall become the residence of millions, when flourishing towns shall arise, can we suppose that every vendor of merchandise will look to New Orleans for a supply, or to the Atlantic cities. There must be a place of distribution somewhere between the mouth of the Ohio and Missouri. Besides, a trade to the northern parts of New Spain will be opened, and a direct communication to the East Indies by way of the Missouri may be more than dreamt; in this case St. Louis will become the Memphis of the American Nile.

When Brackenridge made his predictions St. Louis had 1,400 people. This writer said, of the impression he received as he went about St. Louis, first taking the view from the Illinois bank:

> In a disjointed and scattered manner, it extends along the river a mile and a half, and we form the idea of a large and elegant town. Two or three large and costly buildings, though not in the modern taste, contribute in producing this effect. On closer ex-

amination the town seems to be composed of an equal proportion of stone walls, houses and fruit trees, but the illusion still continues. In ascending the second bank, which is about forty feet above the level of the plain, we have the town below us, and a view of the Mississippi in each direction, and of the fine country through which it passes. When the curtain of wood which conceals the American bottom shall have been withdrawn, or a vista formed by opening farms to the river, there will be a delightful prospect into that rich and elegant tract. There is a line of works on this second bank, erected for defense against the Indians, consisting of several circular towers, twenty feet in diameter and fifteen feet in height, a small stockaded fort and a stone breastwork. These are at present entirely unoccupied and waste, excepting the fort, in one of the buildings of which the courts are held, while the other is used as a prison. Some distance from the terminaton of this line, up the river, there are a number of Indian mounds and remains of antiquity, which, while they are ornamental to the town, prove that in former times those places had also been chosen as the site, perhaps, of a populous city.

St. Louis contains according to the last census one thousand, four hundred inhabitants, one-fifth Americans, and about four hundred people of color. There are a few Indians and metiffs, in the capacity of servants or wives to boatmen. This town was at no time so agricultural as the other villages; being a place of some trade, the chief town of the province, and the residence of a number of mechanics. It remained nearly stationary for two or three years after the cession; but is now beginning to take a start, and its reputation is growing abroad. Every house is crowded, rents are high, and it is exceedingly difficult to procure a tenement on any terms. Six or seven houses were built in the course of the last season and probably twice the number will be built the next. There is a printing office and twelve mercantile stores. The value of imports to this place in the course of the year may be estimated at $250,000. The outfits for the different trading establishments on the Mississippi or Missouri are made here. The lead of the Sac mines is brought to this place; the troops at Bellefontaine put $60,000 in circulation annually. The settlers on both sides of the river repair to this place as the best market for their produce, and to supply themselves with such articles as they may need. The manners of the inhabitants are not different from those in other villages; we distinctly see the character of the ancient inhabitants and of the new residents and of a compound of both. St. Louis, however, was always a place of more refinement and fashion; it is the residence of many genteel families, both French and American.

The suburbs of St. Louis at the time of Judge Brackenridge's coming began where Fourth street is today. A favorite walk, which was westward into the country, was described by him. The springs the writer mentioned were not far from where the Wabash railroad now crosses Manchester avenue:

Looking to the west a most charming country spreads itself before us. It is neither very level nor hilly, but of an agreeable waving surface, and rising for several miles with an ascent almost imperceptible. Except a small belt to the north, there are no trees; the rest is covered with scrubby oak, intermixed with hazels and a few trifling thickets of thorn, crab-apple, or plum-trees. At the first glance we are reminded of the environs of a great city; but there are no country-seats, or even plain farm houses; it is a vast waste, yet by no means a barren soil. Such is the appearance until, turning to the left, the eye again catches the Mississippi. A number of fine springs take their rise here and contribute to the uneven appearance. The greater part drain to the southwest and aid in forming a beautiful rivulet, which, a short distance below the town, gives itself to the river. I have often been delighted, in my solitary walks, to trace the rivulet to its sources. Three miles from town, but within view, among a few tall oaks, it rises in four or five silver fountains, within a short distance of each other, presenting a picture to the fancy of the poet, or the pencil of the painter. I have fancied myself for a moment on classic ground, and beheld the Naiads pouring the stream from their urns. Close to the town there is a fine mill, erected by Mr. Chouteau on this streamlet; the dam forms a beautiful sheet of water, and

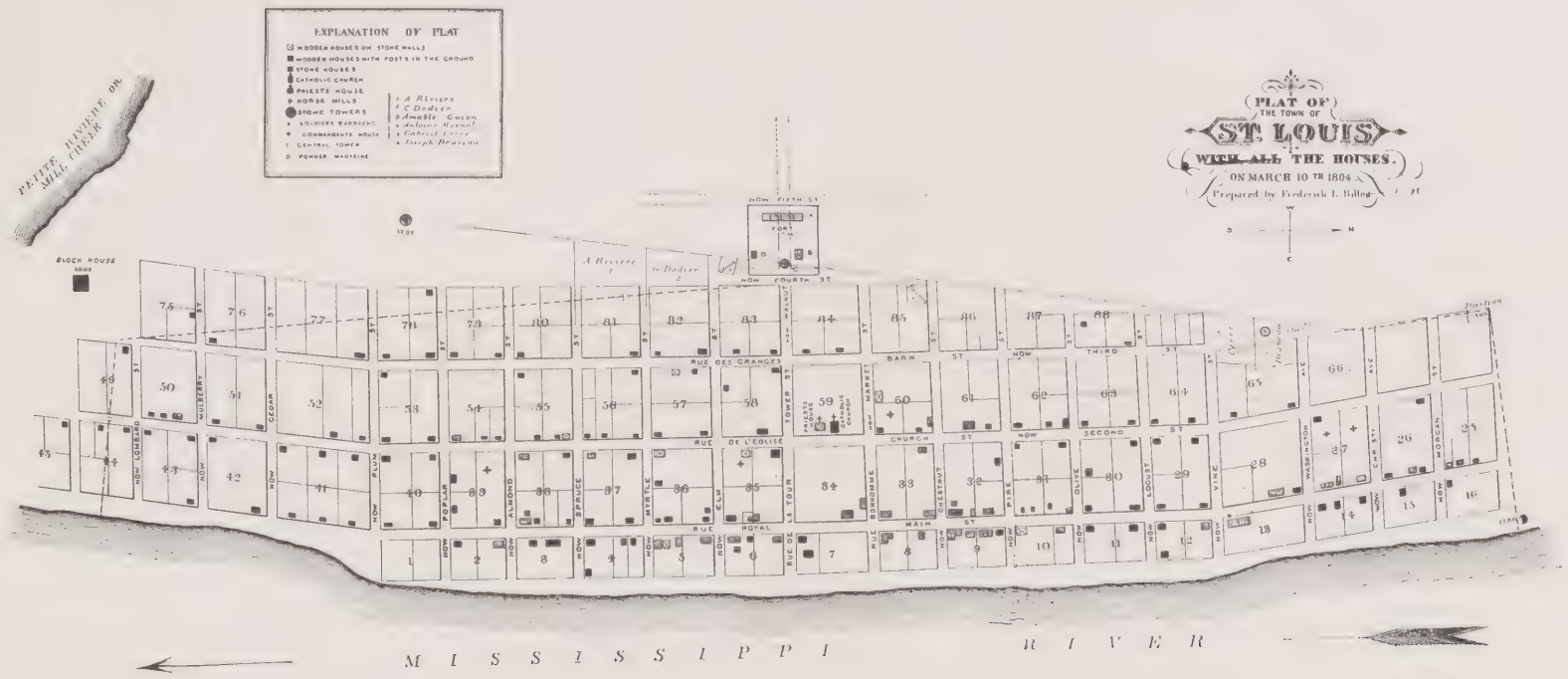
affords much amusement, in fishing and fowling, to the people of the town. The common field of St. Louis was formerly enclosed on this bank, consisting of several thousand acres; at present there are not more than two thousand under cultivation; the rest of the ground looks like the worn common in the neighborhood of a large town, the grass kept down and short and the loose soil in several places cut open into gaping ravines.

According to John F. Darby, the original boundary of the town of St. Louis began on the Mississippi river near the mouth of Mill creek, called by the French Petite Riviere, and ran nearly due west to a point on Fourth street about a block east of Chouteau avenue. Thence the line ran northwardly to a point near where the northeast corner of the Southern hotel is located, the corner of Fourth and Walnut streets, where there was a fortification and round tower. In Spanish times it was the jail or prison house of the government, and it was continued as a jail by the American authorities till the year 1818, when the new jail was built where the Laclede hotel now stands. The old round tower was about forty or fifty feet high, and, standing as it did on the brow of the hill with no building to obstruct, was a prominent object seen from a distance. The west line of the town then ran northwardly from this point nearly to the southwest corner of what are now Third street and Washington avenue, where there was another stone fort. Thence northwardly the line ran to the eastern line of Third street at Cherry, where there was a large fortification called the bastion. That fortification occupied the most ground and was by far the best of the forts, being built strongly of stone; it looked solid and formidable. From that point the line ran nearly due east, a little north, to Roy's tower on the bank of the river. That tower was large and round, of stone, forty or fifty feet high. The southern, western and northern boundaries as thus marked had been enclosed by pickets ten or twelve feet high, firmly planted in the ground, and at different points were gates. At night these gates were secured and guarded. In the year 1818 the pickets were gone but the stone fortifications remained.

John F. Darby was a small boy when his father moved from North Carolina in 1818. His recollections of the two fine mansions of the town were vivid:

Colonel Auguste Chouteau had an elegant domicile fronting on Main street. His dwelling and houses for his servants occupied the whole square bounded north by Market street, east by Main street, south by what is now known as Walnut street, and on the west by Second street. The whole square was enclosed by a solid stone wall two feet thick and ten feet high, with port holes about every ten feet apart, through which to shoot Indians in case of attack. The walls of Colonel Chouteau's mansion were two and a half feet thick, of solid stone work; two stories high, and surrounded by a large piazza or portico about fourteen feet wide, supported by pillars in front and at the two ends. The house was elegantly furnished, but at that time not one of the rooms was carpeted. In fact no carpets were then used in St. Louis. The floors of the house were made of black walnut, and were polished so finely that they reflected like a mirror. Colonel Chouteau had a train of servants, and every morning after breakfast some of those inmates of his household were down on their knees for hours, with brushes and wax, keeping the floors polished. The splendid abode with its surrounding had indeed the appearance of a castle.

Major Pierre Chouteau also had an elegant domicile, built after the same manner and of the same materials. He, too, occupied a whole square with his mansion, bounded on the east by Main street, on the south by what is known as Vine street, on the west by Second street, and on the north by what is now known as Washington avenue, the whole



PLAT OF
THE TOWN OF
ST. LOUIS
WITH ALL THE HOUSES.
ON MARCH 10 TH 1804
Prepared by Frederick L. Billon

square being enclosed with high solid stone walls and having port-holes, in like manner as his brother's.

The town of St. Louis, at that time, contained about two thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were French and one-third Americans. The prevailing language of the white persons on the street was French; the negroes of the town all spoke French. All the inhabitants used French to the negroes, their horses and dogs; and used the same tongue in driving their ox-teams. They used no ox-yokes and bows, as the Americans did, in hitching their oxen to wagons and carts; but instead had a light piece of wood about two or three inches thick and about five feet long, laid on the necks of the oxen, close up to the horns of the animals, and this piece of wood was fastened to the horns by leather straps, making them pull by the head instead of the neck and shoulders. In driving their horses and cattle they used the words "chuck!" and "see!" "marchdeau!" which the animals all perfectly understood.

One of the most notable landmarks of the town of St. Louis disappeared in 1873, when the old Missouri hotel was razed, to give place to a business structure. In its day this was the finest hotel in the west. It was commenced in 1817 and was completed two years later. When the property passed into the hands of Major Biddle an addition was built to increase the accommodations. The major went east and procured a professional hotel keeper, who opened the house with an equipment and appointments which made it the hotel of the Mississippi valley.

The first legislature under the state's constitution met in this hotel. The first governor, Alexander McNair, and the first lieutenant-governor, Wm. Ashley, were inaugurated there. The first United States senators, David Barton and Thos. H. Benton, were elected there. When the question of Missouri's admission to the United States was pending the new political organization was spoken of frequently by the orators, who addressed their fellow legislators in the old hotel, "as being, by the grace of God, free and independent."

Capacity for self government was shown in Laclede's time. Under the Spanish flag the lieutenant-governors ruled by the consent of and with the support of the habitants rather than by any aggressive form of military authority. When the American flag was raised public affairs went on according to established customs. The squad of soldiers who came with the American captain had no turbulence or revolutionary spirit to deal with. When, after a long interim, Missouri was admitted to the Union, the first governor, McNair, in his opening message could not refrain from comment upon this same self-reliant spirit, this self-governing trait, which had carried the community through every political crisis:

"Since the first organization of this government," said Governor McNair, "we have exhibited to the American people a spectacle novel and peculiar—an American Republic on the confines of the Federal Union, exercising all the powers of sovereign government, with no actual political connection with the United States and nothing to bind us to them but a reverence for the same principles and an habitual attachment to them and their government."

There was a man in the first legislature, which met in the Missouri hotel, who called himself the "Ring Tail Painter." His name was Palmer. To this member from the southwest part of the state the routine procedure of

legislation was a great surprise. Palmer could not understand why it was necessary for the bills to pass one house and then the other, and yet not become law until the governor approved. He thought it was undemocratic to place such power in the hands of one man.

During a session of the senate Andrew S. McGirk and Duff Green got into a quarrel. McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Duff Green. Green and McGirk began to fight. Governor McNair came forward and tried to part them, but as soon as he seized Green to pull him away, "Ring Tail Painter" Palmer grabbed the governor, pushed him aside and shouted:

"Stand back governor, stand back; you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff, give it to him."

When the legislature met at the Missouri hotel it included several members who up to that time had never seen a steamboat. One day when a boat was about to start down the river a motion was made to adjourn in order that the members might go to the bank and see the boat leave. The captain had been fully impressed with the honor about to be shown him. He ran the boat upstream, turned around and came down at full speed past the legislators assembled on the bank. As the boat went by, the cannon, which was part of the equipment on all steamboats in that day, was fired. The legislators raised their hats and swung them, but "Ring Tail Painter" Palmer let out a series of yells.

The old Missouri hotel was for many years the place chosen for banquets and for balls. There it was his admiring fellow citizens entertained Barton with a grand dinner when he returned from making his great speech in the Senate. St. Patrick's Day was celebrated with banquets in the Missouri hotel. Expeditions were planned there; principals and seconds met to send challenges and to receive acceptances. Gen. William Henry Harrison, afterwards President; and Gen. Zachary Taylor, also afterwards President; and Gen. Winfield Scott, who tried to become but was not President, were guests at the Missouri hotel.

Isaac Walker became the owner of the Missouri hotel by sale from John F. Darby in 1835 and owned it for many years. He had a controversy with a man to whom he rented the hotel for operation—tavern keeper as he was called in that day. Walker complained about the manner in which the tavern keeper was conducting the place; he said this man "was not fit to keep tavern; that his butter was so strong he could hang his hat on it." The tavern keeper sued Mr. Walker for slander and employed Uriel Wright, the orator, to take his case.

CHAPTER V.

THE MUNICIPALITY.

The fortunes of the inhabitants may fluctuate, you and I may sink into oblivion, and even our families may become extinct. But the progressive rise of our city is morally certain. The causes of its prosperity are inscribed on the very face of the earth, and are as permanent as the foundations of the soil and the sources of the Mississippi. These matters are not brought to your recollection for the mere purpose of eulogy, but that a suitable system of improvements may be always kept in view, that the rearing of the infant city may correspond with the expectations of such a mighty futurity.—Inaugural message of the first mayor, William Carr Lane.

St. Louis became a city in April, 1823. The legislature acted favorably in 1822 on the proposition to incorporate. The charter was not adopted without a struggle. Of the 197 votes cast 90 were against the charter. A property qualification restricted suffrage. Only white citizens, of twenty-one years, who had paid a local tax, were allowed to vote. The limits of the new city were Seventh street on the west, the Mill creek on the south, and a line from Roy's tower to the river on the north.

The municipality of St. Louis began well. The first mayor was a medical man. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth and education. He had lived in St. Louis only four years when his fellow citizens selected him for the head of the city government. Mental and physical attributes favored William Carr Lane. The first mayor was a man of splendid presence. He was genial. He was incorruptible. He served the public zealously. In that early period St. Louis chose the mayor annually. William Carr Lane was elected six times in succession. After nine years he was called back to serve two more terms in addition to several months of an unexpired term.

At the first election for mayor, St. Louis polled 220 votes. The contest was sharp. Mr. Lane received 122 votes; Auguste Chouteau received 70 votes and M. P. Leduc received 28 votes.

The notable structures of public, or semi-public, character which St. Louis possessed at that time numbered fewer than twenty. They were:

Baptist church, southwest corner Market and Third. This building was not entirely finished for religious purposes. It served, during a period, the uses of the courts. After the removal of the original structure of the church the site was occupied by the National Hotel. The building stands today in a condition of good preservation.

Bastion, north of Bennett's hotel.

Cathedral, Roman church, southwest corner Church and Market.

Clerks' offices for the various courts, near the public square.

Constables' office, North Fourth above North C street.

Court Rooms, near the public square.

Episcopal church, South Church, below South A street. The building was of wood. It was used for Episcopal services but was not constructed originally for a church.

Green-Tree Inn, 85 South Church.

Indian Council chamber, or museum of Indian curiosities, belonging to Governor Clark, 101 North Main.

Jones' row, north side of Market street, above Third. Jones' row was of one-story brick buildings. It is said to have been the first row of brick buildings in St. Louis.

Land office, United States, west of and near to Bennett's hotel.

Mansion house, Bennett's, northeast corner of North Third and E streets.

Market house, south side of Market street, near the river.

Market street ran west from the river, between North and South A streets. It was the line which even then divided the northern part of the town from the southern.

Masonic Hall, in which the grand, chapter and master's lodges were held, north side South B street, above Main.

Methodist Meeting house, southwest corner South Third and South D streets.

Missouri Bank, 6 North Main street.

Missouri hotel, southwest corner of North Main and North H streets.

Mound Public garden, a pleasant retreat kept by Mr. Gray, near the Indian mound.

The mayor's appeal for public improvements was not in vain. An engineer prepared a plan to grade and pave Main street. One block was graded and paved that first year. It was the block from Market to Walnut, where Laclede just sixty years before he had marked the trees for the center of trade and seat of government of the settlement he was about to found. The first board of aldermen passed an ordinance to grade and pave streets. That was the initial step. In it the brand new government laid down the rule that the city would pave, but the property holders must pay the cost of the curbing and paving. Up to that time residents had indulged in the luxury of quarter, half and even whole blocks for home sites. They had gardens, and even orchards in the business section. They surrounded their grounds with limestone walls. The prospect of heavy assessments for street improvements prompted the subdivision and sale of the large lots. People who wanted home yards moved to the suburbs beyond Seventh street.

In 1826, the grading of the wharf in front of the city was before the council. The question was what elevation should be chosen for Front street. Thornton Grimsley advocated strongly a level three feet above the present grade. If his views had been accepted and followed, only the extraordinary flood could have crossed Front street and filled the cellars.

Dr. Lane had more than the quality of inborn leadership. Although he was only thirty years old when he came to St. Louis, he had seen life in many phases. At thirteen he had attended Jefferson college. After that he was in his brother's office a year, acquiring knowledge of legal matters. He studied medicine in Shelbyville, Ky. Going with the Kentucky volunteers in the war with Great Britain, he served as surgeon; a part of the time being the chief medical officer at the post of Vincennes. With the return of peace he took a university course in Philadelphia. After graduation he was made a post surgeon in the United States army and was stationed in the west. He came to St. Louis in 1819. It is tradition that after Dr. Lane had served six terms as mayor the people proposed to continue reelecting him and that he had to decline with a good deal of emphasis to break the popular habit, saying that the official duties interfered too much with his professional practice.

"Carr Lane," as he was popularly known, was a man upon whom his

fellow citizens were quick to press official honors and duties. He was a member of the legislature part of the time that he was mayor. He was quarter master general of Missouri. In 1838 and 1839 the citizens of St. Louis insisted upon giving him additional terms as mayor. After that he steadfastly refused office, until in 1852 he accepted from President Fillmore the position of governor of New Mexico. Three brothers of Dr. Lane joined him in St. Louis and became residents. The first mayor left descendants, but they do not bear his name. His daughter Sarah S. Lane became the wife of William Glasgow, Jr., Bishop Kemper performing the ceremony.

To a native of Hayti, St. Louis is indebted for the practical work of the first grading and paving of streets. Rene Paul, father of General Paul, who was desperately wounded at the battle of Gettysburg, was the first city engineer. Mayor William Carr Lane appointed Mr. Paul to the office of city engineer and encouraged him in the making of the earliest street improvements. Mr. Paul held this position until he began to age. He died in his sixty-eighth year, on the 20th of May, 1851. He was a man of unusual accomplishments, having been sent from Hayti to France for the completion of his education. He served in the French navy and was wounded in the battle of Trafalgar. When he came to St. Louis he had no money. He married a daughter of Auguste Chouteau.

The second mayor, Daniel D. Page, was from Maine. At that time, he was conducting a grocery and a bakery. He was given two terms of one year each, during which he pushed the policy of street improvements. The third mayor would have been Dr. Samuel Merry, the professional partner of Dr. William Carr Lane, but for the fact that he held a federal office—receiver of public moneys. This was construed to disqualify, after Dr. Merry had been elected. John W. Johnson, the president of the board of aldermen, was appointed and subsequently elected mayor. Mayor Page had been elected with practically no opposition on a citizens' ticket but Dr. Merry ran as a democrat, holding office under President Jackson. The Whigs had a majority in the board of aldermen, which fact cut a figure in the question of Merry's eligibility. Johnson was reelected in 1834.

A rather strange bit of history is, that until 1833 St. Louis had no scales for weighing hay, coal and cattle. That year the city council established public scales at the southeast corner of the market place, which was near the foot of Market street. All heavy weighing was done on those scales for some years afterwards. Coal up to that time had been sold by the bushel and the measurement was made in the wagon beds by some one qualified. Hay was sold by the load, the buyer and seller agreeing on the price.

In the old records of the municipality is told the story of the narrow escape St. Louis had from a proposed public work which would have been a serious error. In 1835, the city authorities, after much investigation, selected what is now the site of the court house on Fourth street as the most fitting place for water works. It is recorded that "on the written application of John W. Johnson, mayor of the city of St. Louis," commissioners were authorized by the city authorities to select a piece of ground for the reservoir, the

mayor stating, among other things, that "in his opinion there is no vacant place more suitable for that purpose than the public square on which the court house is erected." The court appointed Mary Leduc and Rene Paul commissioners. These commissioners were to take up the subject with the city authorities and report on the expense of locating the reservoir where the court house now is. The record gave the first name of Mr. Leduc as "Mary." Mr. Leduc was christened "Marie." A curious publication made by one of the newspapers was that Mr. Leduc "took the name of his deceased wife out of respect to her memory." The investigation satisfied the city authorities that the mound near Ashley street and Fifth street was a better location for the proposed reservoir than the court house site. In that day commissioners were appointed to undertake various public duties. According to the record, Henry S. Geyer, who became later one of the foremost members of the bar and a United States senator, "was appointed a commissioner to erect a lightning rod on the north side of the court house."

The location of the waterworks was not settled without a stubborn contest in the board of aldermen. David Hill was on one side, in favor of conservative action. Sam Gaty took the other view, that the city was growing and that provision should be made on a liberal scale for a much larger population. In that day, men who worked about the foundries were accustomed to take very strong snuff to clear the bronchial tubes and lungs of the small particles of iron in the dust. On the night when the waterworks issue was to reach the crisis Gaty carried to the meeting a package of this foundry snuff. As Hill was about to make a speech on the Big Mound proposition Gaty passed along his snuff box with the invitation:

"Mr. Hill, take a pinch of snuff?"

"Yes, I will," replied Mr. Hill, putting his thumb and forefinger into the box and taking a big dose. Unaccustomed to the foundrymen's brand Hill sneezed and sneezed until he was obliged to leave the room, the shouts of laughter following him to the door. Gaty won the fight, and the larger plan was adopted.

One of the earliest municipal reforms of St. Louis was the dog law. In the thirties an ordinance required "that all dogs kept in the city shall be registered on the books of the city register and wear brass collars with their owners' names engraved upon them; that each family in the city shall be allowed to keep one dog, thus registered, free of tax, and for every extra dog a tax of two dollars shall be paid." The penalty for allowing an unregistered dog to remain on the premises was ten dollars. The city charter was revised in 1835. Municipal politics had been somewhat exciting, but now suffrage became a privilege even more highly coveted. The dog tax was construed to be a city tax. The man who had a receipt for a dog tax claimed the right to vote and got it. St. Louisans who had never owned a dog went to the town hall on election day, paid a dog tax, got a receipt and voted. Clubs were formed to take out dog tax certificates so that all of the members could vote for mayor and other elective city officers. A candidate for mayor attempted to qualify under the charter as an owner of real estate by having

a piece of ground seven feet wide and fourteen feet long conveyed to him. Upon further consideration he concluded not to run for mayor, but at a subsequent election offered himself for Congress in the St. Louis district and was successful.

A classical scholar, perhaps the best of his day in St. Louis, was John Fletcher Darby, who was elected mayor in 1835. He was the son of a North Carolina planter who came to St. Louis in 1818. While the boy was working on the farm at home, he carried a Latin grammar with him. Holding the plow he utilized the moments when the horses did not need guiding to take hasty glances at the book. Before he was grown young Darby was as familiar with Latin authors as most boys are with books in English.

Mayor John F. Darby was a whole civic league in himself. He forced upon the city a park system. He knew better than the St. Louis of 1835 did what was wanted. He bought two down town parks in localities where they would today add greatly to the city's attractiveness. In each case the board of aldermen rejected the mayor's bargain. One of the parks proposed by Mayor Darby was the block bounded by Broadway, Fourth, Locust and St. Charles streets. For this block the mayor took an option at fifteen thousand dollars. The ground is now occupied by the Mechanics-American bank, the St. Louis-Union Trust company and numerous business houses. It is worth more than one hundred times what Mayor Darby was to pay for it. Another tract for which the mayor bargained, only to have the aldermen repudiate it, was on South Broadway; it was the strip between Chouteau avenue and Cerre street, west of Fourth street. On this ground, for park purposes, the mayor was given a price of two thousand dollars. The objection the aldermen used against the Locust and Broadway park was that it was "too far up town." At that time the city had $100,000 cash in the treasury.

Mayor Darby was persistent. The legislature had given the city authority to subdivide and sell the great tract of several thousand acres southwest of the city set apart by the founder Laclede for "Commons." Charles De Ward the engineer had completed the survey. The committee on Commons in the board of aldermen was headed by Thornton Grimsley. Mayor Darby sent for Grimsley and suggested that they go out to the Commons and select some ground to be set apart for a park. Colonel Grimsley fell in with the proposition. The mayor and the chairman took horses and, not acquainting anybody else with their plans, made a thorough examination of the ground, then grown up with young trees, hazel brush and sumac bushes. They chose what is now Lafayette park. Thornton was enthusiastic. He commanded a company of volunteer cavalry. He said that the ground was just what the city needed for drilling purposes and proposed to call the place the "Public Parade Ground." The mayor acquiesced, and that was the name Lafayette park went by for many years. The aldermen protested. Some of them were interested in seeing the land sold. But there was no appropriation to be made. Grimsley rallied the militiamen who were strong in St. Louis those days. The ordinance went through. It created Mississippi and Missouri avenues one hundred and twenty feet wide. It reserved the ground between them for a "public square."

Mayor Darby did not rest with this. The year 1840 found him again at the head of the municipality and determined to have a park for that generation. Laclede's grant of 1766 for a mill site had been handed down to Auguste Chouteau's descendants. Recently it had been subdivided. One tract of six acres had been bid in at the partition sale for Major Thomas F. Smith of the United States army, who had married Emilie, the youngest daughter of Auguste Chouteau. The spring of 1840 a new city charter went into effect. It provided for a city council with two branches—the aldermen and the delegates. Mayor Darby in his message again pointed out that that was the time to secure land for parks. The recommendation went to the board of delegates and was given to a select committee, of which George K. Budd was chairman. Mr. Budd was favorable to the park policy, but the difficulty was to find land suitable in location and price. Mayor Darby took up negotiations with Major Smith for the six acres of the "Mill Tract." Major Smith was willing to sell because, he said, he wanted to put the money into a fine residence he was building on Seventh street. The mayor's office at that time was in the city hall, which was the market house on Walnut and the Levee. Near by was a genteel place known as "Billy Williams'." As the result of the conferences at the mayor's office and in Billy Williams' back room, conclusions were reached. It was agreed to pass an ordinance paying Major Smith for his six acres twenty-five one-thousand-dollar bonds bearing five per cent and running fifty years. The ordinance which was passed declared the six acres "to be forever a public square, for the use of the citizens of St. Louis, and on no plea or pretext whatsoever shall it be diverted from the purposes for which it is intended."

The six acres thus acquired from Major Smith are bounded by Market street, Clark avenue, Twelfth and Thirteenth street, now occupied by the city hall. The name Washington Square was bestowed. But in the next municipal campaign this park purchase was a leading issue. It was called the "Big Gully" and "Budd's Folly." The fight upon the Darby administration, which was Whig, was led by the Democratic Argus, the editor of which was Abel Rathbone Corbin. Years afterwards Corbin became the brother-in-law of General Grant, marrying his sister. Among the members of the council at the time of the purchase of Washington Square were Edward Brooks, Thomas H. West and Samuel Gaty.

While John F. Darby was mayor, a wave of reform swept over the Mississippi valley. Apparently it had its beginning in Vicksburg. Gamblers and the lawless generally had made the Bluff City their place of abode to such a number that they openly defied moral sentiment. Citizens came together in an uprising against the undesirables. At a public meeting they adopted a resolution that every gambler must leave Vicksburg in twenty-four hours. This was about 1835. The gamblers scoffed at the citizens' action. They not only did not leave, but they armed themselves and prepared to resist. A young man, a doctor, who represented the citizens' movement was killed. Those gamblers who did not immediately leave the city were seized, taken to the suburbs and executed. Meetings were held in all of the larger cities along the rivers. The

RENE PAUL,
The First City Engineer

WILLIAM CARR LANE,
The First Mayor

THE MARKET HOUSE AND LEVEE ABOUT 1840

action of the Vicksburg people was indorsed, and notices were served upon gamblers that they must go. St. Louis participated in the reform movement. The council passed an ordinance providing for the trial and punishment of all persons who could not show honorable means of livelihood. Mayor Darby served notice upon the gamblers that this ordinance applied to them. He caused the arrest of several of the most notorious; had them brought before him and sentenced them to terms of imprisonment. This action was followed quickly by the exodus of gamblers from the city. An ordinance required the night watchmen to stop all persons found on the street after ten o'clock and ask their business, "and, if necessary, to escort them to their homes."

Mr. Darby was one of the most active and public spirited citizens of his time. He not only founded the park system of St. Louis, but he led in the movement for the proposed great National Road across the continent at a time when that project was before Congress. He went to Congress in 1850 and secured an appropriation of $115,000 for a custom house and post office on Third and Olive streets. It was largely through his efforts as a congressman that the land grants were issued to the Pacific Railroad company and to the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad company.

In 1840 Mr. Darby came in for a second period of service. He was mayor one year. Up to that time St. Louis had had but four different persons in the position of mayor during nearly twenty years. The fifth mayor was John D. Daggett, a Massachusetts man who had come to St. Louis in 1817 to take charge of a store. Daggett was a lockmaker by trade. He was a merchant and also followed steamboating with considerable success. The Whigs persuaded Mr. Daggett to run, but one term was as much as he would accept. He was a man of fine physique, full bearded, dignified in manner. He was looked upon as especially the representative of the steamboat interests.

George Maguire and John M. Wimer were the sixth and seventh mayors, serving one year each. Maguire appointed a young college graduate, John F. Long, chief of police. Years afterwards, collector of the port and personal friend of Grant, Long became prominent in the Republican party of St. Louis. He made a good chief, but his tenure of office was short. Mayor Wimer came into office as a representative of the working classes. He chose for chief of police a young carpenter, James McDonough, who was on good terms with the volunteer firemen. At the beginning of the war, when the metropolitan police system was adopted, McDonough was chief of police several years. He owed one of his most important successes in the early part of his police career to a chain of strange circumstances. Before coming to St. Louis McDonough was at Port Gibson and took passage on a steamboat for New Orleans. A tall, well dressed man, who called himself Howard, came on board as the steamboat started, and, addressing the young carpenter, said he was "broke," without even enough money to pay passage. He asked a loan of twenty dollars, which McDonough gave him, although it strained his own resources. Industries were dull in New Orleans and McDonough failed to find a job. He started up into Arkansas on tramp and arrived at Little Rock with almost nothing. He went on to Van Buren and came back without finding work. The Little Rock land-

lord took possession of the kit of tools for unpaid board. One day McDonough went up the gang-plank of a boat which had just come to Little Rock; he was hailed by the long-haired, well dressed Howard, who pulled out a roll of bills and handed him twenty dollars. Howard explained that he had made $50,000 in some Texas speculations. McDonough came to St. Louis, followed the carpenter trade a short time and was appointed chief of police. The jewelry store of Benj. F. Crain on Main street was robbed. McDonough, with several officers, arrested two suspects and then raided an old rope walk house near Main and Biddle streets which bore the reputation of housing suspicious characters. As the police approached the house the lights went out and the doors were barricaded. When one of the inmates tried to escape by the rear entrance and was captured by McDonough he turned out to be Howard. On the way, to the station the prisoner suggested a plan by which information could be obtained. His proposition was that Chief McDonough pose as a prisoner and be locked up with the others. This was carried out; Howard drew the two suspects into conversation and the details of the robbery of the jewelry store were revealed to the chief. Howard subsequently disclosed the hiding place of the stolen jewelry under the old rope walk. In pursuing his investigations McDonough learned that the man he had helped at Port Gibson and who had helped him at Little Rock was one of the most notorious thieves in the country.

In 1841 the city was considerably enlarged by a legislative act and was divided into five wards. At the next election in April, 1842, George Maguire was chosen mayor. Voting by ballot was the election reform introduced into St. Louis in 1842. For twenty-seven years the citizens of St. Louis voted by naming to the judges the person or persons for whom they wished to be counted. The population reached such numbers that two or three days were required to poll the voters. The deposit of a printed ballot was a great innovation over the old viva voce method. To secure an honest and fair election in the thirties the party managers organized large committees. In 1835 the Whig party had committees in every ward "to see that the electors in the respective wards attended the polls and voted." Committees were expected to remain at the polls three days. There was a wagon committee which had exclusive control of the vehicles; there was a committee at the polls "to aid in the preservation of order, to see that no undue advantage is taken of others and to offer every facility to the judges in the reception of votes." The names of the committeemen appointed by the Whig party one year occupied a full column in the newspapers.

The first native-born citizen elected mayor was victorious in the most exciting election that had been held up to that year—1844. He was Bernard Pratte. He headed the Whig ticket on a platform of "Henry Clay and Protection to American Industries." Over 4,000 votes were cast. Pratte's majority was 362. The contest between Whigs and Democrats in St. Louis was so strenuous that when United States Senator Thomas H. Benton presented himself to vote at the Fourth ward polling place in November he was challenged, the Whig challenger insisting that the Senator was not a citizen. Benton

was required to make oath that he considered St. Louis his place of residence before he was allowed to vote.

Mayor Bernard Pratte was not only a native of St. Louis but the first child born in St. Louis after the United States Senate ratified the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana territory. His mother was a native of St. Louis. Bernard Pratte showed his enterprising spirit by taking the first steamboat up the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone. That was in 1832. The trip was made in association with Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Mayor Pratte was a comparatively young executive—forty-one when he took his seat. During his two terms St. Louis was lighted by gas; the levee was paved with stone blocks. Mr. Pratte retired from politics and business and became a student and a lover of books.

In the eight years from 1837 to 1845 the population of St. Louis increased from 14,253 to 35,930. In 1844 there were built in St. Louis 1146 structures, including churches, public offices and private residences; the rotunda of the courthouse was completed and opened with a celebration of Washington's birthday, the 22d of February, 1845, Mayor Pratte presiding. That year was one of strong optimism. "No city," said a local historian, "was probably ever filled with a more industrious population than St. Louis in 1845, or had fewer idle persons, according to its numbers. Political questions seemed generally settled in a satisfactory way and people thought they could foresee what was likely to follow in business transactions and shaped their course of action according to those views."

Three Camdens arrived in St. Louis about 1837 from Virginia. They established a drygoods house. Two of them were brothers and the third was a cousin. When the American, or Know Nothing party, entered actively into local politics Peter G. Camden was selected as the candidate for mayor and was elected in 1846. His administration issued bonds for $25,000 to buy stones to revet the east bank of the Mississippi when the current was threatening to cut a new channel beyond Bloody Island. In Mr. Camden's administration progress was made toward public lighting of the streets, although the movement did not become fully effective until a later date. Mr. Camden was educated for the law at Washington college but preferred mercantile life. Mr. Camden served one year, when the Democrats carried the city with Bryan Mullanphy, one of the largest tax payers in St. Louis. Bryan Mullanphy's property in St. Louis was assessed at nearly $300,000. At the election of April 6, 1847, Mr. Mullanphy received 2453 votes; W. M. Campbell, 1829, and James H. Lucas, 962. The successful candidate ran as an Independent; Campbell as Native American, and Lucas as Whig.

The most eccentric of St. Louis mayors was born in Baltimore and educated in the best schools of France and England. His eccentricities were exercised mainly in unusual forms of philanthropy. Bryan Mullanphy gave unstintedly to relieve distress, always trying to inspire self-reliance in those he helped. When he died the bar association said of him: "All his oddities are but as the dust in the balance when weighed against the uprightness of his life and the succession of his charities."

During the term of Mayor Mullanphy the council passed an ordinance opening an extension to one of the streets, either Eighth or Ninth, northward. The extension passed through the home tract of Jonas Moore. When the city officials took steps to open the street, Jonas Moore said he would kill the first man who broke down the fence. Frank Molair, the city marshal, whose duty it was to carry out the provisions of the ordinance, came back to the mayor's office and reported what Mr. Moore had said. The mayor sarcastically rebuked Molair, telling him he had been intimidated and had failed to do his duty. The marshal replied that he did not care to lay down his life for a fence panel.

"You shirk your work, sir," the mayor continued. "Substantially you refuse to perform it. I understand you. As your superior officer I shall set you an example. Are you armed?"

The marshal said he was not armed. He was told to come back prepared. The sergeant-at-arms of the council was William Cotter, who acted as secretary to the mayor. Cotter was told to get a hand saw. The mayor further equipped himself with the book of the ordinances, turning down the leaf at the one which applied to the opening of streets. The party proceeded to the place where the street was to be opened. Jonas Moore stood at the door holding a rifle in his hand. The mayor addressed Moore. He said:

"I had believed you to be a good citizen and I am astonished that you should resist an officer in the discharge of his sworn duty. You have intimidated the marshal, but you cannot intimidate me, sir. You only compel me to perform his functions. I shall proceed, sir; and that you may perpetrate no rashness under cover of ignorance, I shall first read to you the law which governs me."

The mayor read the ordinance and as he completed, threw the book to Cotter, pulled off his coat, took the hand saw and gave Mr. Molair this order:

"Now, Mr. Marshal, out with your pistol! Cock it, and observe well, Mr. Marshal; if Mr. Moore shoots me, do you instantly shoot Mr. Moore!"

The mayor paid no more attention to Moore, but went to work with the saw on the fence and continued until he had cut down all of the fence which obstructed the roadway. Jonas Moore went back into the house and shut the door behind him with a slam. After the performance the mayor led the posse in silence back to his office.

"Mr. Marshal," he said, as he came to the door, "when there is another fence to break down I beg you will have the goodness to break it yourself."

When Bryan Mullanphy willed a considerable part of his fortune to assist immigrants passing through St. Louis, he had in his mind the saddest experience of his term as mayor. The Irish famine prompted emigration. Among the immigrants, ship fever became epidemic. Malignant typhus set in and spread through the crowded ships. At the sea ports it became necessary to erect temporary hospitals and to afford relief on a great scale. These Irish immigrants, intending to find homes in the far west, came by thousands to New Orleans and took passage up the Mississippi to St. Louis. One of the priests attached to St. Patrick's church at that time, Father O'Hanlon, left this account of the distressing scenes:

Daily were steamers coming up the river crowded with sick persons in a state of utter prostration. Messengers or deckhands, mostly Irish, came from each vessel and we were obliged to hasten on board sometimes to find groups of infected persons lying in what we believed to be a moribund state. Extreme unction had to be administered in haste before these people could be landed. Early in the stage of suffering and panic I waited on the noble hearted Mayor Mullanphy and he accompanied me to one of the steamers. With tears in his eyes he witnessed the harrowing spectacles. He gave me carte blanche to order cabs for transportation to the hospitals, not only then but upon every similar occasion. With that prompt benevolence characteristic of Mayor Mullanphy, he hastened to call a meeting of the city council. Measures were taken immediately to erect hospital sheds on an island below St. Louis, where sick immigrants were to be landed and where a staff of doctors and nurses was to attend them. Not only was the mayor an active member of the St. Vincent de Paul society, then lately founded, but he now took a leading part in the formation of an Irish Emigrant society. That society endeavored, with great zeal and charity, to provide shelter for widows and orphans and work for those capable of being employed. Frequently was I aboard the steamers after landing and the scenes I witnessed were heartrending beyond description. Sometimes whole families, with perhaps the exception of one or two individuals, were found in the last stages of typhus and scarcely able to bear removal to hospitals. Grateful indeed were many poor creatures when the mayor walked among beds in which lay those struck down by ship fever. Often the mayor addressed words of comfort and promise which greatly cheered forlorn and breaking hearts. Besides his own active supervision, the good mayor frequently supplied me with liberal donations for surviving members of those unfortunate families.

The attempt to cede St. Louis to the United States as the site for the national capital, in 1845, led to what the papers called "a ridiculous blunder." In the summer of that year St. Louis sent delegates to a convention to frame a new constitution for the state. The convention submitted to the voters a proposed constitution. In the draft was a provision offering certain described territory "for the purpose of locating and keeping thereon the seat of government of the United States." In the debate it was given out that the proposed cession included St. Louis and considerable contiguous territory. But, when the language of the instrument was examined carefully it appeared that St. Louis, as then bounded, was not included in the territory to be ceded. The northern boundary of the proposed cession was about where Arsenal street is now. The constitution framers had, as a matter of geographical definition, offered the present workhouse site, Carondelet and the ground north of Jefferson Barracks for a new District of Columbia. One of the St. Louis papers commenting upon the "ridiculous blunder" said:

"The nearest approach to our city is the township line which strikes the United States arsenal tract below the city. The section of country ceded takes in the ancient and renowned city of Vide Poche, otherwise denominated Empty Pocket, and reaches nearly to Jefferson Barracks. What effect this strange blunder may have upon the two towns we leave to those interested to find out, certain of one thing only, that Vide Poche and not St. Louis is to be the future seat of the national government if the terms of our constitution are to be regarded."

The proposed constitution was rejected by the people of the state which ended the cession of St. Louis project.

John Marshall Krum, who had been the first mayor of Alton, was the

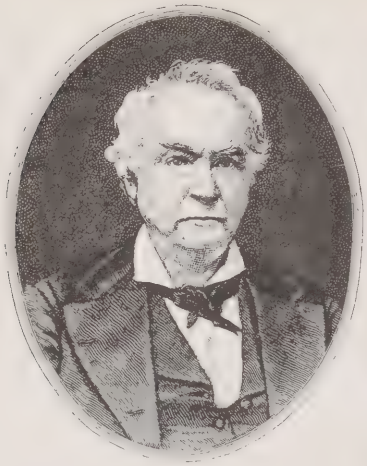
eleventh mayor of St. Louis. He was elected as a Democrat in 1848, beating Luther M. Kennett by over five hundred votes. Krum was a New Yorker, born at Hudson. Three brothers of Krum came to America from Hamburg with their families just before the Revolutionary war. From them descended many persons widely scattered in this country, spelling the name variously Krum, Krumm, Crume, Crum, Crump and Crumb. One of the three brothers was the grandfather of John M. Krum.

When a mass meeting called by Mayor John M. Krum was held at the courthouse on the 19th of February, 1849, to consider what should be done in view of the cholera epidemic, one theme was made impressive by all of the speakers. Until that date the city had not moved with energy to abate the ponds scattered throughout the city and the suburbs. These ponds, originally of clear, pure water, had become contaminated with the surface drainage. There were many of them. Speaker after speaker dwelt upon the importance of a system of drainage which would abate the pond nuisance. This was the first general agitation looking to a system of sewerage. With the movement to provide sewers, quite a controversy arose over the abolishment of Chouteau's Pond. The proposition was something of a shock to sentiment. Elihu H. Shepard described the feeling:

> Every old inhabitant had been fed on food from that mill. Every man and boy had fished from that pond. Every lady of St. Louis had perambulated its grassy and wide banks. To destroy this great monument of the labors of one of the greatest benefactors and first builders of St. Louis seemed an act of sacrilege which no man would have the temerity to condemn. Yet it seemed inevitable; the multiplying of factories and butcher shops along its border had destroyed the beauty and defiled the purity of the waters. The pond's presence had become an ulcer and was desirable no longer. It was declared a nuisance and ordered drained, which was done by opening the dam and allowing the water to escape. Thus was removed one of the great features of St. Louis which had distinguished it for the first half of the century.

James G. Barry was the twelfth mayor. He was elected by a vote of 3,181 against 3,038 for Mr. Foster.

Luther M. Kennett was mayor three terms. He was a Kentuckian by birth and education. Compelled to give up his studies when he was fifteen he came to St. Louis, in 1825, hoping to study law. To support himself he took a position as clerk in a store. Going into mercantile business he made a fortune. Fairview, the country home of Mayor Kennett, was for many years one of the most attractive places in St. Louis county. At the municipal election in April, 1852, Mr. Kennett received for his third term a majority of 566 out of a total vote of 7,238. In the three terms, which Luther M. Kennett served as mayor, important public improvements were carried out. Previous to his first election as mayor, Mr. Kennett had been an alderman several years and during the cholera scourge in 1849 had taken a prominent part in establishing a system of quarantine. That epidemic impressed upon the community the necessity for sewerage. To that subject Mr. Kennett gave much attention as long as he was the head of the city government. In his three terms the system was planned and great progress made in construction. Another notable achievement under Mayor Kennett was the widening of the wharf and the con-

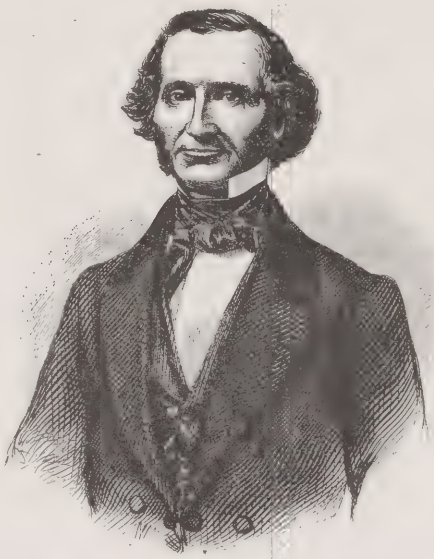


MAYOR JOHN F. DARBY

MAYOR JOHN M. WIMER

MAYOR PETER G. CAMDEN

MAYOR BERNARD PRATTE



MAYOR LUTHER M. KENNETT

struction of the great Illinois dyke which completed the permanent protection of the river channel in front of St. Louis. Going to congress in 1855, with his knowledge of the city's needs, Mr. Kennett devoted himself to the work of securing appropriations for river improvement. He also procured the right-of-way for the Iron Mountain Railway through the Arsenal grounds and Jefferson Barracks. He left seven sons by his second wife, who was his cousin, Miss Agnes Kennett. By his first wife, a daughter of John Boyce he had one daughter, who became the wife of Benjamin Harris.

The vigor of the municipal campaigns of that period is illustrated by the editorial of the Missouri Republican comments upon the municipal election of April, 1851:

> Luther M. Kennett was re-elected mayor of St. Louis against the combined influence of Abolitionism, Free-Soilism, Socialism, Red Republicanism, Communism, Infidelity, and all the isms combined. Even Bentonism, which descended from the high standing of a senator of thirty years' standing, and came down to mingle in our ward and municipal elections, could not prevent this result.
>
> We feel greatly gratified in this result, not only from the fact that it again secures to our city the administration of a man who is pre-eminently worthy of this trust, not more in the conduct of the affairs of the city than in his ability and manly repulsion of the unjustifiable assumptions of the Free-Soil party, but also for his notable and manly repulse of Colonel Benton at the Sixth Ward yesterday. It will forever be recollected with gratitude and consideration by the Whigs of this city. To Colonel Benton it is the severest rebuke ever administered to any public man.
>
> It is the first instance in this country where a distinguished senator has descended from a high position to mingle in the affairs of a municipal election. Well might the friends of the colonel exclaim "What a fall!"
>
> We congratulate our citizens on this result in another aspect. It is a rebuke, we hope and trust a severe and lasting one, to those who would rear the hydra-headed factions of Socialism, Red Republicanism, Communism, Revolutionism, and Infidelity, in our midst. We glory in it as a signal rebuke to those who would burn churches or sack convents to carry out their revolutionary purposes.

John How, born and reared in Philadelphia, was mayor of St. Louis in 1853 and 1854 and again in 1856. He was a merchant and a very successful one in the early fifties. Curiously, when Mr. How ran as a Democrat in 1856, his opponent heading the Know Nothing ticket was another former Philadelphian, John B. Carson.

Between the periods of John How's service Washington King was elected mayor. He was born in New York city and was a teacher of the largest classical school in that city before he came to St. Louis in 1844 to engage in mercantile pursuits. Before he was elected mayor, Washington King traveled extensively abroad.

The municipal issue in 1857 was emancipation. John M. Wimer, a Virginian, who had been mayor one term in 1843, was elected by 1,500 majority, as the candidate on the emancipation ticket. He came to St. Louis when he was eighteen years old and worked at his trade as a blacksmith. He was one of the organizers of the Liberty fire company. Wimer was a giant physically. He had the native qualities which made him a leader in local politics. For years he held the Fifth ward at his command. From his little frame blacksmith shop on the corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets, Wimer in the thirties

and early forties, ruled as did Ed. Butler from his blacksmith shop on Tenth street near Walnut in the seventies, when the Fifth had become the First ward. Wimer was, like Butler, devoted to his friends. Unlike Butler, Wimer held office. He left a good record as constable, alderman, superintendent of the waterworks, mayor, postmaster, sheriff and county judge. He was president of the Pacific railroad and of the Commercial insurance company. There seemed to be almost nothing in the gift of the people of St. Louis which was not within the reach of John M. Wimer, the blacksmith, at the time his Virginia parentage prompted him to take sides with the Confederacy. He was fearless. His expressions of sympathy for the south sent him to Gratiot street prison and thence to Alton. Wimer escaped from prison, joined General Emmett McDonald and fell with McDonald at the battle of Hartsville in Missouri in January 1863. When the body was brought back to St. Louis, it was given private burial by order of the provost marshal to avert the possible demonstration which might attend a public funeral, so popular was the man.

In 1858, St. Louisans gave further evidence of public sentiment on the slavery issue by electing the Free Soil candidate for mayor, Oliver D. Filley. The defeated Democrat was George R. Taylor, one of the most popular business men and one of the ablest members of his party. Mr. Filley was one of the earliest Free Soil men. He came out a republican in 1856 and declared Missouri ought to be a free state. With this kind of a record he was elected mayor three times, which brought his service as the city's executive down to April, 1861. And yet St. Louis has been classed by several historical writers as strongly pro-slavery just before the war. The impression given by these writers that the majority of St. Louisans were favorable to secession is not borne out by the truth about conditions here at that time.

The "lid" was put on St. Louis during the administration of Mayor O. D. Filley. At the election of 1859 the question whether the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday should be permitted was voted upon. There were cast 5,528 votes in favor of open saloons and 7,544 against. The Germans were very much dissatisfied with the result. They had furnished the votes to put the Free Soilers in power locally. Mayor Filley was a firm believer in Sabbath observance. He was from the land of steady habits. He proceeded to enforce the Sunday law against liquor selling. The common council, sympathized with the personal liberty elements. An ordinance designed to be a compromise was passed in August, 1859. It permitted saloons to remain open until nine o'clock in the morning and after three o'clock in the afternoon, on Sunday. This closed the saloons during church hours. Mayor Filley promptly rebuked the common council for seeking to thwart the popular will. He said in his message to the council:

"The peculiar feature of our political system is in its representative principle, and this will be likely to endure and claim the willing obedience of all so long as it is justly administered. It will be your duty to devise such amendments as will satisfy our citizens that their rights in this respect are in no danger and that the result obtained at the ballot box is the true exponent of those entitled to suffrage."

Daniel G. Taylor was elected mayor in April, 1861. He was a native of Ohio, born in Cincinnati, of Scotch parents. Running on the "Union Anti-Black Republican" ticket, Mr. Taylor led John How by a vote of 12,992 to 9,434. There were only two candidates. Mr. How some time previously had been mayor three terms. He was a member of the Committee of Safety. Taylor was supported not only by democrats but by the union party and the emancipationists who were opposed to Blair and who still hoped and thought that war might be averted.

In February, two months before Taylor's election, the "Unconditional Union" ticket of delegates to the state convention was carried by a majority of 6,000 in St. Louis city and county, Missouri went 80,000 against secession. The convention voted overwhelmingly against secession and in favor of maintenance of the Union, but deprecated coercion if it could be avoided. When the state officers headed by Claiborne Jackson had withdrawn from Jefferson City to Join the Confederacy, this state convention at an adjourned session, chose loyal state officers with Hamilton R. Gamble of St. Louis as governor. When the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached St. Louis, the middle of April, an indignation mass meeting was held at the courthouse. Among the speakers was former Mayor John M. Krum, who announced himself a supporter of the government. He not only had been one of the earliest democratic mayors of St. Louis, but had been sent by St. Louis democrats as a delegate to the national convention of that party in 1848, 1852, 1856 and 1860.

St. Louis had never known such a municipal campaign as that of April, 1861. The How ticket was headed "Unconditional Union." Frank P. Blair spoke for How, attending as many as three meetings in an evening. He was everywhere, seeking in this local campaign the vindication of his leadership. Samuel T. Glover was another steady campaigner for How, but he always insisted on having a hall. Blair would talk under any circumstances. A sensational incident was the coming out of Samuel Breckinridge, a member of the Kentucky branch of the family which was against slavery. Samuel Breckinridge had been a "Clay Whig" he had been a nominee for congress on the Bell-Everett ticket, but in that spring campaign of 1861 he came out for the republicans. His accession gave great encouragement to the How people.

Daniel G. Taylor was probably the most popular man of his day in St. Louis, and was so without any unbending of purpose or any yielding of what he thought was right. He recognized no difference in rank and station when it came to treatment of widely different people. He had come up from cabin boy and the steamboatmen were especially friendly toward him. Immediately following Taylor's nomination an immense ratification meeting was held on the levee. Bonfires were burned. Speeches were made from several stands. Then followed a torchlight procession, with yawl boats on wheels, through the principal streets.

Night after night the excitement of that municipal campaign continued. Thornton Grimsley marched and marched his "Constitutional Guards" for Taylor. The republicans turned out "Wideawakes." There was all of the display of a national campaign. Behind the noise and glare of the campaigning was

a feeling that as much was at stake as in a presidential contest. Business interests were deeply concerned. The river trade was the commercial artery of St. Louis. Steamboatmen and merchants clung to the hope that the influence of the border might avert war. Sentiment was against secession but it refused to believe that war was inevitable. The bloodshed, the overt act which was to make every man take sides for civil war, had not yet come. But while the Taylor men and the How men were carrying on the open campaign, the Germans were drilling at night in Ruedi's garden, and the minute men were recruiting for the more serious business which was to follow the election. St. Louis had a population of 162,000. The vote cast in that election was over 22,000.

When Mayor Taylor was inaugurated the city offices were in a three-story building on Chestnut near Main street. They were moved a few months later to the east wing of the courthouse. That year the iron dome of the courthouse was constructed. One of the new conditions Mayor Taylor had to meet was the organization of the police department under commissioners appointed by the governor. James McDonough was made chief. A month after Mayor Taylor entered upon his administration occurred the capture of Camp Jackson. Then came "Black Friday" with its stampede of panic-stricken people from the city, the revolt of some of the Union men to the secession side, the deposition of General Harney, martial law and the horrors of civil war at the city's very doors.

No other mayor of St. Louis had to meet the confused and trying conditions which confronted Daniel G. Taylor in April and May, of 1861. Mr. Taylor was a man of strong sympathies. It was said of him that he gave more widely in private charities than any other man of like means in St. Louis. Helping young men was one of his philanthropic specialties. When there were relief expeditions to meet such emergencies as the flood of 1844, the Stonewall steamboat disaster and the like, Daniel G. Taylor was among the first volunteers. Elected mayor, he said he would consider only the question of capability and honesty in his appointments. The municipal government was well administered through the troublous period. In June, following the excitement of Camp Jackson and the street demonstrations, Mayor Taylor felt that the responsibilities of the office were greater than he could bear. He offered his resignation to the city council. He was asked to withdraw it and so strong was the popular sentiment, he yielded and served not only through that term but through another. During two years when the revenues were almost paralyzed, when the demands for relief were unprecedented, when there were those who asked to substitute military authority for the civil functions, Daniel G. Taylor steered the city government with admirable tact and temper. His reelection in 1862 was the finest tribute the city could pay to his administration of the city's affairs. When Mayor Taylor went out of office he became a captain of one of the militia companies formed for the defense of St. Louis if attacked by the Confederates.

In 1863 the city entered upon almost a decade of republican mayors.

Chauncey I. Filley, a New Yorker by birth, one of the five St. Louis Filleys, cousins, from Connecticut and New York, was elected mayor.

J. S. Thomas was the nineteenth mayor, serving until 1869. He came from Maryland, at the age of twenty-three. He had as a traveling companion when he arrived in 1825, Major Anderson who was in command of Fort Sumter at the outbreak of the Civil war. The two reached the Mississippi side on the evening of December 30th of that year. They stopped over night at the house of Mrs. William Wiggins, whose husband was a brother of Samuel Wiggins of Wiggins Ferry history. In the morning they were conveyed by skiff across the river, landing near the foot of Market street. As they stood upon the bank Mr. Thomas said to the young graduate of West Point, "This shall be my future lifetime home." Even at that early date, 1825, he took careful note of conditions. He said, in describing what he saw:

> A great levee nearly eight miles long, with the exception of about four narrow streets which had been cut through the rock for the purpose of enabling the inhabitants to pursue their vocation of trading and for giving them facilities for obtaining water, was one solid mass of limestone rock from twenty-five to forty feet high. The number of inhabitants was 4,800. Main street from Market to Poplar, was the only street graded and paved. We had four churches. A small brick building at the corner of Market and Second streets was known as the Catholic church; a new brick building at Third and Market was known as the Baptist church; a new building on Fourth street between St. Charles and Washington avenue was known as the Presbyterian church, and a small frame building stood in the middle of Fourth street just below where the Southern Hotel now stands. We had no bank or banking house until the 3d of June, 1826, when your humble servant opened a broker shop and banking house with a cash capital of $270.00 and a credit of $3,000 in Philadelphia. There were not many depositors in those days.

The services of James S. Thomas as mayor began in 1864, when he was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Chauncey I. Filley, who resigned on account of ill health. Mr. Thomas was reelected in 1865 and for a succeeding term. As mayor he was chairman of what was known as "the returning soldiers' reception committee," organized to give a patriotic and hospitable reception to the troops of the various states passing through St. Louis on their way home from the south. During his administration there occurred many contentions over the conduct of the police commissioners. Mr. Thomas endeavored to carry out reforms and aroused antagonism on the part of the commissioners. He was an ardent union man and was active in the organization and conduct of the Union League. The fact that he was chairman of the assessment committee, appointed to levy contributions from southern sympathizers in St. Louis, had much to do with his selection for mayor. Mr. Thomas performed the duties of the difficult position in such a manner as to win the praise of General Halleck and to promote the growth of loyal sentiment. His friends held that his popularity was increased by his actions as chairman of the assessment committee in such a degree that he was the most available man for mayor.

In the years following the war the use of disreputable anonymous methods of attack was resorted to more frequently in local politics than it is now. James S. Thomas preserved and often exhibited to his friends a copy of a cir-

cular signed "Citizen," issued to influence votes against him. This circular read:

> Citizens of St. Louis, pause before you vote. The man who proposed to drive out 4,000 of your fellow-citizens with their wives and children as the Moors were driven out of Spain, who in the bigotry of his atheism tried to organize a crusade against the whole Catholic population of St. Louis on the alleged ground of disloyalty; and who all but succeeded in confiscating the property of the Catholic church under the false pretext of assisting the venerated and venerable Archbishop as a rebel sympathizer; this man, James S. Thomas, is candidate for mayor. I ask you, fellow-citizens, if he be a fit person to be entrusted with the duties of chief magistrate of St. Louis.

With the election of Nathan Cole in 1869, a native of St. Louis, for the second time became mayor. The Coles were early settlers. They came from Ovid, New York, in 1821. There were the father and mother, of Connecticut descent, and six sons. Nathan Cole, born in St. Louis in 1825, was the seventh son. Mayor Cole's administration was made notable by marked moral improvement of the city.

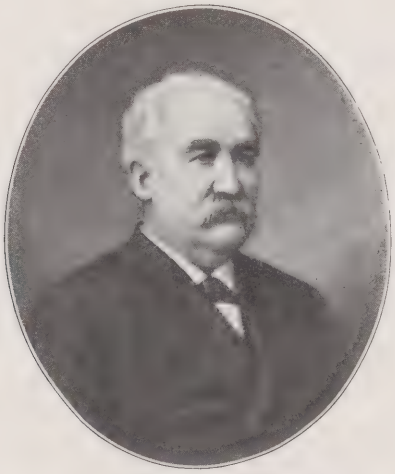
In 1871 the democrats came into control of the city government through the election of Joseph Brown who had come to Alton from Scotland with his parents when he was eight years old. Like John M. Krum, Joseph Brown was mayor of Alton before he was mayor of St. Louis. He was a war democrat, and when the government wanted a navy to force the opening of the river, Captain Brown applied his steamboating experience, as did Captain James B. Eads, in building tin clads. When Captain Brown went to Washington for settlement of the contracts he had executed he brought back to St. Louis in a valise $800,000 in currency. During the panic of 1873, Mayor Brown developed the qualities of a financier. The city needed cash. The mayor issued what were called "brownbacks." Although the action was without warrant of law, this paper money was accepted by the banks and the people as the best thing to be done under the circumstances. It found its way back to the city in payment of taxes. The ability of the people of St. Louis to take care of themselves in a great emergency was again demonstrated.

In September, 1871, the war waged against open gambling in St. Louis brought forth from some source a pamphlet addressed to the "Best men of St. Louis." The argument was advanced under this caption: "What the Suppression of Gaming Costs Us. St. Louis Loses from Two to Three Million Dollars Annually by Suppressing Games. Chicago and Other Cities Benefited."

The pamphlet was distributed to those in attendance upon a capital removal meeting at Mercantile Library hall, a copy being handed to each person at the head of the stairs. It urged that St. Louis could not afford to suppress gambling houses; that trade would be diverted to the cities which permitted gambling; that gamblers were good spenders; that business failures were already taking place as a result of the moral reform wave. The figures presented were that St. Louis would suffer a loss of from two to three million dollars annually by the suppression of gambling houses. Nevertheless, the moral movement went on. It assumed some rather extravagant forms. Fol-

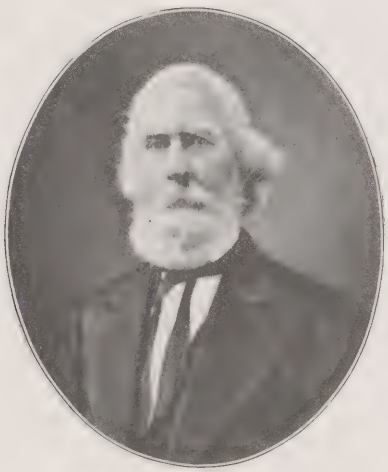
MAYOR WASHINGTON KING

MAYOR NATHAN COLE



MAYOR HENRY OVERSTOLZ

MAYOR JOHN M. KRUM



MAYOR JOHN D. DAGGETT

lowing the issue of one edict from the city hall the Missouri Democrat printed the following:

> We call Mayor Brown's attention to the fact that the skirts of the dresses worn on the streets by many of our fashionable ladies are too long. A letter from his honor to Captain Burgess requesting him to notify the ladies that the wearing of such dresses is an indication of bad taste might have a happy effect.

In 1872, the Taxpayers' League was organized to correct abuses in the county and city governments. The expressed purpose was "to aid in securing honesty, economy and efficiency in the administration of municipal affairs and public business." Four years the league carried on a local reform campaign under the direction of an executive committee composed of Robert Campbell, Henry Hitchcock, John R. Shepley, Henry S. Turner, Albert Todd, Silas Bent, John H. Fisse and Joseph S. Fullerton. The last mentioned was the secretary. This campaign led up to the separation of the county and city and to the adoption of a new charter.

Mayor Brown served two terms of two years each. Then ensued local political confusion. Arthur B. Barret, a democrat, St. Louis born, the third native to reach the office, was elected mayor in 1875. He sent into the council a ringing message expressing his "firm conviction that no increase of taxation will be so willingly accorded as that which would secure to our citizens relief from the terrible dust clouds that permeate every home, shop, and manufactory, carrying destruction to many of our industries, and proving no less an inconvenience than an incalculable loss from every point of view to our entire community." One week later Mayor Barret died.

A special election was held in May, 1875. James H. Britton, a Virginian by birth, of Welsh descent, a banker nearly twenty years in St. Louis, was returned as elected. The result was contested by Henry Overstolz, the opposing candidate. Mr. Overstolz was seated after Mayor Britton had served nearly half a term. In 1877 Mayor Overstolz was solicited in a very numerously signed call to be a candidate for reelection under the new charter which made the term four years. The democratic convention nominated Mr. Overstolz and the republican convention indorsed him.

The first German citizen of St. Louis elected to public office in Missouri, and the only German-born mayor St. Louis has had, was Henry Overstolz. He could trace back his ancestry at Cologne through centuries. There is a statue in honor of Matthias von Overstolz, who lost his life in the struggle to preserve the charter of the free city in 1268. St. Louisans who have seen that statue in the city hall of Cologne declare there is striking resemblance to it in the pictures of Henry Overstolz of St. Louis. Johann von Overstolz was mayor of Cologne in 1275. Half of the Cologne cathedral was given to the city by the Overstolz family. To this day the old Overstolz mansion is preserved by Cologne as a mark of respect for the name which meant so much to the city. The family was compelled to go to the Province of Westphalia at the close of one of the struggles to preserve the rights of the city. Henry Overstolz was born in Munster. He came to St. Louis in 1846. Not long afterwards he was elected a member of the city council. Successively he was

councilman, comptroller, and member of the state board of public works. His election to the last mentioned position distinguished him as the first German-born citizen of St. Louis to be elevated to a state office in Missouri. Later came service as president of the city council two terms. In 1875 began a series of campaigns for the mayoralty, the most sensational in the city's history. Mr Overstolz was, in 1875, a non-partisan candidate for mayor against Arthur B. Barret, the democratic nominee, who was declared elected. Mr. Barret died soon after the election. Mr. Overstolz was the independent candidate at the special election but on the face of the returns James H. Britton, the democratic nominee was elected. Mr. Overstolz contested and won. He began his service as mayor in February 1876. Separation from the county and the adoption of a new charter followed. Mr. Overstolz was elected in 1877 for the first four years term. Upon him devolved the great responsibility of organizing the city government in accordance with the new provisions. In July, 1877, came the railroad strikes. Mayor Overstolz called to the assistance of city government a number of citizens and placed in their hands the organization of an armed force. The disorder was suppressed without the loss of a life.

The original St. Louis stock supplied a mayor in the person of William L. Ewing. While Mr. Ewing got his name and some of his inclination for political life from his Indiana father, of Pennsylvania descent, his family tree on the maternal side went back through the Bertholds to Pierre Laclede, the founder. On his father's side of the house, William L. Ewing was a nephew of the first mayor of St. Louis, William Carr Lane.

Kentucky gave to St. Louis a second mayor in the person of David R. Francis. The nomination came in 1886 as the result of a deadlock in the Democratic convention. There were three candidates—Rainwater, Noonan and Parks. The convention balloted all night. During the early part of the night Mr. Francis visited the convention hall, feeling interested especially in the candidacy of his personal friend, Major Rainwater. The thought that he might be a compromise candidate had not entered his mind. The next morning Mr. Francis was at the Merchants Exchange attending to his usual business when he heard a shout at the door and called out "What is that?" The reply came back "You have been nominated for mayor." Mr. Francis was elected by a plurality of 1,200. Four years previously the city had elected a republican to the mayoralty by 14,000. A business administration in the most comprehensive sense of the term describes the period of nearly four years during which Mr. Francis was at the head of the city government. Among the achievements were the reduction of the interest rate on the bonded debt from 6 per cent and 7 per cent to 3.65 per cent and 4 per cent. The Missouri Pacific owed the city $1,000,000 for which judgment had been obtained. Vigorous action on the part of the mayor resulted in the collection of the judgment. Some progress, under Street Commissioner John W. Turner, had been made toward the reconstruction of the down town streets with granite block paving. There had developed great opposition on the part of tax payers and the movement had been checked. Mayor Francis early in his

administration took up and pressed this improvement overcoming the objections of property holders.

St. Louis first tried limestone set on edge for paving. That made a rough and noisy street. Then came the use of limestone broken into small pieces, called macadam. When this was well settled it was fairly satisfactory paving until it was ground by the tires and hoofs into powder, making either mortar-like mud or dust. About 1856 the city authorities thought cellular iron pavement was a valuable invention, and tried several blocks of it. That became so unpopular that nobody would drive or ride over it, if he could go any other route. The next experience was with wooden blocks, a pavement called Nicholson, after the Boston man who patented it. Several miles of streets in the heart of the city were paved with the blocks. The wood rotted. The surface soon became uneven. As early as 1868 the agitation for "porphyry paving" began to fill columns in the newspapers, the proposition being to crush Missouri granite to the size of macadam. This kind of paving was tried on Broadway. Crushing machines were installed near Iron Mountain. Porphyry paving was discarded for asphalt, granite blocks, creosoted wooden blocks, and mixtures of crushed rock and bituminous compositions.

Investigation of the water conditions showed that in the near future St. Louis must prepare for a more abundant supply. Mayor Francis obtained authority from the council to buy the present site at the Chain of Rocks and to inaugurate the removal and building of new water works with a conduit. For this purpose the municipal assembly made an appropriation of $1,000,000. A vigorous policy toward the St. Louis Gaslight Company brought about a reduction in the price of gas from $2.50 to $1.25 per thousand cubic feet. Another of the measures which Mayor Francis pressed was an ordinance providing for the sprinkling of all streets in the city. Efforts to impress the advantages of St. Louis as a convention city during this administration brought here the triennial conclave of the Knights Templar, the meeting of the American Medical Association, the Grand Army Encampment, the national gathering of the Christian Endeavor Society, the National Cattle Men's Association and other large bodies. Mr. Francis resigned to become governor. George W. Allen, president of the council, was mayor the remainder of the term, about three months.

Edward A. Noonan, Pennsylvanian by birth, who settled in St. Louis in 1870, was put forward in 1889 as the candidate of the young Democracy for mayor. He won, although the Republicans elected most of the other officers. A feature of the Noonan administration was liberal treatment of the transportation interests which encouraged the building of the new union depot and the development of rapid transit on street car lines. Mayor Noonan advocated the building of the new city hall.

The advantage of immediately previous service in the legislative branch was illustrated in the case of Mayor Cyrus P. Walbridge. In 1881, Mr. Walbridge was a member of the house of delegates. In 1889 he was elected president of the council, which made him the acting mayor in the absence of the mayor. At the end of his term in the council, Mr. Walbridge was elected mayor

by a large majority. He brought to the office unusual qualifications which enabled him to carry through needed reforms and important improvements. For the first time the block system of street cleaning was inaugurated in St. Louis. Mayor Walbridge carried his point that police officers should have public hearings before the police commissioners and should not be judged in star chamber sessions. He appointed a commission, with Chancellor Chaplin of Washington University at the head of it, to work out an effective system for placing wires under ground. For the first time in the history of St. Louis, women were appointed on the boards of commissioners for charitable institutions and the house of refuge. By a series of public trials, Mayor Walbridge made changes in several city offices. The cases were taken to the courts and the right of the mayor to make such changes for the good of the service was sustained. Mayor Walbridge, during his term as president of the council, had cast the deciding vote for the ordinance enforcing the eight hour law in city work, the council standing six for and six against the innovation. When he became mayor he put the law into operation—it had been a dead letter up to that time—by cancelling contracts of contractors who refused to comply. Here again Mayor Walbridge's study and practice of the law proved its value. His position was sustained by the courts. Steadily pursuing a policy of improvement of the city service, Mr. Walbridge took the initial steps toward appointments and promotions under a classified system. He was the first civil service reformer in the municipal government. One of the five St. Louis mayors of New York birth, he was educated at a Minnesota college and in the University of Michigan law school, settling in St. Louis soon after he reached his majority.

In the selection of Henry Ziegenheim the people of St. Louis made choice of one who might be considered a native of St. Louis. Mr. Ziegenheim was born beyond the city limits, in St. Louis county. His parents were among the earliest German settlers in Bonhomme township. The father lived to the ripe old age of 106 years. He came of a noble family of Cassel, where a castle, as ancient as baronial times, bears the family name.

Rolla Wells was the seventh native of St. Louis chosen to the mayoralty. John F. Darby resigned the office of mayor of St. Louis on the 31st of October, 1837. Dr. William Carr Lane was elected to the vacancy on the 15th of November. He was twice elected after that and continued in office until April, 1840; thus, he served eight terms of one year each and about five months of an unexpired term, giving him the longest period of service as mayor in the history of St. Louis. The next longest service was that of Rolla Wells, who served two terms of four years each, beginning in April, 1901. The reelection of Mayor Wells was an exceptional act of the voters of St. Louis. No other mayor since the term became four years had been reelected. Few mayors, when the term was two years, served more than one term. The city began with a one-year term rule. Mayor Lane's terms were broken into two periods. Mr. Wells held the office of mayor a longer continuous period than any one of his thirty-odd predecessors. Two influences prompted Mr. Wells to stand for reelection, thereby disregarding precedents. These influences grew out of

policies formed and work begun during the first term. The mayor had become deeply interested in the development of the boulevard system of St. Louis. He wanted to put the eleemosynary institutions of the city on a better basis. Probably, St. Louis has not had another mayor who thought more about or did more for the unfortunates of the city. Mayor Wells planned and worked much, but talked little, for playgrounds, small parks and boulevards. He made the city's finances spread over improvements for the city institutions to an extent that did not seem possible when he went into office. He appeared before the board of public improvements to insist that Lindell boulevard be paved before the World's Fair. The mayor lived and owned frontage on Lindell. At the hearing he announced that he appeared as a property holder. He was insistent. The anti-improvement property holders fought the paving of the boulevard. They argued that the beauty of the street, the value of it for residential purposes, would be irreparably injured by the proposed hard paving. The boulevard was paved. The mayor's neighbors, one after another, acknowledged the wisdom of the improvement. A proposition to go back to the condition of Lindell boulevard unpaved would have met with unanimous protest.

Mayor Wells entered upon the boulevard movement with the appointment of a commission to investigate and report what St. Louis needed. This commission was composed of George B. Leighton, Julius Pitzman and H. N. Davis. Leighton and Davis were deeply interested in civic improvement. The commission traveled and investigated and took the advice of George E. Kessler, the landscape architect of the World's Fair. The commission presented an elaborate report but the first term of Mayor Wells neared the end before practical progress had been made. The completion of a boulevard system of St. Louis will be the work of a generation, but the eight years of Mayor Wells saw the movement underway.

When Mr. Wells came home from Princeton, his father put him to managing a street railroad. That was a very good post graduate course. It taught some things which were put to good account in the mayoralty. To get up a street railroad track after it has been put down is one of the hardest jobs a municipal officer can tackle. The city made the discovery about twenty years ago that it had, by franchise, given over to street car occupation every street leading west from the business center. It began with sporadic efforts a campaign to get back one street out from Broadway which might be free to vehicles. No headway was made until the ex-manager mayor got his experience under the track on Chestnut street, when it came. The city recovered an open highway westward. When the Wells administration came in, street railways had been consolidated but street railway ordinances were just as they had been passed to apply to a variety of franchises. These ordinances were passed for horse roads, cable roads, steam roads and electric roads. They specified different rates of speed as lawful. One of the earliest reforms of Mayor Wells was a general street railway ordinance which required fenders and brakes to receive the approval of the board of public improvements. This ordinance divided the city into districts and fixed a different rate of speed for each dis-

trict, reducing speed as the cars approached the more densely populated sections and the narrower streets. The interval of service was also fixed. Accidents were reduced to a small fraction of the number which occurred before the regulation. Service was greatly improved.

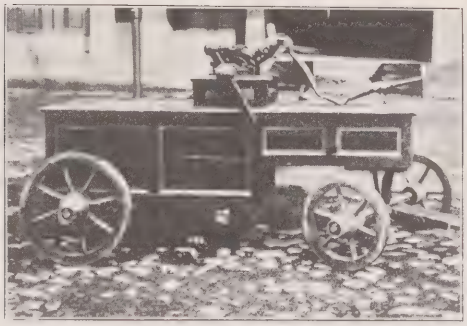
Shortly after William Carr Lane became mayor he appointed prominent citizens in each of the three wards to attend all fires. The equipment was a bucket and a badge. The bucket was of leather. The badge was of white cloth, tied around the hat with tapes so as to show the name of the ward in front, Northern, Central or Southern. The appointment was high honor. It implied that the citizen thus distinguished, would hurry home, grab his bucket, put on the badge and take his place in line to pass water for fire fighting whenever the alarm was given.

The natural evolution from the bucket brigade was the fire company. Again the best citizenship of St. Louis came "to the front." The meeting to organize was held in the Baptist church. The time was June, 1826. Josiah Spalding, the editor, was chairman. "The Phoenix" was the name chosen. Where is the American city, old enough to know a volunteer fire department, which did not have a "Phoenix" fire company? Bernard Pratte, pioneer and patriot, was chosen president. "We, the undersigned inhabitants of the middle ward" was the way the roll opened. In the membership were founders of families numerously represented in this generation of St. Louisans—McGunnegle, Hempstead, Gay, Von Phul, Sarpy, McCausland, Berthold, Pettus, McGill, Sutton, Chouteau, Philibert, Clemens, Tesson, Estes, Grimsley, Billon.

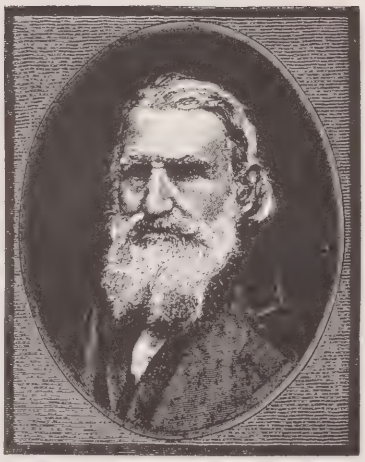
The board of alderman at once recognized the Phoenix fire company and by ordinance decreed that the company "shall have charge of the engine now in the market house." This engine was the None-Such. It was a large square box on little wheels. Within the red box was supposed to be pumping machinery. Two large iron wheels, one on either side of the box, turned by hand and applying the manual power to sets of cogs, were expected to operate the pump. Supposition and expectation were never realized. History does not record that the None-Such ever put out a fire. After two years of trying, the middle warders repudiated the trust and went back to the leather buckets.

In 1829 another organization was attempted under the name of St. Louis Fire company. Again "the old rotary" as the None-Such was called was hauled to fires and the iron wheels were revolved by willing hands. The None-Such was hauled back to the market house and abandoned.

In 1832 St. Louis made the third and successful effort to advance from the bucket brigade era. The nine aldermen, with the approval of Mayor Daniel D. Page, sent Martin Thomas east to buy a fire engine that would actually throw water. The city had grown to over 5,000 population. It had extended the limits to Fourth street on the west, Cherry street on the north and Elm street on the south. New conditions demanded something better than the leather buckets. Thomas was gone about three months. He bought in Philadelphia the Pat Lyon, a hand engine which worked with brakes. In preparation for the coming of the Lyon the first volunteer company to prove permanently efficient came into existence—The Central. Edward Brooks, a



PIONEER FIRE ENGINE



SAMUEL HAWKEN

HENRY CLAY SEXTON
Chief of Fire Department

LAURENCE HARRIGAN,
Chief of Police

CITY HALL, 1909

Philadelphian by nativity, who had come to St. Louis a couple of years before to establish a drug store at Chestnut and Main streets, was one of the leading spirits in the central. He afterwards became an alderman and was assistant city treasurer under Daniel G. Taylor.

When, in the fall of 1832, the Lyon arrived, all of the small boys and most of the men in St. Louis went down to Third and Market streets to see the trial. Three men could stand on the footboards of either side and four men on the ground could work the lower arm on each side. The Central company had muscle to spare. The brake arms were lengthened to accommodate more on either side. Then the little machine rocked and jumped as the arms went up and down. The firemen tried chaining the wheels. The foreman stood on top, waving his trumpet and shouting: "Strike 'er light! Strike 'er light!" to prevent the "masheen" turning turtle. In four years St. Louis had outgrown this Agnew engine and the firemen insisted on something larger and up-to-date. The Central company occupied an engine house on Main street south of Market street and opposite the market house. The location was just north of the great stone mansion of Auguste Chouteau. This was considered the most central location at the time and from that fact the company took the name.

Not long after the Central had become one of the community's most admired and respected institutions, the company made a run to a fire in the upper part of the city. As the machine whirled out of Main street and up Washington avenue, Samuel Hawken came to the door of his gun shop and looked on admiringly. As the Central went by "Gil" Chouteau shouted to Hawken that the Northern ward ought to have its own fire company and not wait for the Central "to come up town and put out fires."

Hawken was a Maryland boy, born at Hagerstown. He had already invented "the Hawken rifle" which was to become famous for two generations of hunters and trappers and explorers. "By Goodness! You won't have that to say long," Hawken shouted back to Chouteau. He began at once the organization of the Union Fire company. The motto of the company was "in Union there is Strength." "Uncle Sammy" Hawken, as he became known by everybody, chose as the first name for the organization The Northern Fire company but the legislature preferred the name of Union. The engine house was on Third street near Washington avenue. The Union company was the pride of the business community in the vicinity of Washington avenue east of Third. A. C. Hull, a native of New York city, who came here a boy with his father began "running" with the Unions when he was learning the tin and copper business, two or three years before he was old enough to be elected to membership. After the organization of the paid fire department late in the fifties, Captain Hull was chosen chief and held the position a year. He was at one time superintendent of letter carriers. Business men like George Collier, John and Edward Walsh, Robert Campbell, P. S. Langston, Macklot Thompson, James Stewart, the Owens, the Mays, the Marlows, the Noonans, Ferd L. Garesche, the Byrnes and Tom Lynch were Unions. Pat Gorman, a nephew of the Walshes, who had come over from County Kilkenny, Ireland, as a boy and

who had been given a college education by his uncles before entering mercantile life, was for years the president of the Unions. He was considered one of the happiest presiding officers of his time. He had a manner which charmed. He was president of the Montgomery Guards, president of the Hibernian society, president of the Millers' association, president of the Fire association, president of the Firemen's Fund. The time came, in 1855, when Patrick Gorman and the Unions, with their fine ideals, were able to do the city a genuine service outside of fire fighting. The Unions held undisputed title to all of their property. They refused to accept the $1,000 a year voted by the aldermen to help maintain the volunteer companies. They held aloof from the turbulence which marked the movement to establish the paid department in 1855, and they recognized that the change was for the city's interests. After several meetings they decided to sell all of their property, to invest the proceeds in the best steam fire engine that could be bought and to present it to the city for the paid department, only stipulating that it should bear the name of The Union. When this resolution was adopted President Gorman stepped down from the chair and said: "My men, I was always proud of you, but tonight you have exceeded the highest point of my admiration." The member who offered the resolution was the secretary, Fred M. Colburn, for almost a lifetime the city representative of the Vandalia, or Pennsylvania railroad. The steam engine was purchased, brought over the river on the ice and put into service. The moral effect of this action of the Unions was far reaching. Gorman became one of the most popular steamboatmen on the river. He commanded the Von Phul in the St. Louis and New Orleans trade. Toward the end of the war the boat was fired upon by a concealed battery at Morganza Bend and Captain Gorman was killed.

Naturally the lower ward felt that it should have a fire company after the Central and the Union were organized. The Washingtons came next. Their founders included two men who afterwards became mayors—John D. Daggett and James G. Barry. The first location of the Washingtons was on Second between Spruce and Almond streets. The membership included such citizens as Samuel C. Davis, Eben Richards, George R. Taylor, Wilson Primm, Rene Paul. That part of St. Louis was a choice residence section in those early years. The city couldn't afford to give the Washingtons a new engine. For several years the company had to do the best it could with the famous "Pat Lyon" inherited from the Unions. The locality in which the Washingtons were recruited was known as "Frenchtown" although later generations knew a section some blocks further south by that familiar designation. Hiram Shaw was one of the active spirits in the Washington company. He had come from Rutland, Vermont, in his early manhood, had tried house and sign painting and had bought out John Foulk's cigar and tobacco business, taking into partnership with him his relative, John E. Liggett. Throughout almost the entire existence of the Washington company Hiram Shaw was the president of it. As the volunteer department grew and developed Hiram Shaw was put forward to be president of the Association and also of the Fireman's Fund. Four of the Warrens, three brothers and their uncle, were Washingtons. They

came from Edwardsville. John Warren was the hero of thrilling exploits. He made his way to the top of a burning house near Morgan and Green, clinging to a burning balcony and rescuing two sick men when it seemed to spectators an impossibility.

No St. Louis fire company felt that it was equipped until a motto had been selected. The Washingtons ran to fires under the inspiration of "Veni! Vidi! Vici!" The St. Louis Fire company, which was the next one in the field adopted "On Hand," and crowned the front of the engine house on Third and Locust with a figure half fish, half human. Ambrose Sprague, a New Yorker, just of age who had come to the city the year before, was one of the leaders in the formation of the St. Louis. Oliver A. Hart, two of the Blows, Edward Parry, John G. Priest, Samuel Treadway, and Isaac Rigdon were among the young business men who made up the select membership of the St. Louis. Red hats, red shirts and white trousers made a striking uniform.

The Libertys, under the inspiring sentiment of "We Conquer to Save," came into existence in 1841. This was Fire Company Number Six. It was organized in the beginning by the officers and men of the Gaty & McCune foundry. James McDonough who afterwards became chief of police, John M. Wimer, who became mayor, Samuel Gaty, who came from near Gettysburg and whose name would have been Getty if the teacher hadn't misunderstood Sam when he first appeared at school, were among the early Libertys. Their treasurer for years was John F. Darby, several terms mayor. The Liberty roster was a long roll of sturdy citizens who have places in the front rank of their generation. There were the Kingslands, George and Philip, D. K. Ferguson, John E. D. Couzins who was afterwards chief of police, John C. Vogel, William H. Lightner, A. R. McNair, Hiram and James Ogden, John Kupferle, Nat and Robert Lindsay, Rufus Kayser, John Evill, D. S. Condit. The "foundry boys" were especially well represented in the active list. The Libertys wore a uniform of light blue shirts trimmed with silver, white trousers and blue hats. Red neckties added to the gaiety of dress.

"Surgo Lucidus" was the motto of the Phoenix. This company was the first below Chouteau avenue and marked the rapid extension of the city southward with the coming of German immigration. James G. Soulard, John Withnell and Daniel H. Donovan were among the founders. Of the early members were Charles F. Taussig, Stephen Stock, the Hercules brothers, John C. Degenhart, George H. Fisse, the Pilkingtons, Jacob Trice, the Collins brothers, and John W. Bame. The Phoenix was more than a fire company. It encouraged intellectual activity. At the time the company went out of existence it had a well selected library which was turned over to the Mercantile Library. Donovan was the life of the Phoenix. He was from Roscarbey, Ireland, coming to St. Louis when he was twenty-one. Two years after his arrival his fellow citizens elected him from the First ward, which was below Chouteau avenue, to the board of delegates, and later made him their alderman. He went to the legislature, became superintendent of waterworks and built the second reservoir for St. Louis. In 1859 Donovan was collector of customs, by appointment of President Buchanan. The volunteer fire companies started many a young newcomer in the public life of St. Louis. During the war Don-

ovan, like some other aggressive and independent-minded Irish-Americans of St. Louis, expressed his sympathies with the south. He was removed by Halleck from his office of superintendent of waterworks in which he was serving his second term and was sent below. The Confederate authorities utilized Donovan's abilities as a constructor to establish extensive saltworks near Mobile, an industry badly needed at that time. Donovan supplied several states with salt until the fall of the Confederacy. He returned to St. Louis and entered the real estate business.

The Franklin Fire company, with its "We Have Met the Enemy and They are Ours" grew out of the uptown growth. It located on Eleventh and Franklin avenue and afterwards moved to Eleventh between Wash and Carr, where one of the city companies is still housed. William H. Roberts, Sam S. Carlisle, the lawyer who was in the diplomatic service in South America a few years ago, James Carlisle, George H. Hazzard, Johnston and Richard Beggs, James McLean, Fred Laumann, Barney and Louis Spelbrinck, Phil and John Scott were members. The Franklins tried to do something for their neighborhood beside fighting fire. They spent several thousand dollars on a library. When support failed to be sustaining, the books and shelves were given to the public library. Many Germans joined the Franklin in its later days and their cry was, "On mit der Franklin."

In 1847 there were people enough north of Cass avenue to justify a fire company. The Mound with a plain American home-made motto of "We fly to Succor and to Save," was located on Howard street. The company had its baptism at the burning of Scott's hotel at Second and Green streets, Washington's birthday, 1848. The Unions showed the Mounds how to go to work, loaning them hose and sharing water with them. Among the firemen of the Mounds were the Sextons, Clay, Hugh, John and Jeff, the Ashbrooks, Ellis N. Leeds, Thomas A. Dryden, Henry and Frank Overstolz, E. Z. C. Judson who became famous as a writer of thrillers with the pen name of Ned Buntline. Marshall Brotherton, James Gordon, G. E. Labeaume, William G. Clark, William Pullis were some of the substantial business men of North St. Louis who stood sponsors for the Mounds. The Sextons were carpenters and builders from Wheeling, West Virginia. Henry Clay Sexton, who obtained national fame as the head of the paid fire department of St. Louis, was barely of age when he joined the Mounds as a volunteer fireman. As with the Union, the Mound company had a strong predilection for bright red. The apparatus was vermilion. A broad crimson collar was worn with the white shirt. Red belts held up the black trousers. The hat was fiery in color, with white and gold frontispiece.

In 1848 the need of a fire company in the vicinity of Lucas Market, now Twelfth street, was admitted. The Lacledes, with a motto of "Bon-Accord," honoring the name of the founder of St. Louis, was established on Market street near Fifteenth on a lot given by James H. Lucas. There is a city company there today. John J. Knapp, Thomas A. Buckland, John J. Boswell, Charles Bobb, Michael Powers and Peter Wonderly were some of the citizens who organized the Laclede. The first president was William H. Carroll.

Among the active members were James Luthy, Barton Bates, Thomas Allen, D. D. Lynch. When the Lacledes disbanded in 1858 they divided their assets among the Polytechnic Institute, the Protestant and Catholic orphan asylums.

"Press On" was the motto chosen by the Missouris. Nathan Coleman was the original president. He and his brother Stephen had come from Lexington, Kentucky, in 1835 to start in the business of wood turning. The Missouris included some of the most prominent professional and business men in the heart of the city. Among them were Thomas B. Hudson, L. D. Baker, Charles Keemle and Charles Pickering, the Calverts, the Chappells, J. M. Field, Enno Sander, the Russells, F. A. Bemis, Vincent Yore, R. S. King, Timothy B. Edgar, David Watson. The Missouris had an imposing engine house on Third street near Olive until they removed to Seventh street between Olive and Pine. Their hall was one of the most elaborately furnished in the department. Their uniform was less lurid than some worn by other companies. White shirts and black trousers with a high cream colored hat with a buffalo painted on the front gave the Missouris a distinguished appearance.

St. Louis volunteer firemen did not take readily to the hook and ladder service. Not until 1854 was Lafayette Hook and Ladder company, the first of the kind, formed. The motto was "Public Servants not Hirelings." The sentiment was an expression of antipathy to the paid fire department which was about to be formed. Old firemen constituted the active membership of the Lafayette. They had a theory that this branch of the service would survive after the paid engine companies came into existence. The building of several three and four story structures had shown the need of ladder service, and enterprising citizens cooperated in the formation of the Lafayette from motives of public spirit. Charles P. Chouteau was president, Edward E. Allen was secretary of the company. Some of the promoters of the movement were Louis Dorsheimer, afterward police commissioner, John Shore, Hugh McDermott, Sam S. Robeson. When the Lafayettes went out of service they presented the small balance in their treasury to the fund of which Wayman Crow and James Sweeney had charge for the Benton monument by Miss Hosmer in Lafayette Park.

The Fire Wardens organized in 1844 under the encouragement of the insurance men of the city for the volunteer salvage of property from fire and from theft. They had a one-horse wagon, which, loaded with tarpaulins and extinguishers, was hauled to fires. At the very first run of the Wardens to Barnard's drugstore on Fourth and Christy avenue, the property saved by their efforts amounted to $3,000, several times the cost of the equipment. The captains of the Wardens, in succession, were: F. L. Ridgely, William Risley, John W. Luke and D. N. Burgoyne. Among the incorporators of the Fire Wardens were the Vandeventers, the Lindells, Benoists, Chouteaus, Morrisons, Walshes, Colliers and nearly all of the large property holders. Out of this organization grew the salvage corps with "Cap." Evans as its long time commander.

To care for the sick firemen, to bury the dead, to afford relief to worthy members of the companies, the Fireman's Fund association was formed in 1841. A lot was bought in Bellefontaine. Dues were collected from members

of the companies and the business was transacted by delegates. The Fire Association was another body composed of delegates from the companies which met to consider and recommend rules for the general government of all. By way of illustration, it may be explained that one rule forbade the fire company to run the apparatus on the sidewalk "except when absolutely necessary." Companies were prohibited from throwing water on each other other. The association brought its influence to bear on the city government to obtain appropriations for support.

Mascots were many in the days of the volunteer firemen. The Unions had a pointer which slept on the porch of Uncle Sammy Hawken's house on Washington avenue near Second. Ponto barked furiously and scratched at the door at the first stroke of an engine house bell. Without waiting for his master he ran to the Unions' house, caught the end of the rope and dragged it out into the street, trying to pull the engine. If Uncle Sammy was slow in responding, Ponto ran back to the house and barked and scratched at the front door until the captain appeared. "Nig" was another fireman's dog. He was a stumptailed terrier with a marvelous capacity for dodging. When the hose was turned on Nig it was the signal for the terrier to get out in front of the engine house and let the firemen try to catch him. Nig would confine his dodging to a space not much larger than the section of the street on which the engine house fronted but fifty athletic young firemen couldn't catch him. "Old Bull" was the ugly mixture of bulldog and mastiff attached to the Franklins. Every company had a dog and every dog went with his company to every fire.

The annual ball was a regular date on the volunteer firemen's calendar. It was held sometimes in Concert hall on Market street, sometimes in Laclede hall on Fifth street near Olive, not infrequently at the Planters, and occasionally, when an extraordinary occasion warranted, the second floor of the great tobacco warehouse on Washington avenue and Sixth street was cleaned of the tobacco stems and turned into a banquet hall where hundreds could feast at the same time and where a hundred sets could be formed to dance through the figures of the calling and fiddling of "Old Politte." The firemen called these great affairs in the tobacco warehouse "tea-fights."

The first week in May was the annual parade and review of the fire companies, each body headed by its band. No ordinary flannel shirts these St. Louis firemen wore, but the finest merino or silk, red or blue in color with wide, sailor collars. There were braid and bullion trimmings and fringes and stars and tassels. These uniform shirts were turned back at the throat giving view to the finest thing in pleated or ruffled bosom that interested mothers and sisters could provide. Engines and reels carried loads of decorations and flowers which made it quite apparent why on the annual parades the companies resorted to the unusual motive power of horses. The hats these St. Louis firemen wore on parade were round topped and stiff-brimmed. The custom required that they be of the same color as the shirt. The firemen's parade was the pageant of the year. The whole city witnessed it.

St. Louis had a population of 45,000 and had grown westward to Eleventh street when, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 17th of May, 1849, the fire

bells rang for flames on the steamboat White Cloud lying at the foot of Cherry street, which was almost the northern boundary of the city. The Levee was lined with boats. The White Cloud was at the upper landing. The nine hand engines made the run to the river front. Before they could accomplish anything the White Cloud, a mass of flames, had parted her cables and was drifting down stream slowly, bumping against boat after boat below, and setting fire to each of them. She did this to twenty-two steamboats. "Like tinder" these steamboats of '49 burned. They made such intense heat that the firemen were driven back from the Levee to the line of stores and warehouses on the west side of Front street. They tried to prevent the flames from reaching the buildings but at Locust and Front streets a commission house caught fire. The fire spread southward taking store after store and cleaning up whole blocks westward to Main. At Olive the fire crossed Main and burned west to Second and south to Market. There it jumped over three squares to a large cooper shop and burned two more blocks. The movement of the conflagration was not markedly rapid but it was steady. The firemen fought stubbornly all night, pressed back and losing lengths of hose as the flames advanced. The cathedral lay in the path of the fire not more than a block away when the firemen resorted to the desperate remedy of blowing up six buildings and stopped the progress. When St. Louis took stock it was found that the losses were three lives and 430 houses, twenty-three steamboats, nine flatboats and barges, three of the principal printing offices, the post office, three banks—property valued at $2,750,000.

The hero of "the fire of '49" was Thomas B. Targee. He had come from his native New York City in 1836 and engaged in mercantile business, following at times the vocation of auctioneer. Joining the volunteer firemen, he became the head of the Missouri company and a recognized leader in fire fighting. This did not interfere with his activity as a churchman. He was the choir leader in Christ church and highly esteemed by Bishop Hawks. The fire starting on the night of the 17th of May ate its way steadily down the Levee and through the business blocks. When morning came the volunteers were worn out. Targee urged that the time had arrived for extraordinary methods. He advocated the blowing up of houses in advance to the flames as the most effective means of stopping the spread. This was agreed to. A wagon was sent to the arsenal and several kegs of powder were conveyed to the southwest corner of Third and Market streets where it was proposed to make the stand. While the powder was being brought, Targee went to his home near Fourteenth and Market streets and remained a short time with his family. He told his wife what he proposed to do and caressed his children. He expressed the hope that the plan would be successful but he did not conceal the fact that it was dangerous.

Going back to the place which had been selected for the use of the powder, Captain Targee undertook the active direction of the work. He carried the powder into the buildings which were to be blown up, taking a keg at a time from beneath the tarpaulin where it had been placed to prevent explosion from sparks. He had blown up three structures, successfully making a gap

across which the flames might not spread. The next building marked for destruction was Phillips' music store, two doors east of Second street. Targee came down Market street carrying the keg of powder in his arms. He was just within the doors where he expected to throw the keg and retreat before the fire communicated when there occurred a terrific explosion. Captain Boyce and other firemen who made a careful investigation always believed that some one had already placed a keg of powder in the music store and that its presence there was unknown to Targee.

The gift of a steam fire engine to the city by the Unions was the first telling step toward the paid fire department. Acceptance of the engine by the city and organization of a paid department were very materially helped by the presence in the council of three volunteer firemen, members of the body at that time. These councilmen were Daniel G. Taylor, George Kyler and Davis Moore. The bill to accept the engine and employ firemen went through. Most of the volunteer firemen opposed the innovation. Within three years the last of the companies, which was the first organized, went into dissolution.

More than forty years ago St. Louis took up earnestly the question of water purification. In that direction this city pioneered the way for other American municipalities. In 1866 the water board sent an eminent hydraulic engineer, James P. Kirkwood, to Europe to investigate water purification as far as developed there. St. Louis had grown beyond the pumping plant and the reservoir system near the foot of Biddle street. Bissell's Point was in view for a new system. If it was possible to get rid of what Mark Twain called the "mulatto complexion" of the water St. Louis proposed to do it. Mr. Kirkwood made an exhaustive investigation. His report came out in 1869. It was the earliest publication of elaborate character treating on that subject. Mr. Kirkwood reported upon the filtration plants he found at Berlin, Nantes, Marseilles, Edinburgh, Dublin, London and other foreign cities. His report was authority on the subject in this country many years. Adopting Kirkwood's suggestions, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, St. Johnsbury and several American cities put in the filtration process. St. Louis did not. Generations of water commissioners groped for a solution through some sedimentation process. There are children learning to read in the schools of St. Louis who do not know what their fathers and mothers and elder brothers and sisters drank. Here is Mark Twain's affectionate description of the liquid:

> It comes out of the turbulent, bank-caving Missouri, and every tumbler of it holds nearly an acre of land in solution. I got this fact from the bishop of the diocese. If you will let your glass stand half an hour you can separate the land from the water as easy as Genesis; and then you will find them both good—the one good to eat and the other good to drink. The land is very nourishing, the water is thoroughly wholesome. The one appeases hunger; the other thirst. But the natives do not take them separately, but together, as nature mixed them. When they find an inch of mud in the bottom of a glass, they stir it up and then take the draught as they would gruel. It is difficult for a stranger to get used to this batter, but once used to it he will prefer it to water. This is really the case. It is good for steamboating and good to drink; but it is worthless for all other purposes except baptizing.

When Rolla Wells became mayor in 1901 he discovered that the water department of St. Louis was committed to the filtration process as the only

method to insure pure water. Sedimentation had been an aggravation. It meant clean water one month and "mulatto" water the next month. Results were dependent upon the "June rise," the ice gorges, the floods and the droughts and various other natural conditions. The introduction of the filtration process for St. Louis meant the wiping out of a plant which had cost $30,000,000. The lowest estimate the mayor could get of the actual expenditures necessary to create an adequate filtration plant according to the process which the water department said was the only solution in sight was $30,000,000. Filtration meant $30,000,000 wiped out and $30,000,000 more to be spent. The mayor changed the water department head. He put in a new water commissioner, but a man who had grown from boyhood in the service of the water department, Benjamin C. Adkins.

In his appointments of chiefs of departments and bureaus, Mr. Wells pursued a policy rather unusual with American mayors. His policy was to select a man he believed to be efficient and to give him a free hand. Very seldom did Mayor Wells interfere with the details of the business in any department. If the appointee didn't measure up to expectations, he had to give place to another man. In the case of the reorganization of the water department, the mayor made an exception to his general policy. He wanted water purification and he wanted it badly. He urged prompt action. He advised the Board of Public Improvements to go on a tour of investigation. He told Commissioner Adkins to make the water purification problem his first and most important business. He insisted upon trial of every suggested treatment by sedimentation before any more consideration was given to filtration. The latter method was to be adopted only in the event that no means could be found to produce sedimentation. A young man named John F. Wixford had been experimenting with chemical processes to perfect sedimentation. He had been taken off this laboratory work and given something else to do. One of the first acts of the new commissioner, having in mind the urgent instructions of the mayor to give the sedimentation theory thorough trial, was to send Wixford back to his experiments, to demonstrate either that sedimentation of St. Louis water could be made successful or that the process must fail.

When the water began to run clear from every faucet, many people were sure they tasted alum in every mouthful. They didn't. There was no alum in the water. Lime and iron in solution, applied in the ways which the experiments proved to be effective, accomplished the purification. The doctors agreed that the process was not deleterious but rather beneficial. The bacteriologists made four tests a month through a period of years. Their analyses showed the changes which resulted. Before the present methods of purification—discovered and applied about seven years ago—the sedimentation process previously in use removed from 64 to 66 per cent of the bacteria in the water. The tests, after the new method of treatment of the water was applied, showed from 96 to 99 per cent of the bacteria removed. The increased percentage of bacteria removed from the water was attended by a corresponding reduction in the amount of typhoid fever in St. Louis. The cost of this process of purification was $4.62 per 1,000,000 gallons.

Of the thirty-five mayors the city has had in eighty-six years seven were natives of the city. The others were widely distributed as to places of birth, a fact which illustrated the many sources from which the citizenship has been drawn. There had been only two foreign-born mayors—one from Scotland and one from Germany. The extent to which New York state contributed to the population of this city was scarcely realized. St. Louis had had five mayors who were born in New York. Three mayors were Virginians; Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Maryland contributed two, each. Among other states represented in the roll of the thirty-five St. Louis mayors were Maine, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio and Illinois.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FUR TRADERS.

I very much fear beaver will not sell well soon unless very fine. It appears they make hats of silk in place of beaver.—John Jacob Astor to his St. Louis partners, 1834.

"Exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians of the Missouri and those west of the Mississippi above the Missouri as far north as the River St. Peter" enabled Laclede to lay the commercial corner stone of St. Louis in 1764 with a fur trade worth $75,000 a year.

Secretary Morgan, of the Merchants' Exchange, gave the value of furs received at St. Louis in 1908 as $7,500,000, making this the largest primary fur market of the world.

The fur traders, 145 years after Laclede's beginning, are still doing business at the old stand. They are having here, today, single sales of more value than Laclede's trade for an entire year. They are receiving and selling in a month more than the great American Fur company did in a year of its most prosperous period.

Laclede's "exclusive privilege" did not live out the allotted period. But, before the years had gone by, the settlement had obtained a grip on the fur trade which endured. There were other fur traders—Scotch, English, Dutch. They failed in their plans to take away the territory from St. Louis. Even the Americans on the Atlantic seaboard mistook the quality of these St. Louis fur traders, learned to their cost what competition with them meant, and went into partnership with them. Washington Irving took this eastern estimate of the St. Louisans in his Astoria. He described St. Louis in those early days as a small trading place, where trappers, half-breeds, gay, frivolous Canadian boatmen, congregated and revelled, with that lightness and buoyancy of spirit inherited from their French forefathers; the indolent creole caring for little more than the enjoyment of the present hour; a motley population, half-civilized, half-barbarous.

Gabriel Franchere, who wrote an excellent Narrative of the fur trade in the period of its romance, was more accurate, as Astor discovered. He said that "St. Louis even then contained its noble, industrious, and I may say princely merchants. It could boast its Chouteaus, Soulards, Cerres, Chenies, and Valles, with other kindred spirits."

From the merchant princes at St. Louis and the barons who held the posts, down to the engages, these fur traders were invincible. Manuel Lisa was of Spanish parentage, but was born in New Orleans, in 1772. He came to St. Louis when he was eighteen years old. In ten years he had become recognized as one of the boldest and most successful of the fur traders. The Spanish governor gave him an exclusive privilege to trade with the Osages and

put him under arrest for his bold speech. After Lewis and Clark came back from their expedition to the mouth of the Columbia, the Missouri fur company was formed. Manuel Lisa was a leading spirit in it. Among the others who joined in the movement to thus organize the fur trade for St. Louis were both of the Chouteaus, Auguste and Pierre, William Clark and Reuben Lewis, the brother of Governor Meriwether Lewis. Manuel Lisa continued in the field. He ascended to the forks of the Missouri and built a fort there—a material extension of trade territory for St. Louis. Those who didn't like Lisa called him a fur trading Cortez. But Brackenridge, who went up the Missouri with this master spirit, said of him:

"He was a man of 'bold emprise' like some of the Spanish heroes of the conquest. It was a good opportunity to improve my Spanish, as we both spoke the language exclusively and read Don Quixote together at such intervals as we could snatch for the purpose."

In a single season Manuel Lisa brought to St. Louis fifteen thousand buffalo skins. These skins were obtained in trade with the Indians. They had been dressed according to the Indian method. The treatment of the skins was a duty imposed upon the squaws. When the skins were brought to the village they were stretched and dried. The next process was a thorough scraping to remove all bits of flesh and to thin the hide. After that the skin was plastered with the brains or the liver of the animal, those parts having been preserved for the purpose. After this covering had dried on another coating was applied. A pumice stone, or a stone shaped scraper was applied and all of the coating was removed. The scraping continued until the skin was dry. This was to produce softness. If the skin was still too stiff it was pulled forward and backward over a sinew until the stiffness was worked out. Skins of elk, deer and antelope were prepared by the Indian squaws in the same way. If shaved skins were desired the treatment and the scraping were applied to the hairy side.

A beaver skin of the largest size was called a plus. This was the standard. A plus of other skins was the number which the traders considered equal in value to the beaver. A certain number of deerskins made a plus. A different number of otter skins was a plus. A hundred pounds of beaver skins made a pack. This weight required from seventy to eighty skins. About the most valuable consideration given for skins was a brass kettle. A brass kettle was traded for its weight in beaver skins. The latter in good condition were worth three dollars or more a pound in St. Louis. Of beaver, eighty skins made a pack weighing one hundred pounds. A pack of buffalo was ten skins; of bear, fourteen skins; of otter, sixty; of coon, eighty; of fox, 120; of muskrat, 600.

In 1805 it was officially announced at St. Louis that "taxes can be paid in shaven deerskins at the rate of three pounds to the dollar (33 1-3 cents) from October to April; after that time in cash."

"The season's catch" was a fur trading expression. It meant the product of one year. In 1840, the season's catch of the American Fur company which reached St. Louis was 67,000 buffalo robes. In 1848 St. Louis received 110,000 buffalo and other skins. That same year the fur traders brought to St. Louis 25,000 buffalo tongues. The value of their trade in 1820 was estimated at

$600,000. The goods which the traders carried to barter for skins were of great variety. "Strouding" was a staple. It was a coarse cloth from which the Indians made breech-clouts and petticoats. Blankets were always available for trade. So also were kettles, looking glasses, knives, blue and black handkerchiefs, calicoes, tin cups, dishes, scarlet cloth, buttons. What might be called the luxuries of the trade were brass finger rings, arm and wrist bands of silver, earrings and brooches.

The part which Bartholomew Berthold, or "Bartoleme," as it was written when he first came to St. Louis, performed in the commercial life of St. Louis was important. This highly cultured and widely traveled Tyrolese gentleman became a naturalized citizen of the United States at Philadelphia. He took out his papers the year he landed, 1798. After ten years experience in the east he came to St. Louis and founded the house in which Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John Pierre Cabanne, Bernard Pratte, John B. Sarpy were trained to become the leading spirits of the American Fur company. Bartholomew Berthold introduced business methods and policies more comprehensive and efficient than St. Louis traders had known previously. The indomitable spirit, the grasp on immediate affairs, the keen foresight, which were traits of Laclede, the founder, descended to his grandson, "Pierre Chouteau, Jr.," as he was known in business and officially. The members of the family called him "Cadet." In the first directory of St. Louis, published in 1821, he is "Peter Chouteau, Jr., fur merchant."

Elihu B. Washburne said that Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was a man so remarkable in personal appearance that "no one who had ever seen him could forget him." He described him in this way: "Tall of stature, erect, and of splendid proportions, his coal-black hair, tinged with gray in his late years, his keen, penetrating black eye, his pleasant and sunny countenance, his French vivacity, his voice strong, vibrating, accentuated, his courtly but frank manners, made an impression at once lasting and agreeable."

Mr. Washburne said that Pierre Chouteau, Jr., "as a merchant and as a man of business for nearly half a century, had no equal in the Mississippi valley. He had the genius of commerce, a bold spirit and an unerring sagacity. So long the successful manager of the American Fur company he acquired a reputation throughout all the vast northwest which made his name everywhere the synonym of commercial honor and personal integrity."

Three of the sons of Gregoire Berald Sarpy became fur traders. The father is said to have been the first St. Louisan to take a keel boat up the Missouri. John B. Sarpy began as a clerk but by force of his ability rose to partnership. He advanced in the management until he was recognized as one of the foremost of the dominant spirits. He introduced methods and economies unknown in the earlier period. Thomas L. Sarpy, a clerk at the Ogallalah post, was putting away the robes taken in the day's trade when a spark from a candle fell into a keg holding fifty pounds of powder. He was killed instantly. Peter L. Sarpy was for years in charge of the post near Bellevue, a few miles below Omaha. He was known popularly as "Colonel Peter."

The first Astor trader to actually enter the Missouri river field was Russell

Farnham. Crookes sent Farnham to the Missouri in 1819. He cautioned him to "be extremely cautious in giving vent to the hard things you may and will feel inclined to say of some people you will have to deal with." Farnham went up the Missouri only as far as the Grand river in Missouri and thence struck north to trade with the Sacs. Crookes picked the best man in Astor's service to make the beginning in the Missouri.

To the St. Louis fur traders nearly a hundred years ago "bar'l" meant what it did to the politicians of a later generation. To Robert Stuart, Ramsay Crookes wrote in 1823: "The Colonel's 'bar'l' being very good, we are likely to recover the amount awarded us." The colonel referred to was Talbot Chambers of the Rifle regiment. He had seized two boats of the American Fur company commanded by Russell Farnham and Daniel Darling and had sent them in charge of Lieutenant Blair to St. Louis. The seizure grew out of the rivalry between the St. Louis traders and the Astor people. The latter sued Colonel Chambers for damages, and after four years in the courts got a verdict for $5,000. Congress had passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from trading in American territory. The American Fur company employed many Canadians. The St. Louis traders construed this as violation of the law. The charge against Farnham and Darling was that they did not have license for fur trading from either Illinois or Missouri. Astor got the best of the St. Louis traders in the litigation. He employed Thomas H. Benton, then a young lawyer in St. Louis, as his counsel.

The most serious issue in the relations between the Astor people and the St. Louisans came with the organization of an expedition to go up the Missouri and across to the Columbia. This was a part of the Astoria project. While one party was sent by Astor in the ship Tonquin around Cape Horn, the other was recruited at St. Louis under Wilson Price Hunt to go overland. To the St. Louis fur traders this meant invasion of their field. Many believed that Astor contemplated a chain of posts along the Missouri connecting with the Pacific territory. Astor took into partnership a number of young men, some with considerable frontier and fur trading experience. He furnished the capital, $200,000. Several of the St. Louisans favored most aggressive measures. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., advised that the expedition be allowed to go on its way. He said that if the Hunt expedition was wiped out Astor would send a larger one—bring an army, if necessary.

Hunt had difficulty in getting Americans because they wanted tea and coffee. He secured as associates Joseph Miller and Robert McClelland. After that there was no trouble about recruits. Miller was from Baltimore. He was highly educated. Joining the army in 1799, in preference to home life. he became a commissioned officer. Discipline was irksome. Because he was denied a furlough just when he wanted it, Miller threw up his commission. He came to St. Louis and joined the fur traders. The fiery temper of the man showed itself when he parted company with Ramsay Crookes, McClelland and the other Astorians on Snake river. When Stuart's party returned from Astoria they found Miller. The latter guided them overland and returned with them to St. Louis. Miller was the officer who said to Gen. Winfield Scott at

KENNETH McKENZIE

RAMSEY CROOKES

A FUR TRADING POST ON THE UPPER MISSOURI

the battle of Lundy's Lane, when asked if he could take, by a charge, the enemy's battery, "I'll try, sir." Robert McClelland was a famous Indian fighter before he came to St. Louis and joined the fur traders. He had been one of General Wayne's best scouts and runners. Ramsay Crookes and McClelland had become partners. McClelland was a bitter enemy of Manuel Lisa. He held Lisa responsible for the troubles Crookes and he had encountered on the Missouri in 1809. After the return of the Astorians, McClelland settled in St. Louis. He was one of the most expert shots in the country. The stories told of his personal exploits were marvelous. He had threatened openly that if ever he met Lisa in the Indian country he would shoot him.

Ramsay Crookes was a St. Louis fur trader before he was of age. He came out from Scotland a boy of sixteen, served a year or two as clerk for the Montreal fur traders and settled in St. Louis. In 1807 this Greenock lad formed a partnership with Robert McClelland and entered the Missouri river fur trade. He married Emily Pratte, which gave him family connection with the old French stock. When Astor began to plan invasion of the Missouri field, Crookes became one of his lieutenants. He was with Astor from that time. When Astor retired in 1834, Crookes succeeded to the presidency of the American Fur company. Even after he moved to New York to take charge of the company's affairs Crookes kept in close touch with St. Louis. He had not the physical endurance in which most of the fur traders gloried. Much of his seventy-two years he was a semi-invalid. Although only twenty-three years old Crookes was chosen to head one of the divisions of Hunt's force. He was two years getting through to Astoria, his party suffering greatly. After the failure of the Pacific Fur company, Astor's enterprise, Crookes came back overland to St. Louis. He was retained in Astor's service, looking after his interests at Mackinac. When the American Fur company was formed Crookes was taken in as a partner and as a western manager. While his headquarters were in New York he came to St. Louis frequently. Crookes finally became the head of a fur trading company operating in Wisconsin and Minnesota. He developed more than a commercial interest in the business, and became well known for the interest he took in preserving the history of the fur trade and its relation to the settlement and civilization of the western country.

Like Crookes, Donald McKenzie was a young Scotchman who took naturally to the fur trade. He was a relative of the explorer, Sir Alexander. When the British broke up Astor's Pacific enterprise, Donald McKenzie went with the Northwest company and was from that time identified with British interests in the fur trade. McKenzie was not in St. Louis very long. He made little concealment of his chagrin that he was not selected instead of Wilson P. Hunt to lead the overland expedition to Astoria. He gave Hunt only perfunctory allegiance. In the service of the Northwest company McKenzie rose to be chief factor at Fort Gary. Later he was for eight years governor of Assiniboia.

Robert Stuart was educated in Paris. He came out in 1806. After the collapse of the Astoria project Stuart came back to St. Louis. He did not

remain long but went to Mackinac as manager for the American Fur company. Afterwards he settled in Detroit and was state treasurer of Michigan.

Wilson P. Hunt was from New Jersey. He arrived in St. Louis about 1804. His first business venture was a partnership with Hankinson. Astor personally selected Hunt to make up and lead the expedition to go overland. After his fur trading experiences Wilson P. Hunt settled in St. Louis. He was made postmaster by President Monroe and held the position many years. In 1836 Wilson P. Hunt married Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, the widow of his cousin, Captain Theodore Hunt. Captain Hunt had been an officer in the United States navy and had retired and made his home in St. Louis.

With such associates as Crookes, McClelland and Miller and with a strong party Hunt started up the Missouri early in the Spring. Manuel Lisa with a small, picked force followed a few days behind, ostensibly to trade with the Indians but really to look after the interests of the St. Louis fur traders. With Hunt's party went Bradbury, the scientist, while Brackenridge was a guest of Lisa. Both of these men were writers. They were bent on exploration, but they found themselves called upon to be war correspondents. To add an immediate aggravation to the situation the Astorians, as Hunt's party was called, took with them an interpreter named Dorion. The Dorions, as Bradbury explained, were known to everybody in St. Louis in early fur trading days. They rendered services which entitled them to places in history. Pierre, bury explained, were known to everybody in St. Louis. When George Rogers Clark came with his Virginians to take Kaskaskia, Pierre Dorion was of the French habitants who cast in their fortunes with the Americans fighting for independence. He took the oath of allegiance to the United States and moved across the river to Cahokia. From that time he was depended upon as an interpreter and scout in American expeditions and was loyal to the country of his choice. He married a Sioux woman and had a son by her. Both of the Dorions, or Durions, as the name was said to have been originally, were interpreters for Lewis & Clark. The younger Dorion was the one who went with Hunt's expedition. He rendered the Astor people important assistance and was killed in Idaho. It was over the employment of Dorion that Manuel Lisa felt personally embittered toward the Astorians. He charged that Dorion had been taken under circumstances which were unjustifiable. Several of Hunt's party left St. Louis at two o'clock in the morning, went to St. Charles and sent Dorion into the woods to avoid the service of a paper for his arrest on account of a debt to Lisa's company. Brackenridge described the get-away of the Lisa party and some incidents of the long chase after the Astorians:

We set off from the village of St. Charles on Tuesday, the 2nd of April, 1811, with delightful weather. The flood of March, which immediately succeeds the breaking up of the ice, had begun to subside and yet the water was still high. Our barge was the best that ever ascended this river and was manned by twenty stout oarsmen. Mr. Lisa, who had been a sea captain, took much pains in rigging his boat with a good mast and main and top sail; these being great helps in the navigation of this river. Our equipage is chiefly composed of young men, though several have already made a voyage to the upper Missouri, of which they are exceedingly proud, and on that account claim a kind of precedence over the rest of the crew. We are in all twenty-five men, and completely prepared for defense. There is, besides, a swivel on the bow of the boat, which, in case of attack, would make a formid-

able appearance; we have, also, two brass blunderbusses in the cabin, one over my berth and the other over that of Mr. Lisa. These precautions were absolutely necessary from the hostility of the Sioux bands, who, of late, had committed several murders and robberies on the whites and manifested such a disposition that it was believed to be impossible for us to pass through their country. The greater part of the merchandise, which consisted of strouding, blankets, lead, tobacco, knives, guns, beads, etc., was concealed in a false cabin, ingeniously contrived for the purpose; in this way presenting as little as possible to tempt the savages. But we hoped that as this was not the season for the wandering tribes to come on the river, the autumn being the usual time, we might pass by unnoticed.

We have been accompanied for these two days past by a man and two lads ascending in a canoe. This evening they encamped close by us, placing the canoe under cover of our boat. Unsheltered, except by the trees on the bank, and a ragged quilt drawn over a couple of forks, they abode the "pelting of the pitiless storm," with apparent indifference. These people are well dressed in handsome home-made cotton cloth. The man seemed to possess no small share of pride and self-importance, which, as I afterwards discovered, arose from his being a captain of militia. He borrowed a kettle from us, and gave it to one of his boys. When we were about to sit down to supper he retired, but returned when it was over; when asked why he had not staid to do us the honor of supping with us, "I thank you, gentlemen," said he, licking his lips with satisfaction. "I have just been eating an excellent supper." He had scarcely spoken when the patron came to inform Mr. Lisa the boys were begging him for a biscuit, as they had eaten nothing for two days! Our visitant was somewhat disconcerted but passed it off with "Pooh! I'm sure they can't be suffering." He resides on the Gasconade; this was the second family which settled in that quarter about three years ago. He has at present about two hundred and fifty men on his muster roll. We were entertained by him with a long story of his having pursued some Pottawatomies, who had committed robberies on the settlements some time last summer; he made a narrow escape, the Indians having attacked his party in the night time, and killed four of his men after a desperate resistance. The captain had on board a barrel of whiskey to set up tavern with, a bag of cotton for his wife to spin, and a couple of kittens, for the purpose of augmenting his family; these kept up such doleful serenades during the night that I was scarcely able to close my eyes.

About eleven o'clock we came in sight of Fort Osage, at the distance of three miles on the bluff and a long stretch of river before us. We had now come three hundred miles upon our voyage. And for the last hundred had seen no settlement or met anyone, except a few traders or hunters who passed us in canoes. With the exception of a few spots, where the ravages of fire had destroyed the woods, we passed through a continued forest presenting the most dreary aspect. Our approach once more to the haunts of civilization, to a fort where we should meet with friends, and perhaps find a temporary resting place, inspired us with cheerfulness. The song was raised with more than usual glee; the can of whiskey was sent around and the air was rent with shouts of encouragement.

Brackenridge described Fort Osage as handsomely situated, "about one hundred feet above the level of the river, which makes an elbow at the place, giving an extensive view up and down the river. Its form is triangular, its size but small, not calculated for more than a company of men. A group of buildings is formed by the factory and settler's house. The place is called 'Fire Prairie.' It is something better than three hundred miles from the mouth of the river."

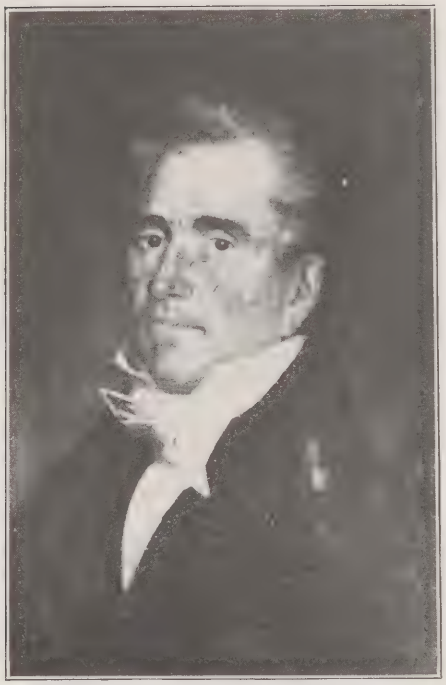
Ten days before Lisa's arrival occurred an incident which relieved the monotony of life at Fort Osage. Brackenridge describes it as the officer commanding gave him the circumstances. About fifteen hundred Osage warriors had camped near the fort. Two hundred of them had just come back from a raid on the Iowas. Brackenridge spelled the name "Ayuwas." The braves

were so lifted up over the exploit that they insulted the soldiers in the fort. "One of these warriors defied a sentinel at his post. The sentinel was commanded to fire over his head. This producing no effect the warrior was seized by a file of men which he at first treated with indifference, declaring that if he was confined he would get some of the white man's bread. His tune was changed, however, by a liberal application of the cat-o'-nine-tails to his back. The Indians were excited. They rushed forward with their arms. But the soldiers paraded and made ready a few cannon; the Indians thought proper to retreat. The Indians maintained a threatening attitude for a few days; to show their spite they killed a pair of oxen belonging to Mr. Audrain, the settler near the fort. The officer at the fort sent for the chiefs and told them that unless two horses were given for the oxen he would fire on the Indian village. The chiefs complied; the pipe was smoked, and all matters were adjusted."

"We have now passed the last settlement of whites," Brackenridge continued in his journal, "and probably will not revisit them for several months. This reflection seemed to have taken possession of the minds of all. Our men were kept from thinking too deeply by their songs and the splashing of oars, which kept time with them. Lisa, himself, seized the helm and gave the song, and, at the close of every stanza, made the woods ring with his shouts of encouragement. The whole was intermixed with short and pithy addresses to their fears, their hopes or their ambition."

Lisa overtook the Astorians on the Upper Missouri in the Sioux country. Hunt was about entering upon negotiations for horses and for peaceful passage through to the mountains. While Brackenridge and Bradbury were visiting the Indian village trouble occurred between the two parties. Brackenridge wrote:

On our return, I found that a disagreeable misunderstanding had taken place between the two chiefs of the parties. The interpreter of Mr. Hunt had improperly relinquished the service of the company, to which he was still indebted. Mr. Lisa had several times mentioned to him the impropriety of his conduct, and perhaps had made him some offers in order to draw him from his present service. This was certainly imprudent, and placed him in the power of a worthless fellow, who without doubt retailed the conversation to his master with some additions. This evening, while in Hunt's camp, to which he had gone on some business, Lisa was grossly insulted by the interpreter, who struck him several times and seized a pair of pistols belonging to Hunt. That gentleman did not seem to interest himself much in the affair, being actuated by feelings of resentment, at the attempt to inveigle his man. On my return to our camp, I found Mr. Lisa furious with rage, buckling on his knife and preparing to return; finding that I could not dissuade, I resolved to accompany him. It was with the greatest difficulty I succeeded in preventing the most serious consequences. I had several times to stand between him and the interpreter, who had a pistol in each hand. I am sorry to say that there was but little disposition on the part of Mr. Hunt to prevent the mischief that might have arisen. I must, in justice to him, declare, however, that it was through him that Mr. McClelland was induced not to put his threat in execution, having pledged his honor to that effect. I finally succeeded in bringing Lisa off to his boat. When it is recollected that this was at a distance of a thousand miles from all civil authority or power, it will be seen that there was little to restrain the effects of animosity. Having obtained in some measure the confidence of Mr. Hunt, and the gentlemen who were with him, and Mr. Bradbury that of Mr. Lisa, we mutually agreed to use all the arts of mediation in our power, and if possible prevent anything serious.



MANUEL LISA

WILSON PRICE HUNT

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BULL BOATS ON WHICH FURS WERE BROUGHT DOWN
THE MISSOURI RIVER

From that time it devolved upon the two writers to preserve the peace. Hunt and Lisa held no communication with each other. Bradbury and Brackenridge carried the messages between the two parties. Lisa was watching the Astorians. Hunt was apprehensive that Lisa would use his influence with the Indians against him. The two ambassadors decided that the best course was to arrange for both parties to be represented at the same time in a conference with the Arickarees, the Astorians to explain that they only wished to pass through the country and Lisa to make his arrangements for trading. This was carried out. Bradbury told of the Astorians' presentation:

Mr. Hunt rose and made a speech in French which was translated as he proceeded into the Sioux language by Dorion. The purpose of the speech was to state that the object of our voyage up the Missouri was not to trade, that several of our brothers had gone to the great salt lake in the west whom we had not seen for eleven moons; that we had come from the great salt lake in the east, on our way to see our brothers; for whom we had been crying ever since they left us; and our lives were now become so miserable for the want of our brothers, that we would rather die than not go to them; and would kill every man that should oppose our passage; that we had heard of their design to prevent our passage up the river, but we did not wish to believe it, as we were determined to persist, and were as they might see well prepared to effect our purpose; but as a proof of our pacific intentions we had brought them a present of tobacco and corn.

The Astorians left the river and started overland meeting with a long series of disasters. In the two Astoria parties, the one by sea and the one overland, there were sixty-one lives lost. Survivors of Hunt's expedition straggled back to St. Louis. The two war correspondents left the Mandan country and came down the river, bringing with them Amos Richardson. This man was so anxious to get back to civilization he could hardly restrain himself. He had been four years among the Indians; had been shot and carried in his body an Indian arrow. He never wanted to see the Indian country again. Repeatedly he told Bradbury he was never going away from white settlements again. About a month after his return to St. Louis, Bradbury received a call from Richardson. The latter said he had heard that the scientist was going to the Arkansas river on an exploration. He wanted to go, too. Bradbury expressed his surprise. He reminded Richardson of his frequent declarations to keep away from the Indian country. Richardson replied: "I find so much deceit and selfishness among white men that I am already tired of them. The arrow head which is not yet extracted pains me when I chop wood. Whiskey I can't drink, and bread and salt I don't care about. I will go again among the Indians."

Charles Gratiot's business sagacity was shown in his efforts to bring about harmonious partnership between the St. Louis fur traders and John Jacob Astor. In his travels Gratiot had measured the ability and resources of Astor. He realized that rivalry meant loss to both. And therefore, as early as 1811, he tried to induce the St. Louisans to make Astor a one-third partner in the Missouri Fur company.

"In this view," wrote Gratiot to Astor, "I considered that you would be of great service to each other."

The competition and friction continued. The Astor expedition was attended with disaster. Not until 1822 did Astor establish himself in St. Louis with

what he called the western department of the American Fur company. In 1827, alliance between the Chouteaus and the old St. Louis fur traders with Astor was brought about. This was eighteen years after Gratiot's attempt to bring them together. As early as 1800, Gratiot had written from St. Louis to Astor:

"You are beyond question the greatest of the fur merchants. Your relations at home and abroad give you facilities which no other house in the United States possesses. You are established in the most active city upon the globe today—where everything is to be found from all parts of the world."

Year after year the negotiations went on between Astor and the St. Louis fur traders. Astor, through Crookes, kept threatening to establish a branch of the American Fur company here and to invade the Missouri territory. Crookes was impatient; he pressed Berthold and Chouteau to take the American Fur company agency rather than to submit to Astor's competition. Astor and Crookes had good reasons for desiring an alliance with the St. Louis traders. In the summer of 1821 Great Britain excluded American fur traders from Canada. The American Fur company found its territory and trade about the Great Lakes much restricted. In 1822 the western department of the American Fur company was formally established at St. Louis. Samuel Abbott came out from the east to take charge. Still Astor held back from serious competition with the St. Louis traders. He continued to sell them goods and to negotiate for a consolidation with them. The alliance was brought about in 1827. Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau, Jr., joined their interests with Astor. They were placed in control at St. Louis. A little later there was further consolidation. The American Fur company absorbed the adventurous Kenneth McKenzie and his associates who, under the name of the Columbia Fur company, were making great headway in the far northwest between the Upper Missouri and the Canadian line. The Columbia was taken over, McKenzie's territory was made a sub-department of the American Fur company, and was known as the Upper Missouri Outfit. The letters "U.M.O." branded on everything and everywhere in that region came to have awesome significance. Thus in 1828 the American Fur company extended its operations up the Missouri valley to the boundary of the United States. The entire field was called the western department, with headquarters at St. Louis. That portion of it above Sioux City, Iowa, became the sub-department under the name of the Upper Missouri Outfit. Bernard Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, John P. Cabanne and B. Berthold were the directing partners at St. Louis when the consolidation went into effect.

David P. Mitchell, a young Virginian, came out to St. Louis and entered the service of the American Fur company. He became a partner in the Upper Missouri Outfit. When he came back to St. Louis to live, about 1841, he was made superintendent of Indian affairs with headquarters at St. Louis, and held the position ten years. During the war with Mexico, Colonel Mitchell was with Doniphan's expedition.

John A. Sire came into the fur trade after the pioneer period. When the American Fur company meant forts and treaties with Indians, and medals bearing the bust of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Captain Sire might have been properly entitled

"master of transportation." He was for many years in command of the steamboat which annually made the trip up the Missouri to take the goods, and to bring back the furs. Sire was a methodical man. He kept a log book, in which he recorded the incidents of every trip, writing the account in French. This commended the master of transportation to Mr. Chouteau. So painstaking was the latter in his attention to details that he regularly visited the boat just before departure for the Upper Missouri, inspected every part of the cargo and gave Captain Sire detailed instructions for the trip. He was especially explicit in telling the captain not to trust the Indians, but to always guard against surprise. Sire was of French birth. He was a boy of fifteen when he came to the United States. He lived in Philadelphia until 1836, and then settled in St. Louis, making this his home for the rest of his life.

The offer of an agency with the Osages, which Pierre Chouteau made him, turned one young man from thoughts of the priesthood and made him a fur trader. Giraud had come over from France and was at first a member of the episcopal family of Bishop Rosatte. He remained a trader nearly forty years. Early in his career he was sent with two companions on a business mission from St. Louis to Chihuahua. The two associates were killed by Indians. Giraud was spared because he wore on his breast a cross. The Indians recognized and respected the emblem. The first intimation of the disaster which reached St. Louis included Giraud with the lost. A letter to France informed his family he was dead. A second letter intended to correct the first was lost. More than thirty years afterwards, Giraud, taking home a fortune and a great collection of curios, was repudiated as an impostor by his relatives. Three days he argued and insisted before he succeeded in satisfying them of his identity. Then he presented his curiosities to the city of Lyons, received a gold medal and an ovation.

"The King of the Missouri," Kenneth McKenzie was called by the fur traders. He ruled the "U.M.O." Crookes was the right hand of Astor in New York. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was recognized as at the head in St. Louis. As the American Fur company expanded, McKenzie extended his operations over fields that had been unoccupied territory far from the established trading posts. McKenzie had to deal with Indian tribes who had been beyond the reach of the traders. His trade jurisdiction extended to the British boundary. To checkmate the encroaching fur traders from the other side was part of his business. He was well equipped for this. When he came out from Scotland he was in the employ of the British fur traders. McKenzie created Fort Union at the junction of the Missouri and the Yellowstone. Indian tribes came there to trade, choosing the time so that those hostile would not meet.

The rule of McKenzie was not lawless. It was characterized by form and ceremony. The king of the U. M. O. wore a uniform. In December, 1831, he wrote to Mr. Chouteau at St. Louis that he had negotiated a treaty between the Assiniboine and Blackfoot Indians. He said that he believed it would be "of great importance to the district." The wonderful document has been preserved. King McKenzie executed it with all seriousness. The effect of the treaty was excellent upon the fortunes of the Upper Missouri Outfit. It served

its purpose and probably would have been no more than a tradition but for a European visitor at Fort Union who made a copy of it. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, was this visitor. He was a scientist, a globe trotter of considerable fame nearly a century ago. Prince Max, as the St. Louis fur traders called him, saved to posterity the treaty made by King McKenzie. The paper reads:

We send greeting to all mankind. Be it known unto all nations that the most ancient, most illustrious, and most numerous tribes of the redskins, lords of the soil, from the banks of the great waters unto the tops of the mountains upon which the heavens rest, have entered into a solemn league and covenant to make, preserve and cherish a firm and lasting peace, that, so long as the water runs or the grass grows, they may hail each other as brethren and smoke the calumet in piece and friendship. On the vigil of St. Andrew, in the year 1831, the powerful and distinguished nation of the Blackfeet, Piegan and Blood Indians by their ambassadors appeared at Fort Union, near the spot where the Yellowstone river unites its current with the Missouri, and in the council chamber of the governor, Kenneth McKenzie, and the principal chief of the Assiniboine nation, the Man-that-holds-the-Knife, attended by his chiefs of council, le Bechu, le Borgne, the Sparrow, the Bear's Arm, La Terre qui Tremble, and l'Enfant de Medicin, conforming to all ancient customs and ceremonies, and observing the due mystical signs enjoined by the great medicine lodges, a treaty of peace and friendship was entered into by the said high contracting parties, and is testified by their hands and seals hereunto annexed, hereafter and forever to live as brethren of one, large, united and happy family; and may the Great Spirit who watches over us all approve our conduct and teach us to love one another.

Done, executed, ratified and confirmed at Fort Union, on the day and year first within written, in the presence of James Archdale Hamilton.

Not representing the government but as the superintendent in charge of a department of the American Fur company, Kenneth McKenzie conceived and carried out this treaty exploit. His witness, James Archdale Hamilton, was an Englishman with a mystery. The other fur traders believed Hamilton to be a member of the English nobility who had changed his name on coming to this country. Hamilton fell in with McKenzie, began as a bookkeeper and rose to be second in command at Fort Union. When the king was away, Hamilton ruled. He had his clothes sent out from London. He was correct in his manner of life, reticent as to his past. He was well liked. After a time he took up his residence in St. Louis, was known as Archibald Palmer, his real name, and remained here the rest of his days. His was one of the strong characters of the fur trading period.

A personality almost as interesting as McKenzie was James Archdale Hamilton. That was the name he gave himself when he arrived at Fort Union to become bookkeeper for the American Fur company. He was very careful of dress, and, being placed in authority during the absence of McKenzie, he proved to be a strict disciplinarian. The free and easy rank and file of the company came to look upon Hamilton with awe. Later, as he advanced in the confidence of the fur traders, Hamilton was transferred to St. Louis. He was made cashier of the American Fur company. It became known that he was of noble English parentage. Palmer continued to be a resident of St. Louis as long as he lived.

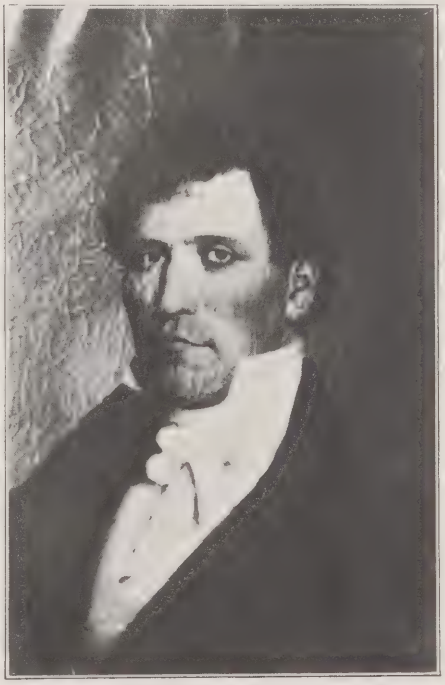
The Prince of Wied described vividly what he saw among the fur traders and Indians. History has preserved also the impression which Prince Max made upon the fur traders. A young clerk of the fur traders, Alexander Cul-

Copyright 1897 by Pierre Chouteau

Headquarters of American Fur Company, at St. Louis, 1835

A FUR TRADING HOUSE OF 1909, AT ST. LOUIS

DAVID D. MITCHELL



RUSSELL FARNHAM

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

bertson, was detailed to go with the prince on part of his journey. Culbertson, like the visitor, kept a journal. This is what he wrote in it:

In this year an interesting character in the person of Prince Maximilian from Coblentz on the Rhine made his appearance in the upper Missouri. The Prince was at this time nearly seventy years of age, but well preserved and able to endure considerable fatigue. He was a man of medium height, rather slender, sans teeth, passionately fond of his pipe, unostentatious, and speaking very broken English. His favorite dress was a white slouch hat, a black velvet coat rather rusty from long service, and probably the greasiest pair of trousers that ever encased princely legs. The Prince was a bachelor and a man of science, it was in this latter capacity that he had roamed so far from his ancestral home on the Rhine.

The magnitude of the American Fur company's business in 1833 was shown by a statement given to Prince Maximilian:

About 25,000 beaver skins were handled annually. These were put up in packs of one hundred pounds. A full grown beaver skin weighed about two pounds. The value to the company was about four dollars a pound. To stimulate the catching of beavers the iron traps were loaned or sold on credit to the trappers.

Skins of the buffalo cows to the number of 40,000 to 50,000 were put up in packs of ten skins to the pack. Skins of buffalo bulls had no market at that time—they were considered too heavy.

Most of the fur trade with the Indians below Council Bluffs was in deer skins, of which the company handled from 20,000 to 30,000 yearly.

Elk skins had little value. The same was true of wolf skins but the company bought them rather than turn away the Indians and disappoint them.

The skins of the silver, red and cross foxes were not numerous. About 2,000 red fox skins were expected in a season, and not more than twenty or thirty silver foxes. The latter were worth sixty dollars a skin.

The output of muskrats varied greatly. London could take half a million of muskrat skins annually. The American Fur company's annual shipments of these skins varied from 1,000 to 100,000. On Rock river, a tributary of the Mississippi, the Indians, in 1825, caught 130,000 muskrats. The next year's catch was about half of that number. Within two years afterwards the muskrat was nearly exterminated in the Rock river field.

Minks, otter, martens, lynxes and weasels were included in the company's harvest, running from 200 to 2,000 of each kind.

One season's shipment of buffalo skins amounted to 42,000. For that year's skins the company received four dollars each.

Fort Union was the fur trading capital. It stood on the bank of the Missouri, near the mouth of the Yellowstone. There McKenzie was "governor." There "treaties," on which Washington was not consulted, were made with tribes of Indians. There "Cadet" Chouteau was the great father and medals bearing his face and the peace and amity inscription were delivered to chiefs who treasured them as priceless. To Fort Union came from below each year the engages and voyageurs—the navy of the American Fur company. From Fort Union sallied forth to all points of the compass the trappers and hunters—the army of the American Fur company. Under the shadow of the palisades of Fort Union the wild nations assembled to trade and to council. They might scalp each other if their trails crossed in the mountains or on the plains. At Fort Union there was neutrality. Administrations at Washington might come and go. To these savage peoples relationship with the rest of the world was through the Fort Union of the fur trade; their goods came from St. Louis. There was no one greater in their eyes than Pierre Chouteau, Jr.

Prince Maximilian described Fort Union as he saw it in the height of its importance upon his arrival there in 1833:

The fort is situated on an alluvial eminence, on the northern bank of the Missouri, in a prairie which extends about fifteen hundred paces to a chain of hills, on whose summit there are other wide-spreading plains. The fort itself forms a quadrangle, the sides of which measure about eighty paces in length. The ramparts consist of strong pickets, sixteen or seventeen feet high, squared and placed close to each other. On the ends there are blockhouses two stories high with embrasures and some cannon which though small are fit for service. In the front, and facing the river, is the well defended main entrance with a large folding gate. Opposite the entrance, at the other end of the quadrangle, is the house of the commandant, one story high with handsome glass windows. In the quadrangle are residences of clerks, interpreters and engages, the powder magazine, the stores, and workshops, stables for the horses and cattle, halls for receiving and entertaining the Indians. The fort shelters fifty or sixty horses, cattle, hogs, goats and fowls.

Mr. McKenzie had given us a comfortable lodging in his house, and we lived there very pleasantly, in a plain style, suitable to the resources of so remote a place; for we could not hope to meet with so good a table as we had had on board the steamer. We had every day fresh or dried buffalo flesh, and also a good supply of coffee and wine. The first days passed rapidly in examining the fort and the immediate environs, while on board the steamer they began to unload and convey the provisions and goods to the fort so that all was bustle and activity. Eight hundred packs of buffalo hides, each pack consisting of ten hides, were immediately embarked. Besides the buffalo hides, many beaver, bear, wolf, lynx, fox and other skins were embarked. Of the wolf and lynx there were sixty-two packs, each consisting of one hundred skins.

The Assiniboine having taken on its cargo, was to depart on the afternoon of the 26th of June, and return to St. Louis; the company, therefore, assembled once more on board to dine together. About three o'clock, when the whole population of the place was assembled on the beach, we took leave of our traveling companions, Messrs. Sandford and Pratte, with whom some of the company's clerks had embarked to return to the United States. In order to turn the Assiniboine first went a little way up the river, and then passed the fort with the rapidity of an arrow, while a mutual salute of a discharge of cannon and musketry was re-echoed from the mountains, and handkerchiefs were waved till a bend of the river hid the vessel from our view.

King McKenzie had posts on the Big Horn and farther up the Missouri. Four years after he took charge of the department he had fully occupied the field, establishing a number of outgoing posts and sending his traders and trappers in every direction. Two branch trading stations were maintained. One was Fort Cass, two hundred miles up the Yellowstone for dealing with the Crows. The other was Fort McKenzie, eight hundred and fifty miles up the Missouri, for the accommodation of three Blackfoot tribes. These were not forts of the United States government but fortified posts of the American Fur company. Besides these forts the company had twenty-three blockhouses or posts where they received furs and delivered goods in return to the Indians. Well armed agents and escorts traveled between the forts and these outlying posts to carry the goods and bring in the furs. The army of the company numbered five hundred men. These were in addition to the unnumbered trappers and hunters who gathered furs independently and brought them to the forts. The company's salary roll was $150,000 a year. To supply the army of clerks and engages a corps of hunters was maintained. The force of officers and employes at Fort Union alone required the meat of eight hundred buffaloes annually. The American flag floated over the forts. When the steamboat came up with the company's annual shipment of goods it was received with

a formal salute from the cannon in the blockhouses. Americans, Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians, Italians, Spaniards, almost any nationality, could be found among the hundreds of employes of the American Fur company.

King McKenzie's dynasty came to an end. Congress had forbidden the fur traders to take liquor up the Missouri. McKenzie thought he couldn't compete with the British traders over the line unless he had firewater. He set up a distillery at Fort Union, had the boat bring up a few hundred bushels of corn and manufactured. The king was so pleased wtih his infant industry, he showed it to some visitors. He wrote to Mr. Chouteau:

"I have a good corn mill, a respectable distillery and can produce as fine liquor as need be drunk. I believe that no law of the United States is thereby broken, though perhaps one may be made to break up any distillery. But liquor I must have, or quit any pretension to trade in this part."

A man from Boston was one of the king's guests. When he got down the river he reported the distillery. General William Clark at St. Louis, in charge of Indian affairs, called on Pierre Chouteau, Jr., for explanation. Mr. Chouteau replied:

"The company believing that wild peas and berries might be converted into wine, which they did not understand to be prohibited, did authorize experiments to be made, and, if under color of this, ardent spirits have been distilled and vended, it is without the knowledge, authority or direction of the company, and I will take measures, by sending immediately an express to arrest the operation complained of, if found to exist."

Mr. Astor retired from the fur trade in 1834. Not long before he did so he wrote a letter to his St. Louis partners which contained the following:

"I very much fear beaver will not sell well very soon unless very fine. It appears that they make hats of silk in place of beaver."

The greatest of fur merchants was impressed with the idea that he foresaw the downfall of the beaver trade, which at that time was the most valuable skin, because the French were making silk hats. With Mr. Astor out, the business was divided. Ramsey Crookes took the department of the lakes. The Missouri river territory went to Pratte, Chouteau & Company. The name of the American Fur Company was still popularly applied to the organization on the Missouri.

Kenneth McKenzie was one of the last bourgeois in the fur trade. He was a boy in Scotland when the Astorians made their expedition up the Missouri. His earliest service was with the Northwestern Company. Then McKenzie went into the business on his own account. When the American Fur Company bought out the Columbia, McKenzie became one of the chief lieutenants of Pierre Chouteau, Jr. The feat which made him famous in fur trading circles was the treaty with the Blackfoot tribe. These Indians, long under British domination, had consistently fought the fur traders from St. Louis. McKenzie secured their trade, and in 1832 built a post in their country. He visited headquarters at St. Louis from time to time, until 1839, when he retired from active control. His home was in St. Louis the rest of his life. McKenzie crossed the plains more

than twenty-five times. In a single season he traveled over three thousand miles on horseback through a country occupied only by Indians and buffalos.

In 1823 General William H. Ashley led an expedition across the plains from St. Louis. He met with resistance from the Indians and lost fourteen men. In 1824 General Ashley discovered a southern route through the Rocky Mountains. He led his expedition to the Great Salt Lake and explored the Utah valley. He established a fort. Two years later a six-pound cannon was drawn from the Missouri across the plains and through the mountains 1,200 miles to Ashley's fort. A trail was made. Many loaded wagons passed over it. A new trade territory for St. Louis was opened. Between 1824 and 1827 Ashley's men sent over $200,000 worth of furs to St. Louis. The general retired from the business of exploration and fur trading. He sold out to a St. Louis organization in which J. S. Smith, David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette were the leading spirits. Their chief clerk was Robert Campbell. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company pushed its trade across the mountains and into what are now Nevada, California and southern Oregon.

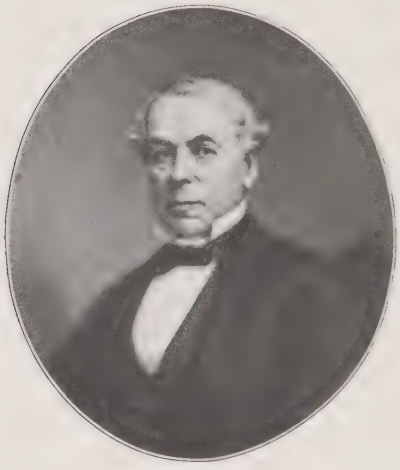
Ashley was a slender man, rather tall, thin faced, with a prominent nose and chin. He came west from Virginia when he was eighteen, sold goods, manufactured saltpetre and surveyed lands before he engaged in the fur trade. He was a man of boundless activity, at the same time a mild-mannered, serious, and silent man. With knowledge of the force of character behind those peaceful appearing features, the organizers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company selected Ashley as the leader. Early in the spring two boats were loaded with goods for the Indians. Major Henry recruited and armed one hundred men, picking those who had seen service in the fur trade. The destination was the mouth of the Yellowstone far up the Missouri, in what is now Montana. Very complete, not to say elaborate, were the preparations. Perhaps no other expedition in the history of the fur trade was better planned. On the way to Ashley's boats a wagon load of powder exploded at Washington avenue and Ninth street. The owner of the wagon, a Mr. Labarge, and two of his men were killed. This was the beginning of misfortunes. When the expedition reached the Arickarees' country, General Ashley met the chiefs of that tribe. He gave them presents. He bought fifty horses from them. When his men went to the place where they were to receive the horses they were attacked. Fifteen of them were killed. The horses were stampeded. The boats were driven away from the bank. War was declared. General Ashley had sent part of his force with Major Henry overland to the Yellowstone. This detachment encountered the Blackfoot Indians and lost four men and the goods it was transporting.

Ashley met the desperate situation with iron nerve. He waited until the United States troops had dispersed the Arickarees who were blockading the Missouri. With more men and goods from St. Louis, he went on to the mouth of the Yellowstone. In his mind Ashley had no doubt as to what had prompted the Indian hostility. As soon as he had established his base, he began a series of raids on the traders and Indian allies of the Hudson Bay Fur company. The property stolen from him Ashley found scattered among these traders and Indians. While pursuing a band of the rival fur company's Indians, Ashley made

JOSEPH A. SIRE

PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR.,

ANTOINE CHENIE



ROBERT CAMPBELL

a geographical discovery of great importance. The pursuit led him into the great South Pass of the Rocky Mountain range. Ashley brought back to St. Louis the first knowledge of the vast interior between the Rocky and the Sierra ranges. He lost one-fourth of his men and half of his goods in the contest for trade supremacy in the Northwest. He came back to St. Louis in June, 1823, after fifteen months hardships, the boats piled high with packs of beaver and other furs. The company's venture had been immensely remunerative. Beyond this, the traders of the Hudson Bay Fur company had been driven out of the country and the Indians had been cowed. But of still greater importance to the coming generations, was the fact that an easy way through the Rocky Mountain range had been found.

On the strength of his prestige Ashley, who had been lieutenant governor, was a candidate for governor of Missouri. He was beaten by Frederick Bates. His opportunity came a little later. Almost without opposition General Ashley was elected to Congress in 1830 to take the place of Spencer Pettis killed in the duel with Major Biddle. The controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the Northwest boundary was becoming acute. General Ashley had personal knowledge of that part of the country and the fur trade conditions there. His information and opinions carried much weight with those at the head of the National Government, and had influence in the shaping of the boundary policy of the United States.

The fur trade campaigns directed from St. Louis were strenuous. In the five years from 1825 to 1830, two-fifths of the rank and file of traders and trappers were killed by Indians or perished from other dangers incident to the pursuit of pelts. Brackenridge said of the Creole boatmen:

"I believe an American could not be brought to support with patience the fatiguing labors and submission which these men endure. At this season when the water is exceedingly cold, they leap in without a moment's hesitation. Their food consists of lye corn hominy for breakfast, a slice of fat pork and biscuit for dinner, and a pot of mush with a pound of tallow in it for supper."

The bourgeois was the head of a fur expedition or post. The patron was the master of a boat. The winterers were the old employes who gave all of their time to the fur trading life. The manageurs de lard, or porkeaters, were the summer employes. Philip St. George Cooke, a regular army officer for some time and stationed at St. Louis, described the privates in the fur trading organizations:

> These men called engages are generally French Creoles; and form a small class as distinct in character from any other, as is the sailor from his fellow-bipeds who dwell on shore. He somewhat resembles the said sailor—isolated on the prairie desert, as the other on the sea. He has a patient and submissive obedience, with a seeming utter carelessness of privations, such as would drive a seaman to mutiny. With the same reckless abandon to some transient and coarse enjoyments, he is a hardy and light-hearted child of nature—of nature in her wildest simplicity; and in these, her solitudes, he receives a stepmother's care, and battles with a stout heart against her most wintry moods. He resembles the Indian, too, and is generally of kindred blood; he possesses his perseverance, his instinctive sagacity, and his superstition. A very Gascon, he has the French cheerful facility of accommodation to his fated exigencies, and lightens toil by an invincible and contagious mirth. He is handsome, athletic, active; dresses chiefly in buckskin; wears a sash and

knife; lives precariously, generally on flesh alone; is happy when his pipe is lit; and when he cannot smoke sings a song. He is armed and vigilant while at his severest labors. He joyously spends his ten dollars a month in alcohol, tobacco, coffee and sugar, and in gaudy presents to some half-breed belle; paying the most incredible prices for these extravagant luxuries.

Bradbury translated one of the songs which the men on the fur trading boats sang as they plied the oars:

I

Behind our house there is a pond,
Fal lal de ra.
There came three ducks to swim thereon:
All along the river clear,
Lightly my shepherdess dear,
Lightly, fal de ra.

II

There came three ducks to swim thereon,
Fal lal de ra.
The prince to chase them he did run,
All along the river clear,
Lightly my shepherdess dear,
Lightly, fal de ra.

III

The prince to chase them he did run,
Fal lal de ra.
And he had his great silver gun
All along the river clear,
Lightly my shepherdess dear,
Lightly, fal de ra.

Andrew Henry came from Fayette county, Pennsylvania, to St. Louis. He went into the fur trade with Lisa, the Chouteaus and others as early as 1809. The first post established by the fur traders beyond the crest of the Rocky Mountains was the venture of Major Henry; it was called Fort Henry and was located on the Snake river near Elgin; it furnished shelter to Hunt's expedition of Astorians. Andrew Dripps was another Pennsylvanian from Westmoreland county who became a St. Louis fur trader. He was with the Missouri company in 1820 and later headed expeditions for the American Fur company.

Jim Bridger was a St. Louis contribution to the winning of the west by the fur trading route. He was a boy from Virginia who was apprenticed to a St. Louis blacksmith. When Ashley and Henry recruited their expedition in 1822, Bridger joined the party. He developed in the field an extraordinary aptitude for topography, in the pioneer sense. He was never lost. Father DeSmet said Bridger was "one of the truest specimens of a real trapper and Rocky Mountain man." Jim Bridger never came back to St. Louis to live. "The canyons of the city," he called the streets, and he didn't like them. He built Bridger's Fort. Few knew the mountain country as did he. Bridger's Peak was the name given to a landmark. In the dome of the new capitol of Minnesota is a trapper for which

Bridger was the original. Dr. Whitman, the Oregon missionary, took an iron arrowhead out of Bridger's shoulder. Nevertheless the trapper entertained no grudge against the red race; he marrried a Shoshone wife.

Thomas Fitzpatrick was one of the partners in the Rocky Mountain Fur company. To the Indians he was known as "Broken Hand" on account of a severe wound. He was with Ashley in the early expeditions. Later he conducted the annual trade at the rendezvous on Green river and its tributaries. He remained on the frontier after the decline of the fur trade.

Three of the St. Louis volunteers who responded to Ashley's call were Mike Fink and his friends Carpenter and Talbot. They never came back to St. Louis, and their loss was the city's gain. Fink's favorite way of spelling his name was Micke Phinck. He and Carpenter frequently entertained a crowd of St. Louis boatmen with their feats of marksmanship. At seventy yards either one could shoot a tin cup of whiskey from the other's head. These three men traveled the rivers. They belonged to the roving class of "half horse half alligator" boatmen. Mike Fink's last exploit before he left St. Louis to go fur hunting with Ashley and Henry was to shoot the heel off a negro. The black boy was lounging on the levee. He had a protruding heel. Fink, at thirty yards, raised his rifle and fired. The boy dropped. Fink's defense was that he wanted to make the foot so that a genteel boot would fit it. Public sentiment in St. Louis did not accept this pleasantry. Fink was sent to jail. He got out in time to go with the Ashley expedition. Far up in the Northwest, above the Yellowstone, Fink and Carpenter quarreled. Apparently they made up. The next time they tried the tin cup experiment Carpenter told Talbot he believed Fink meant to kill him. The two men threw a copper to decide who should shoot first. Fink won. Carpenter gave his rifle and equipment to Talbot and took his position with the cup on his head. Fink aimed, and lowered his rifle; playfully telling Carpenter to "hold his noddle steady." Then he aimed again and fired. Carpenter was shot through the head. Fink said it was all a mistake and blamed his rifle. Several weeks went by. Fink bragged of killing Carpenter purposely. Talbot drew a pistol which Carpenter had given him and killed Fink. A short time afterwards Talbot was drowned, trying to cross the Teton river. The story seems incredible, but it is told in a letter book of General William Clark possessed by the Kansas Historical society at Topeka.

The Rocky Mountain Fur company was originally managed by Ashley; later by Sublette. There were four Sublettes in the fur trade. William L. was the Captain Sublette. He was six feet two inches, tawny haired and blue-eyed, with a deep scar on his face which told he was game. The Sublettes were descended of Kentucky stock on their mother's side from Whitby, the companion of Daniel Boone, who was said to have killed Tecumseh in the Battle of the Thames. When William L. Sublette came to St. Louis in 1818, he started a billiard room. When William H. Ashley published his call of the spring of 1822 "to enterprising young men" William L. and Milton G. Sublette responded. The call read:

"The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred young men to ascend the Missouri river to its source, there to be employed one, two or three years."

This meant fur trading, although the call did not say so. Andrew and Solomon P. Sublette, who were younger, joined their brothers later. Captain Sublette served with Ashley, and when the leader was ready to retire became one of the party who brought him out. Twenty years William L. Sublette was a fur trader. Robert Campbell came to St. Louis from County Tyrone, Ireland, when he was twenty. The doctors ordered him to the mountains for his health. Campbell joined one of Ashley's fur trading expeditions. A warm friendship developed between Campbell and William L. Sublette. A partnership was formed. Campbell and Sublette, while with Ashley, were mountain fur traders. When they went into business for themselves they had the temerity to establish posts on the Missouri River. For several years they gave the American Fur Company the most serious competition it had. They accumulated handsome fortunes. Sublette lived in a large stone house on the hill south of Forest Park. He maintained a private zoo of wild animals he had tamed. His house was full of curiosities gathered in his mountain career. At the store which Sublette and Campbell conducted in St. Louis an Indian tepee was set up and inhabited by an Indian family. Captain Sublette surrounded himself with Indian retainers. When one of them died a grave was made in the private burying ground of the Sublettes.

Captain Sublette was a man of sentiment. He avoided conflict with the Indians with rare skill. When it was necessary to fight he did his full part. Famous in fur trading history is the battle of Pierre's Hole with the Blackfeet. There Sublette and Campbell, with their shirt sleeves rolled up, grasping their pistols, charged a breastwork. Just before doing so, each of these close friends made a will remembering the other. Sublette was severely wounded. It was after this battle and the ensuing season that Sublette and Campbell returned to St. Louis; heading a train of pack horses loaded with furs, and attended by hunters, guides and Indians. As the outfit entered the city it made an imposing procession a mile long. After his retirement from active business, Captain Sublette had political aspirations. He wanted to go to Congress from St. Louis. He wrote to Senator Benton asking him for the appointment of superintendent of Indian affairs, and died in 1845 while on the way to Washington to see about it.

Andrew Sublette was a mighty bear hunter. The pelt was the smallest part of the consideration. Whenever Andrew Sublette found himself in new territory he tried the temper of the bears. He was in California with the '49ers, listened to stories of the ferocious grizzlies and went after them. He had a dog that liked bear fighting as well as he did. In the vicinity of Los Angeles, Andrew Sublette came upon a grizzly and wounded it. The mate of the bear rushed out of the brush and attacked. Sublette was caught with an unloaded gun. He drew his knife, and with the dog beside him, fought until he had killed the two bears. Man and dog were frightfully torn. Sublette lingered and died of the wounds. The dog remained by the bedside through the illness, followed his master's body to the grave and lay beside it, refusing to eat or drink until he died.

William Waldo described William L. Sublette as "a prudent, economical

man." "Milton, Solomon and Andrew Sublette," he said, "were reckless of life and money." Milton Sublette's Indian fighting exploits won for him the name of "Thunderbolt of the Rocky Mountains." Andrew Sublette could shoot a wild horse through the neck so as to graze the vertebrae and paralyze temporarily but not permanently injure the animal. This was the method of capturing wild horses by creasing. The Boston man who told this of Andrew Sublette said, "I give it as true because I saw it done."

Among the traditions of the fur traders of St. Louis was the marvelous story of Russell Farnham's travels. Before the War of 1812 Farnham came to St. Louis. He was a New Englander. He had been a clerk for John Jacob Astor. Recognizing in Farnham qualities beyond the ordinary young man of that day, Astor sent him west to look after his interests. Farnham was to visit Indians and agents and to make reports to Astor. He went into the northwest among the lakes of the region which became long afterwards the state of Minnesota. Returning to civilization, Farnham was arrested on reaching the Mississippi and charged with being a British spy. War had begun. When the prisoner was brought to St. Louis, he was identified as one of Astor's fur traders and was released. Farnham conferred with Wilson P. Hunt, Astor's chief representative. He sought from General William Clark all possible information about the route which Lewis and Clark had taken from St. Louis to the Pacific coast. He was a man of perfect physique, five feet and ten inches in height, fair-haired and blue-eyed.

After the failure of the Astoria enterprise Farnham accompanied Wilson Price Hunt on the Pedler to Kamchatka to undertake the overland journey across Siberia and Russia with papers for Mr. Astor in New York. The narrative of travel is given in the language of Elihu H. Shepard, the pioneer historian of St. Louis:

> Then entering Siberia, he proceeded across the eastern continent to St. Petersburg, where, introducing himself to the American plenipotentiary at the Russian court, he was presented to the Emperor Alexander as the bold American who had traveled across the continent. He was received by the emperor with great consideration and kindness, and was sent by him without solicitation to Paris, on his way home where he arrived in good health, after great exposure to dangers, toils, and sufferings such as no other individual has ever voluntarily submitted himself to on these two continents. On his appearance on the streets of St. Louis he was everywhere hailed with the warmest salutations of joy, pleasure and admiration in the countenances of all who had ever known him or heard of his extraordinary exploits. These demonstrations were received with that modesty and humility which always characterize true greatness and add a never failing charm to the whole character of him who possesses them.

Mr. Shepard explains that "the exact date of departure and arrival at the different points along the journey were carefully noted by Colonel Farnham, as well as the remarkable incidents and observations on the route, in a well kept journal prepared for publication. The journal was placed in the hands of a publisher in New York, who failed and died several years before Colonel Farnham. The colonel was never able to recover the journal or to learn its fate."

After Farnham's death from cholera in 1832 at St. Louis where he had

made his home with his family, Crookes wrote from New York to Pierre Chouteau, Jr.:

"Poor Farnham! He has paid the debt of nature after a life of uncommon activity and endless exposure. Peace to his manes! He was one of the best meaning but the most sanguine man I almost ever met with. During all the ravages of the pestilence here, and the unexpected rapidity with which some of my friends were hurried to their long account, I never felt anything like the sensation I experienced upon hearing of my honest friend's death, for I did not know he was at St. Louis, and thought him safe in some part of the wilderness."

After a century of unrivaled success, St. Louis fur traders gradually adapted themselves to new conditions. The American Fur Company wound up its business about the time of the Civil war. With the advance of the railroads into the fur producing territory, the St. Louis dealers sent buyers to deal with the widely scattered trappers and traders. Cash purchasing succeeded barter. The fur trade of St. Louis, in volume, grew instead of diminishing. Following the war, representatives of the St. Louis houses traversed the Mississippi valley, the mountains and the coast, wherever there was fur production. This became the concentrating point, the great primary fur market. About 1895, a new system was introduced by a St. Louis fur house. Buyers in the field were withdrawn gradually. Trappers and hunters were educated to send in the catch by the modern methods of shipment, receiving therefor cash remittances according to market quotations.

There are over 500,000 persons in North America who trap or produce furs. There are thousands of men and boys in towns and on farms who trap and hunt every winter. They ship to St. Louis and are paid promptly, by mail, the values of the furs. In this market sales take place regularly three times a week from November to April. The selling is by sealed bids after the London method. A single day's sales will range from $40,000 to $60,000.

The buffalo, the deer and the large fur-bearing animals have passed away but valuable furs still reach the St. Louis market,—Alaska sables, lynx and mink. The silver and black fox and sea otter skins sell in the St. Louis market for from $100 to $2,000 each. The great volume of skins is from the southern and central sections of the United States,—muskrat, raccoon, opossum, skunk and the common varieties. All parts of the United States and Canada ship here. The St. Louis trade shows that the fur bearing animals are not becoming extinct. Its present proportions are larger than at any previous period. One St. Louis house communicates with 400,000 persons who make shipments of raw furs. The evolution of the fur trade of St. Louis is now in the direction of increase of fur manufacture. Local opportunity for the production of fur garments exists. Some factories have been established.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRESS.

It is self-evident that, in every country where the rays of the press are not clouded by despotic power, the people have arrived to the highest grade of civilization. There science holds her head erect and bids her sons to call into action those talents which lie in a good soil inviting cultivation. The inviolation of the press is co-existent with the liberties of the people. They live or die together. It is the vestal fire upon the preservation of which the fate of nations depends; and the most pure hands, officiating for the whole community, should be incessantly employed in keeping it alive.—Joseph Charless' Prospectus of the Missouri Gazette, 1808.

The days of June and July, 1808, were not dull. Residents, of substance, were signing with no little discussion, a petition to create the town of St. Louis. They were not all agreed upon the wisdom of this proposition to incorporate. Joseph Charless had arrived by keelboat from the Ohio, bringing information that the first printing press to be set up west of the Mississippi was on the way from Pennsylvania. In the north room of the old Robidoux house of posts, Jacob Hinkle was unpacking the type brought from Louisville. As he went about making acquaintances, Joseph Charless handed the people a neatly printed slip, with blank space below for signatures and addresses,—the "Prospectus" of the first St. Louis newspaper. Opening with the sentiment already quoted, Mr. Charless set forth the practical details of his business:

It is now proposed to establish a Weekly News-Paper, to be published by subscription at ST. LOUIS, to be called the

MISSOURI GAZETTE,
And Louisiana Advertiser;
By Joseph Charless.

For the reasons above stated, we conceive it unnecessary to offer any thing like professions to the public, but rather let the columns of the GAZETTE speak for themselves, and the print let to live or die by the character it may acquire, but its intended Patrons have a right to be acquainted with the grounds upon which their approbation is solicited.

To extinguish party animosities and foster a cordial union, among the people on the basis of toleration and equal government; to impress upon the mind, that next to love of *God,* the love of our Country should be paramount in the human breast; to advocate that cause which placed Jefferson at the head of the magistracy, and in fine to infuse and keep alive those principles which the test of experience has so evidently portrayed its merits, to these ends shall the labours of the Gazette be directed.

No endeavours nor expence shall be spared in procuring the earliest Foreign Intelligence, which shall be impartially given, and particular attention paid to the detail of the domestic occurrences, with extracts from the proceeding of the state and national legislature. To diversify scenes, we shall glean whatever may be most instructive and amusing in the *Belles Lettres,* with historical and Poetical extracts—men of genius are invited to send their productions to the Gazette, which will be open for fair discussion on public subjects—it will disdain to direct its flights at smaller game—scurrility and defamation can never be admitted as auxiliaries—private character is one of the possessions of civil society, which ought to be held sacred; to follow a man into the circle of private life, would be a very unfair and licentious act;—Therefore the editor will in-

variably exclude any and every piece which might lead to disturb our public officers, in the honest discharge of their duty, or the peaceful walk of the private citizen.

AVIS.

Les anciens Habitans de la Louisiane, sont informé respectueusement par L'Imprimeur du Prospectus de la Gazette du Missouri qu'il se propose de reserver trois colomnes de son papier, pour publier en francais les nouvelles localles et Etranggeres; les Loix du Territoire, et des Etats unis de L'Amerique, aussi bien que tous les Evenements qui demande publicité.

Le Prix est trois Gourdes per annum, et la Gazette sera distribuée une fois par Semaine.

CONDITIONS.

I. The Gazette will be published once a week on a handsome Type and Paper, the day of publication will be regulated by the arrival of the Mail; during the session of Congress, should their proceedings be particularly interesting, a supplementary sheet shall be occasionally issued.

II. Terms of payment will be Three Dollars payable in advance, or Four Dollars in Country Produce. Advertisements not exceeding a square will be inserted one week for one dollar, and for every continuance Fifty Cents, those of a greater length in proportion.

III. The First number of the Gazette, will appear as soon as possible, the types being ready at Louisville, Ky., and the press expected in the course of a month, from Pennsylvania. The intended editor pledges his reputation, that there shall be no unnecessary delay.

But something more than editor, press, type and printer was necessary. When Joseph Charless was ready to put forth Number 1, Volume 1, Missouri Gazette, he could find no suitable paper in St. Louis. The largest sheet was twelve inches long and eight inches wide. The form was made up accordingly. On the 12th of July, 1808, the editor lifted carefully from the old hand press a dampened piece of paper only so large as a sheet of foolscap, and held up a printed page. Journalism is St. Louis had been born.

Joseph Charless was a man of convictions. He risked his life for his principles. He had to leave Ireland in haste, having engaged in the rebellion of 1795. Escaping first to France, he came to this country, when he was twenty-four years old. The family name in the old country was Charles but pronounced in two syllables. To set his American acquaintances right on the pronunciation, Mr. Charless added a second "s". His first stop was in Philadelphia where he worked at the trade he had learned in Ireland, that of printer. One of his earliest American experiences was setting type on the first quarto edition of the Bible issued in this country. Joseph Charless married Mrs. Sarah McCloud in Philadelphia. He moved to Lexington and was connected with a newspaper. That was about 1800. In 1808, after a couple of years in Louisville, Mr. Charless came to St. Louis. While her husband busied himself with his newspaper enterprise, Mrs. Charless, a devout woman, was active in the movement to organize the first Presbyterian church in St. Louis.

Joseph Charless was an editor in fact as well as in name. Before the Gazette was a year old, it was replying in vigorous editorials to the Atlantic seaboard pessimists who still bewailed the acquisition of Louisiana territory.

Big swamp of Louisiana! ! ! What citizen is there, who is in the smallest degree alive to the prosperity of our happy country, who does not feel indignant at the gross falsehoods and ignorant philippics published against the Jefferson administration, con-

cerning the purchase of Louisiana? We would recommend these incendiary editors to the study of Geography, and they will discover that Louisana possesses a soil equal to any other State or territory in the Union. Rich in minerals, numerous navigable rivers and many other advantages place this desirable country far above the calumny of the miserable scribblers. Give us industrious planters, and in a short period Louisiana will become the bright star in the Federal constellation.

The Louisiana which Editor Charless intended to vindicate from eastern press aspersions was not the Louisiana known to later generations. Congress had divided the country acquired from France in two parts. To the lower portion had been given the name of Orleans. To the northern district, including what is now Missouri, had been given the name of Louisiana Territory. This title continued until 1812. Mr. Charless called his paper the Missouri Gazette for a short time, but, conforming to the official conditions, changed to the Louisiana Gazette. When Congress decided upon Missouri Territory, the title of the paper was made the Missouri Gazette. In Kentucky, Mr. Charless had been connected with a Gazette. He liked the name and chose it for his St. Louis venture.

The first year was a trying one. When twelve months had gone around, the editor printed this review of the past and prospectus for the future:

He regrets that his paper, under the untoward circumstances under which he labored for the first year, did not come up to his own calculations, and perhaps to the expectations of his patrons—but now, having disposed of his office in Lexington, and brought his family to St. Louis, together with a supply of good paper, trusts that he will henceforth meet the expectations of his friends.

The first two years Mr. Charless ran the Gazette in the old Robidoux house, the entire cost of publication was twenty dollars a week. That included Jacob Hinkle's stipend. When the Gazette had been published three years, the editor saw that his list of delinquents required attention. He printed conspicuously and within italic emphasis on "word of honor" this notice:

Mr. Charless calls upon those of his subscribers who gave their notes or word of honor to pay in flour or corn to bring it in directly. Others who promised to pay in beef or pork, to deliver it as soon as possible, or their accounts will be placed in the magistrate's hands.

For some time the Gazette appeared in two languages. This was in accordance with the assurance given in the prospectus that the paper might reach the whole community. Mr. Charless printed news and advertising in French as well as English. Some of the advertisements which appeared in the Gazette were as entertaining as the local news:

LOOK HERE!!

Fred Yeiser, on Main street, next door to Dongan's Silver Smith shop has on hand "a great heap of whiskey," plenty of peach brandy, linsey, country linen, shoes, nails, cotton, bed cords, etc., etc., low for cash or hides.

N. B. No credit, as I have never learnt to write.—Fred Yeiser.

If he hadn't "learnt to write," Yeiser was a patriot. When St. Louis got into the War of 1812, Yeiser was there,—a captain, too. He commanded half of the 200 volunteers from St. Louis who went with Clark up the Mississippi to capture and hold Prairie du Chien. With the expedition was a young lieutenant in the regular army, George Hancock Kennerly, of Fincastle, Virginia. When the war was over Kennerly left the army and settled in St. Louis.

There was art in advertising a hundred years ago. Benjamin Estell, about to enter the meatshop business in 1814, invited the attention of the town of St. Louis in a printed card which could hardly have been made more effective by a modern ad-writer:

The subscriber respectfully informs the citizens of St. Louis that he will commence the butchering business on Monday next. With deference, he requests the heads of families and the masters of shops to meet him on that morning at market house and partake of his first essay, as a free will, offered at the commencement of his business.

The farmers who make St. Louis a market for their beef are invited to call upon the subscriber at the Sign of the Cross Keys, at the south end of St. Louis, and make positive contracts for their cattle, as the subscriber wishes to destroy the prevailing idea of advantages being taken of them in bringing their beef to this market. Those who will favor him with their custom shall always have their money on the delivery of their beef.

The editor of the Gazette carried on the paper largely as a matter of public spirit and from love of the business. He depended upon other sources for livelihood. The following appeared in the Gazette in 1810: "Joseph Charless informs his friends that he receives boarders by the day, week or month. Travelers can be accommodated with as good fare as the town affords on moderate terms. Stabling for eight or ten horses. Subscribers to the paper are requested to pay up. Pork and flour received."

Somewhat later the following notice appeared in the Gazette: "Joseph Charless will give one bit a pound for old copper and brass and take it at that price for debts due the printer."

Still later, in 1815, this announcement was published: "Joseph Charless, at the instance of a number of friends in Kentucky and Ohio intending to re-remove from Missouri and Illinois Territories, has opened books for the registry and sale of lands, town lots and slaves. Every exertion will be made to render the institution worthy of patronage."

Official patronage wasn't worth mentioning. The appropriation acts of the general assembly of Missouri Territory in 1813 read like this:

There shall be paid to Pierre Chouteau for a room by him furnished the house of representatives in December last twelve dollars; to Charles Sanguinette, for two rooms furnished for the use of the present general assembly ninety-six dollars; to Thomas F. Riddick, for stationery furnished the present general assembly and house of representatives in December last, to be paid out of the first money that may be in the treasury, thirty-nine dollars and seventy cents; for printing the laws passed at the present session, not exceeding three hundred dollars; to Andrew Scott, the sum of two dollars and twelve and one-half cents for articles furnished the present general assembly; to J. T. Garieo, for a blank book, inkstand, ink powder and quills, five dollars and sixty-five cents; and to Joseph Charless, for printing done for the legislature, fifteen dollars.

The first staff correspondent of a St. Louis newspaper was Henry M. Brackenridge. He wrote for the Gazette descriptive letters as he traveled from Ste. Genevieve to St. Louis and up the Missouri. Thomas Jefferson saw two or three of the articles, which were copied from the Gazette into eastern papers. He sent for the series. Subsequently he urged the publication of them in book form, commending them highly for the information they contained about the new territory the United States had acquired from France. The result of Mr. Jefferson's interest was the publication of "Views of Louisiana." Brackenridge

was encouraged by the government at Washington. His talent for investigation and for presenting conclusions were utilized. The government sent Brackenridge to South America on a diplomatic mission. When the report and the recommendations were laid before the administration at Washington, the declaration of the Monroe doctrine followed. That policy had its prompting in the findings of Brackenridge who had made his first impression on the public by his newspaper work in St. Louis.

Indians were among the visitors to the office of the Missouri Gazette. With dignfied politeness Editor Charless would hand to each of his blanketed callers a newspaper. The Indian received the paper and examined it with as much attention as if he could read and was interested. If there was a white man in the Gazette office reading, the Indians would imitate him, turning the page when he turned it. John Bradbury, the scientist, was one of Mr. Charless' most frequent visitors while he was in St. Louis between his exploring tours of the surrounding country. When he went up the Missouri as the guest of the fur traders, Bradbury was surprised at two Omaha Indians who approached and offered to shake hands with him, making signs that they had seen him in St. Louis. He had not the slightest recollection of the two Indians. The Indians pointed down the river toward St. Louis, took up a buffalo robe, held it before their faces, turned over the corner and looked at the other side. They imitated the action of a person reading a newspaper so well that Bradbury realized at once they had been visitors to the Gazette office and had seen him reading a paper there.

Nothing in the newspaper business of those days was quite so provoking as the non-arrival of the mails from the east. This was one of Charless' scorchers on the postmasters of 1813:

> No news!!! We are tantalized with a defalcation in the mail department; the weather is too warm for these tender gentry to travel, and the postmasters are too good natured to tell tales at Washington. How the Shawneetown postmaster can get over his oath is not an easy task to tell—for he swears he will faithfully perform his duties. The post office law says he must employ a rider in case of failure to those who have the contract.

To the upbuilding of St. Louis, Joseph Charless devoted the Gazette from its beginning. In July, 1816, he made this editorial appeal to his writers:

> In the year 1795 I first passed down the Ohio to the Falls where a few stores and taverns constituted Louisville a town. Cincinnati was a village and the residence of the soldiers that defended the Northwest Territory. The country between, to Pittsburg, was a wilderness, the haunt of the savages. See it now in 1816; both banks of the Ohio sprinkled with farms, villages and towns, some with a population of 5,000 or more, with banks, steam mills and manufactories of leather, wool, cotton and flax, various metals, schools and seminaries and teachers in every village. The above is noticed as a contrast to the opulent town of St. Louis, with a capital of $1,000,000. It has but few manufactories, no respectable seminaries, no place of worship for dissenters, no public edifices, no steam mills, no banks. Mr. Philipson has just established a brewery; Mr. Wilk, a white and red lead factory; Mr. Hunt, a tanning establishment; and last Mr. Henderson's soap and candle factory would be of great utility had it received that patronage it so richly merits. Machinery of every description is needed here and particularly a man of capital to erect a mill. He would soon realize a fortune who would establish a distillery. At least five thousand barrels of whiskey are annually received from the Ohio and sold at 75 cents a gallon, while thousands of bushels of grain are offered at a very low price to any man who will establish a distillery.

"Private character is one of the possessions of civil society which should be held sacred," Mr. Charless declared in his prospectus. "To follow a man into the circle of private life would be a very unfair and licentious act—therefore, the editor will invariably exclude any and every piece which might lead to disturb our public officers in the honest discharge of their duty or in the peaceful walk of the private citizen."

Nevertheless, Mr. Charless did not shun wholly personal journalism. He became involved in a controversy with Major Berry. The latter couldn't get satisfaction in the columns of the Gazette. There was no opposition paper. Major Berry resorted to the distribution of a hand bill to set himself right. The hand bill was lost to history. The Missouri Gazette preserved for posterity the editor's side of the case. That there might be no mistake about the responsibility, Mr. Charless signed his editorial:

In a hand bill published by Major Berry, on Tuesday last, I have been severely censured, and charged with making "fallacious and disrespectful remarks" in publishing an account of his mission to Rock River. Those who may have read the last Gazette, and his handbill, will acquit me of fallacy; 'tis true I did not give his report in full, because I always give preference to merit in the selections for my paper. On the charge of disrespect, I must plead want of information, for until the Major informed me that he ranked as Major in the line, and was a Deputy Quartermaster General, I was ignorant of the matter. But should my pen or press be employed in recording any of his achievements in future, I will announce him, Major Taylor Berry, Deputy Quartermaster General.

JOSEPH CHARLESS.

The frank comments of the editor in the Gazette upon persons and acts gave offense in several directions. A committee of citizens called upon the publisher to tell him another paper would be started if he persisted in a course which was deemed prejudicial to the interests of St. Louis. Mr. Charless was not only defiant in the interview, but he printed his own version of it. He said the gentlemen had notified him "of their subscription of $1,000 to start a new paper, and buy a printer of their own to conduct it as they should dictate." This action followed a personal attack upon Colonel Charless about a year earlier. The colonel had defended himself with a stick,—some said it was a "shooting stick," familiar in the days of hand composition and flat forms.

Mr. Charless was a fearless editor at short range. He did not hesitate to express editorial opinion on local matters. When the fatal duel between Benton and Lucas took place, this comment on the result appeared in the Gazette: "The infernal practice of dueling has taken off this morning one of the first characters in our country, Charles Lucas, Esq., attorney at law. His death has left a blank in society not easily filled up."

At one time Mr. Charless was threatened with incendiarism because of some vigorous editorials in the Gazette. Apparently as a result of the rumors that the editor was to be burned out, the Gazette published this: "D. Kimball requests the incendiaries of St. Louis to defer burning Mr. Charless' establishment until his removal, which will be on the 20th of April next." While walking in his garden, Mr. Charless was fired upon but was not hit.

The affair with Congressman John Scott was a newspaper sensation which continued some weeks in St. Louis. The Gazette printed several articles on

JOSEPH CHARLESS

NATHANIEL PASCHALL

Type of the Robidoux House in Which the First Newspaper was Published in 1808

GEORGE KNAPP

ADAM BLACK CHAMBERS

Scott, who denounced them and demanded the name of the author. Threats were made, to which Mr. Charless replied: "I may be threatened, but I will continue an independent course. If I am attacked for exercising the honest duties of my profession, I know how to repel injury." That was in 1816. Mr. Charless at length gave Mr. Scott the names of the writers of the articles. There were five highly respectable citizens involved. Scott challenged each of them. One of the challenged was Rufus Easton, who replied to the challenge: "I do not want to kill you, and if you were to kill me I would die as the fool dieth." No one of the five challenged met Mr. Scott on Bloody Island. Public sentiment in St. Louis grew strong against dueling. In 1823 the Missouri Republican voiced this sentiment when it said: "Two more persons have been killed in duels near St. Louis. Their names are Messrs. Waddle and Crow. It must be a vicious state of society in which the pistol is the umpire in every controversy."

The threats to start an opposition paper came to something in the spring of 1815. With an investment of $1,000 a press and type were bought. Joshua Norvell, from Nashville, was engaged to run the organ, which was named the Western Journal. The backers were soon called upon to put up more money. The name was changed to the Western Emigrant. Sergeant Hall came over from Cincinnati to be the manager. The Western Emigrant struggled along until the summer of 1819, when it changed hands again. The new proprietor was Isaac N. Henry, of Nashville. Thomas H. Benton had come to St. Louis three years before. His political career had not opened. Mr. Henry engaged Mr. Benton to edit the paper, which he called the St. Louis Enquirer. Benton went to the United States Senate to begin his remarkable "Thirty Years." About the same time Henry died. History does not record much about the Enquirer beyond the fact of its existence.

Benton never forgot his early newspaper experience. In one of his senatorial campaigns he made a speech at Columbia. His host was James S. Rollins. In the morning Mr. Rollins was very much pleased with the well written notice of the meeting which appeared in the paper. Although the weekly paper had gone to press about the time that the senator was addressing the audience, the report was remarkably full. Senator Benton had not yet arisen. Mr. Rollins went upstairs and, entering the bedroom, paper in hand, explained that he thought his guest might wish to see the very excellent account of the meeting.

"Does it do justice to Benton?" asked the senator in his formal manner. He was fond of referring to himself in the third person.

"I think it does you full and ample justice," replied Mr. Rollins with a show of pride.

"I know all about it, sir; I wrote it myself, sir," said Mr. Benton, without the least relaxation of his dignity. To the day of his last speech in Missouri, the close of his campaign for governor, when he addressed an immense throng on Twelfth street near where the city hall stands, Benton never forgot his early newspaper habits. He sat in his room with Francis P. Blair, Charles P. Johnson and a few others arranging for a correct report of his speech in the Missouri Democrat next day. And to be sure of the correctness, he clung to his lifelong rule of having the proof sent to him for his own reading and corrections. Benton

wrote, Charles P. Johnson said, a small, cramped hand, but a printer would call it legible.

In September, 1820, after twelve years of strenuous editorial life in St. Louis, Charless sold the Gazette to James C. Cummins, a recent arrival from Pittsburg. The valedictory of Colonel Charless reviewed the paper's career:

> The paper was established when the population of the whole Territory, now the State, hardly numbered 12,000 inhabitants; it had been ceded but four years. The original subscription was but 170 (now increased to 1,000), and the advertising list small; means were limited and the establishment supported with difficulty, but by perseverance in a straightforward course, assisted by kind friends and patrons, the editor is gratified to know that he transfers it to his successor in a prosperous and successful condition, and return his grateful acknowledgments.

An experience of eighteen months satisfied Cummins. Edward Charless, the oldest son of the founder, bought out Cummins and changed the name of the paper, in the spring of 1822, to the Missouri Republican. In 1822 the paper attained the dignity of an editor who did not have to concern himself with the business end of the paper. Josiah Spalding, of Connecticut birth, after graduating from Yale and tutoring at Columbia, came to St. Louis to engage in the practice of law. St. Louis had at the time more lawyers than litigants. Spalding became the editor of the Gazette. Thomas H. Benton and his political associates were denounced as "vile excrescences on the community."

In the days of the Charlesses the Republican supported John Quincy Adams. The time came when four candidates for the presidency divided the electoral vote without a majority. The presidential election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Missouri, a new state, had one representative,—John Scott. Missouri was receiving a large influx of Kentuckians and Tennesseeans. The contest in the House was really between Adams of Massachusetts and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. John Scott was of southern birth. He believed in the republican principles of Thomas Jefferson, which inspired the Charlesses in the conduct of the paper. He cast Missouri's vote for Adams, and Adams was elected President of the United States by one vote, defeating the idol of the democrats, "Old Hickory." The republicanism of the Missouri Republican of the twenties was the national republicanism of that period. Joseph Charless came well by his republicanism when he risked his neck for it in Ireland. To his mind his adopted country was a republic and not a confederation of states. When he enunciated the principles of the Gazette he said:

> To extinguish party animosities and foster a cordial union among the people on the basis of toleration and equal government; to impress upon the mind that next to love of God the love of our country should be paramount in the human breast; to advocate that cause which placed Jefferson at the head of the magistracy, and, in fine, to infuse and keep alive those principles which the test of experience has so evidently portrayed the merits—to these ends shall the labors of The Gazette be directed.

Two men who were to become impressive personalities in St. Louis journalism, began as apprentice boys under the Charlesses. Nathaniel Paschall was a boy of twelve, from Knoxville, Tennessee, when the elder Charless took him into the Gazette office in 1814. He was regularly indentured, a bound boy, as the apprentice was called in those days. Joseph Charless took an interest in the training of the apprentice, feeling that the youth was destined for something more than typesetting. Nathaniel Paschall was sent out to gather items of news. He

wrote editorials. Edward Charless encouraged Paschall to remain with the paper when he bought it and in 1828 took him into partnership and made him the editor.

In 1827, the other apprentice, who was to become a striking figure in the newspaper making of St. Louis, entered the Republican office. He was George Knapp. The Knapp family had come from Orange county, New York, seven years previously. The boy had been under the guardianship of Elihu H. Shepard, schoolmaster of sterling traits to two generations of young St. Louisans. George Knapp's beginning in his vocation was the delivery of the paper to the subscribers. In the eight years of learning the trade he did everything from taking the proofs to making up the forms. As Nathaniel Paschall had developed the news-handling and the editorial-writing capacity, so George Knapp became an expert in the mechanical part of the newspaper business. At twenty years George Knapp graduated from apprenticeship and was given, instead of a diploma, "a Bible and a new suit of clothes." He had become too valuable to the paper to be allowed to leave the office. Moreover, there had grown up a strong liking between the apprentice editor and the apprentice publisher. George Knapp was employed at a salary of $10.00 a week. In two years he was given an interest in the book and jobbing department of the paper.

At the opening of the building of the Missouri Republican at Third and Chestnut streets, in 1872, George Knapp told of his earliest newspaper experience. He said:

> On the 28th of January, 1827, then being a little over 12 years of age, I entered the Missouri Republican office as apprentice under Editor Charless then proprietor, Capt. Elihu H. Shepard being my guardian, with the condition that I was to be taught the art and mystery of printing; I was to receive three months day schooling or nine months night schooling. Serving for eight years I was free at 20; at the end of my apprenticeship I was to receive a Bible and one new suit of clothes. My apprenticeship terminated in September, 1834. I worked as journeyman printer nearly two years, part of the time at $9 per week and part at $10, obtaining an interest in the office in 1836. When I entered the office I found Mr. Paschall and William Peterson at work at the press printing off one side of the Republican on a wooden press called Stanberry's patent lever, an improvement over the first press used in the office, which was made upon the ramming or screw principle. The edition of the paper—nearly 500 per week—required two able-bodied men over two hours hard labor for each side. The ink was put on with two large balls. To compare the facilities of the establishment then and now would be interesting only to old printers. One simple illustration in addition to the press will be sufficient. The compositor emptied his stick on the wooden galley, the form was made up on a wooden slice galley—a page cord was tied around it, all hands would hold to the page cord, and the form was slid upon the press and an impression taken for the purpose of marking the errors. Corrections were by the use of bodkins, things which I have not seen about the office for many years.

Forty-six years after he had entered the newspaper business as apprentice, George Knapp was able to remember the names of the subscribers to whom, as carrier, he delivered the paper. He remembered more than that. On one occasion John F. Darby attempted in a speech some reminiscences of early newspaper days in St. Louis.

"When I was just beginning in law," said Mr. Darby, "George Knapp brought the paper and the New Years address. I gave him a half dollar as soon as I saw him enter, with his smiling face."

"Only a quarter of a dollar," interrupted Mr. Knapp.

"Only a quarter was it?" asked Mr. Darby.

"That was a great deal of money then," said Mr. Knapp.

The 15th of December, 1829, was the day of the first great "scoop" in St. Louis journalism. On that date the Missouri Republican astonished the city and overwhelmed its competitor by printing Andrew Jackson's first message to Congress. It was enabled to do this, as was explained editorially, "through the unexampled exertion" of the mail contractors. The message had been conveyed from Washington to Cincinnati in fifty hours, and from Louisville to this place in forty-eight hours. The satisfaction of Edward Charless and Nathaniel Paschall over this beat was not lessened by the fact that it was at the expense of Senator Thomas H. Benton and his organ, the Enquirer.

Edward Charless and Nathaniel Paschall edited the Missouri Republican until 1837. Then two Pike county newspaper men who had been successful at Bowling Green came to St. Louis seeking a larger field. They were A. B. Chambers and Oliver Harris. Their Pike county experience had been the Salt River Journal. Chambers and Harris formed a partnership with George Knapp and bought the paper of Charless and Paschall. Harris dropped out in 1839. Paschall, when he retired from the paper in 1837, believed he had acquired a competency. After a few years' retirement Paschall came back to editorial duties as assistant to Chambers. The three men, Knapp, Chambers and Paschall made a strong team.

A. B. Chambers was an older man than Nathaniel Paschall or George Knapp at the time he was associated with them. He headed the firm and was the responsible editor during a period of twenty years. Mr. Chambers was of Pennsylvania birth. He had seventy-five cents,—"six bits," to use the vernacular of that day,—when at the age of twenty-one years he reached Pike county. He had studied law, but before he could practice in Missouri he was required to take out a license. To obtain the document, it was necessary for him to attend court, which sat at Fayette in Howard county. One Pike county friend loaned Mr. Chambers a horse. Another advanced the money required for subsistence on the trip and at Fayette. Having been admitted to the bar, Mr. Chambers made rapid headway. He became a Pike county leader among strong characters. He served in the Black Hawk war; introduced good stock into Pike county; was elected to the Legisalture; established a newspaper at Bowling Green. He did all these things in eight years. Then he came to St. Louis and with George Knapp and Oliver Harris boldly entered the newspaper field.

The people of St. Louis had an opportunity to recognize what kind of a man A. B. Charless was when as a member of the board of health he did duty without flinching in the terrific cholera epidemic. Benton, whom the proprietors of the Republican, whether Charless and Paschall or Chambers, Knapp and Pashchall, constantly fought, once began a speech with something like this: "A, B, C, are not the whole alphabet and A. B. Chambers does not know everything." This was a confession that the man whose initials stood for the foundation of knowledge did know a great deal. Chambers and Paschall were editors of wide range of information.

The firm of Chambers, Harris & Knapp showed enterprise from the first. Before these newspaper men had been in possession of the Missouri Republican a year they opened what they called "the exchange room." This was an exchange room in the public sense, not in the newspaper meaning. The purpose was to supply a gathering place for the business men. The Republican office was on Main street near Pine, then the commercial center of the city. Business men were made welcome to the exchange room.

Another feature of the Chambers, Harris & Knapp enterprise was "the news room." This was established by the new proprietors of the paper about the same time that they brought the exchange room into public notice and use. The news room was for the benefit of subscribers to the paper and out-of-town visitors. It was a reading room. Here the papers received by the Republican were available to those who desired to see them. Both the exchange room for conversation and business conferences and the news room for reading became at once popular institutions of St. Louis in 1837. The city at that time had no institutions which supplied such conveniences.

A few months before the proprietors of the Republican opened these rooms, twenty-five of the younger business men had organized the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, with Edward Tracy as president. This was the beginning of the Merchants' Exchange of today, the oldest organization of its kind in the country. The Chamber of Commerce as formed in 1837 met once a month and considered subjects of concern to the business community. The first meeting place was the office of the Missouri Insurance company. The exchange room of the Missouri Republican was offered to the Chamber of Commerce for the meetings, and was accepted. The exchange room became an organized institution of the city. It was much frequented, being open to the public, except when the Chamber of Commerce was in session.

Charles Keemle was one of the boldest men in the St. Louis newspaper field. He was in at the births and deaths of more journalistic ventures than any other publisher or editor who followed the vocation in this city. As early as 1837, Keemle and Major Alphonso Wetmore started a literary weekly called the Saturday News. They published several issues which were very creditable. But the News was ahead of the city. Keemle's ideals were high. Eight years after the suspension of the weekly Keemle, Matthew Field and Joseph M. Field started the Reveille, a daily. Field was at that time recognized as one of the most fascinating newspaper writers in the country. He had made famous a department which was called "Straws" in the New Orleans Picayune. Five years the Reveille delighted St. Louis readers. Then it was sold and merged in the People's Organ.

Colonel Keemle's newspaper connections began on the Emigrant. That was the paper which under the name of the Western Journal was started in 1815 on a fund of $1,000 raised by citizens who wanted to fight Colonel Charless' Gazette. Keemle was a Philadelphian. He was only seventeen years old when he came to St. Louis but he had worked in printing offices and on newspapers from the time he was nine. Soon after Keemle started with the Emigrant there was a sale and another change of name. The paper became the Enquirer, with Thomas

H. Benton as editor and part proprietor. Keemle remained with the Enquirer until he had to give up on account of his health. Then he went west in the employ of the fur traders and did some daring work among the Indians. Commanding fifty picked men he fought a battle lasting eight hours, in which ten of his men were killed and nine wounded. After three or four years of that kind of experience Colonel Keemle came back to St. Louis to grapple with the newspaper problem. He got hold of the Enquirer in 1825 but retired from it in 1826. In 1827 Colonel Keemle bought the Enquirer plant and with Charles Orr ran the Beacon until 1832. Two years later Keemle, associated with William Preston Clark and Samuel B. Churchill, established the Commercial Bulletin as a democratic organ. This paper lived for many years but Colonel Keemle withdrew from it to accept public office. He declined the nomination for mayor in 1839 and the following year became superintendent of Indian affairs for Missouri. After his experience with the Reveille on which rested his reputation as a popular newspaper man, Colonel Keemle was elected recorder of deeds and held that office six years.

There were interesting characters in the newspaper profession of those days. Samuel B. Churchill of the Bulletin, was commonly called "Steamboat" Churchill. Long after the fashion went out, he wore a blue coat with brass buttons and had a fine head of silvered hair. Stephen W. Forman and James L. Murray were interesting personalities identified with the first St. Louis Times. James B. Bowlin, who became a member of Congress and afterwards entered the diplomatic service published the Farmers and Mechanics Advocate.

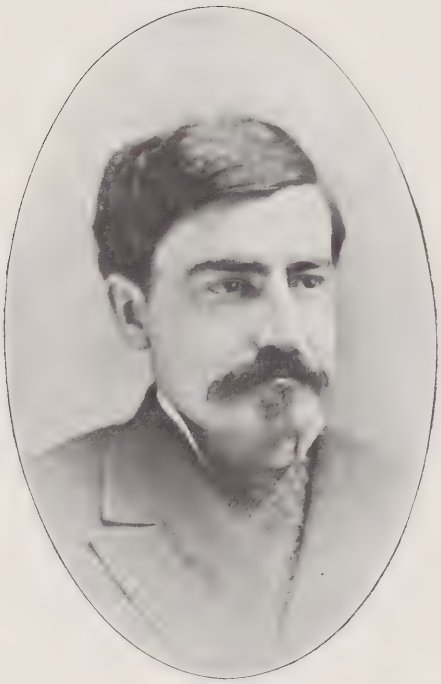
Edmund Flagg came from Boston about 1835 to be a newspaper man in St. Louis. He described the first impression the city made upon him:

> Speeding onward, the lofty spire and dusky walls of the St. Louis Cathedral, on rounding a river bend, opened upon the eye, the gilded crucifix gleaming in the sunlight from its lofty summit, and then the glittering cupolas and church domes, and the fresh aspect of private residences, mingling with the bright foliage of forest trees interspersed, all swelling gently from the water's edge, recalled vividly the beautiful "Mistress of the North," as my eye often has lingered upon her from her magnificent bay. A few more spires and the illusion would be perfect. For beauty of outline in distant view, St. Louis is deservedly famed. The extended range of limestone warehouses circling the shore gives to the city a grandeur of aspect, as approached from the water, not often beheld, while the dome-rolling forest-tops stretching away in the rear, the sharp outline of the towers and the roofs against the western sky, and the funereal grove of steamboat pipes lingering at the quay altogether make up a combination of features novel and picturesque.

Flagg was versatile; he was a poet; he wrote novels and dramas, as well as editorials and corespondence. He went to Mississippi, read law in the office of Sergeant S. Prentiss and had a duel.

Russell S. Higgins, who came to St. Louis as a printer about 1838, was a partner of Abel Rathbone Corbin in the publication of the Missouri Argus. About the year 1840 Mr. Higgins started the first penny newspaper west of the Mississippi, calling it the People's Organ. He conducted the penny paper for five or six years and sold it out at a handsome profit. The People's Organ was one of the few paying newspapers of the period. Mr. Higgins left the city for some years but returned in 1852 and associated himself with Philip G. Ferguson

JOHN KNAPP



JOHN T. McENNIS

R. M. FIELD OF THE REVEILLE

on the Morning Herald. This, Mr. Higgins also made a paying paper. He sold out his interest in the Herald about 1854 and moved away, settling on a farm. Mr. Higgins was almost alone of the newspaper proprietors of those days who could show a good balance at the end of the year.

On the 20th of September, 1836, the Republican became a daily paper, with six issues a week. In 1837 the Republican advertised for a city editor and began to run regularly a local department, distinct from editorial expressions. That was an innovation. One of the first things the local editor did was to publish an elaborate account of the races which were going on at the St. Louis track. In September, 1848, the Republican startled the conservative elements of the city by publishing a Sunday paper. A protest was promptly circulated for signatures. It expressed regret "that a journal of such deservedly high standing should lend its influence, not by arguments but by something far more powerful, its example, against the proper keeping of that holy day." The editors replied courteously, expressing their appreciation of the interest taken by the subscribers to the protest, but declined to recede from the publication of a Sunday issue.

In 1840 the Republican supported Old Tippecanoe—William Henry Harrison. It did so with such effectiveness and zeal that in the midst of that hard cider campaign an emblem, a symbol as it were, was bestowed upon the paper by the admiring whigs. The Republican was called "the Old Coon." The name was accepted promptly. The emblem, a metallic figure of a coon couchant, was hoisted high above the building. Perched over the smoke stack the coon was visible from all parts of the city. Thirty years afterward people coming up from the boats and the ferry landings—for there was no bridge at that time—saw still on duty above the Republican building, the coon couchant. The emblem survived two disastrous fires. When the paper was moved to Third and Chestnut streets, occupying a new building which ranked with the imposing architecture of the city in its day, the coon found a place in the iron arch of the main entrance. The figure was also carried above the building.

Getting the message of the President of the United States in advance of contemporaries was the supreme test of newspaper enterprise in the first half century of St. Louis journalism. In December, 1844, President Tyler's message was printed seven days after delivery. It reached Cincinnati by special express three days out from Washington and was put into type there. Copies were sent to Louisville by steamboat. From Louisville the precious document was brought by stage coach express to St. Louis, arriving on the sixth day after delivery in Washington. The printing of President Polk's message of 1846 broke the record again. The message reached St. Louis in four days. The next year, 1847, the Republican knocked a day off the record and printed the message in three days after delivery. For the first time the telegraph was used in partial transmission. The copy of the message was carried by express from Washington to Philadelphia, thence was wired to Vincennes, Indiana. From there it was brought to St. Louis by special arrangement with Eastman's line of stages. "The most magnificent enterprise of the age," this newspaper feat was called. The message, immediately on its receipt in St. Louis, was printed as an extra and was mailed to all parts of Missouri and Illinois.

The five years from 1848 to 1853 brought lightning changes in the newspaper field of St. Louis. Those changes grew out of politics and they made politics of national significance. In the five years, five daily newspapers of St. Louis went down and the Missouri Democrat came up. In the same five years the political elements of St. Louis opposed to slavery, with more or less vigor and with diverse remedies, got together for effective influence and work which had much to do with the birth and fortunes of the republican party.

The beginning of the Missouri Democrat, which became the Globe-Democrat, is found in the career of Thomas H. Benton. It was inspired by the high estimate Benton placed on the value of newspaper support. Throughout his marvelous political career "Old Bullion" never ignored nor neglected his editorial friends. He considered an organ in St. Louis absolutely necessary to his success. He impressed this upon the loyal coterie which stood by him through his thirty years. The St. Louis Union was the Benton organ in 1848 and for some time afterwards. It had been preceded by the St. Louis Reporter, the owners of which were Samuel Treat, afterwards United States district judge, and Lorenzo Pickering. The Missourian, a rival paper, was absorbed by Treat and Pickering and the Union was successor to both of them. While Treat, who was the editor, was away in Florida for his health the feud started between Frank P. Blair and Pickering which ended in Pickering's removal to San Francisco, where he made a fortune as a newspaper man. Treat was looked upon as one of the ablest editors in St. Louis. At the celebration of the Founding of St. Louis, in 1847, George R. Taylor offered the sentiment,—"The Press: May it Treat Us to a Reply." Thereupon Editor Treat arose and recited a poem said to have been of far more than ordinary quality. While Treat edited the Union, the rivalry for literary honors was sharp between that paper and the Reveille. Inspired by the enthusiasm with which Treat's poem was received, J. M. Field, the editor of the Reveille, wrote and published a long poem dedicated to the "Founding of St. Louis."

Antipathy to slavery was by no means confined to St. Louis newspaper men of northern birth. Francis P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown were Kentuckians. William McKee was from New York. He was a printer. He believed in emancipation so strongly that he published from his job office a paper which he called the Barnburner. Francis P. Blair supplied much of the editorial matter. The paper was too advanced for the time but it gave Blair a chance with his aggressive pen and it drew attention to Mr. McKee. The Barnburner has been treated by some writers as the predecessor of the Globe-Democrat. It was put forth to advocate the principles on which the Missouri Democrat was successfully founded three years later. Its supporters were the men who created the Democrat. There was, however, an hiatus between the Barnburner and the Democrat. William McKee published the Barnburner. Back of McKee, financially, were Oliver D. Filley, Hudson E. Bridge and some others who foresaw the coming issue of slavery and who were ready to make a stand for Free Soilism. Frank P. Blair, inclined to journalism by inheritance, for his father had been one of the great political editors of his day, was chief editorial writer of the Barnburner. The paper ran only about three months, through a campaign.

There were stormy episodes before the journalistic skies cleared in St. Louis with the disappearance of the Union. That paper supported Cass for president in 1848. The Blairs and others inclined to Free Soil principles, were for Van Buren. They were the "Hards." They regarded the course of the Union as treachery to Benton and his following. With the Union in its support of Cass were David H. Armstrong, J. M. Loughborough and some other Democrats. They were called the "Softs." The controversy between the Benton people and the Union following became personal and bitter. Pickering, in the absence of Treat, carried the feud into personalities. After Treat withdrew from the paper, Ladue who had been supplying paper for the Union, refused further credit. An article appeared in the Republican which gave offense to Pickering. Frank P. Blair assumed the responsibility for it. The Union assailed Blair personally. The first impulse of Blair was to whip Pickering on the street. His friends persuaded him to abandon this idea. Blair didn't believe in the code but he couldn't overlook the insult in the Union; he sent to Pickering a challenge by Thomas T. Gantt, afterwards judge of the court of appeals. Pickering accepted but in naming time and place, as under the code he was privileged to do, he stipulated that the duel must take place at noon on Fourth street. This was a condition so manifestly impossible that Blair refused to recognize it and proclaimed Pickering to be a coward.

A few days later the two men met on Chestnut street. Pickering stepped off the sidewalk. It was said that he drew a knife or made a motion as if that was his intention. Blair thrust at Pickering's face with his umbrella. He did not hit an eye but the ferule left a mark which showed on Pickering for several days. Two or three nights later there was a Free Soil meeting in the rotunda of the court house where political gatherings were commonly held. Blair spoke and started to leave by the Fourth street door where there was a semi-circular portico with columns instead of the present style of architecture. Some one called out in a rather loud tone "Good evening, Mr. Blair." The salutation was acknowledged and Mr. Blair passed on out to the portico. As he reached the top step a bullet whizzed by him and the man who had fired from the foot of the steps turned and fled. Blair fired and followed and fired again but without effect. In the investigation it developed that the man who had greeted Mr. Blair in the loud tone was Dr. Prefontaine, of the Union. Presumably he was notifying the person on the street below of the approach of Blair. The man who fired was not positively identified. Street lamps were not burning that night, because as one witness testified it was "corporation moonlight." The public had no doubt of the identity of the person who fired. Pickering was arrested and discharged as there was no positive proof. Prosecution was not pressed because of an understanding that Pickering would leave the state. Blair and Gantt were summoned into court for sending a challenge to fight a duel. They pleaded guilty and paid a fine of one dollar each. The judge was James B. Colt, a brother of the maker of the Colt revolver, and the district attorney was Samuel T. Glover.

Pickering sold his interest to Richard Phillips, a steamboatman, and not long afterwards Treat disposed of his interest in the same way. Benton and his

friends were not satisfied with the support Phillips' management of the Union gave the senator. Blair and Brown did most of the editorial work. The Union supported Benton in the desperate campaign of 1849. The young Kentuckians, however, were more concerned in furthering the free soil movement than they were in the personal fortunes of Benton. The friends of the senator became dissatisfied with the editorial work of Blair and Brown. About the same time the anti-slavery men like the Filleys, from New England, began to feel that the time had come for activity. They were ready to back their political opinions at some cost. A paper called the Morning Signal had been running several months, beginning on the first of January, 1852. The Signal was the enterprise of a group of printers,—some of whom became prominent in after years. These printers included Charles G. Gonter, Joseph L. Craft, Robert McKee, John F. Frazier, M. C. Libby. A partner in this newspaper venture was J. Wilson McDonald who went to New York and became a famous sculptor. These men contributed their work to the Signal and that was the best part of the capital which kept the paper going. The anti-slavery people raised money to start a paper. They found the printers open to a financial proposition. The Signal was bought in July, 1852, passing into the possession of Blair and Brown, Giles F. Filley, Oliver D. Filley, John How and a few others who shared their sentiment in favor of emancipation. A new name was selected—the Missouri Democrat. Negotiations were opened with William McKee to become the publisher, supplying the plant from his job printing office. At the same time the information came to the new company that Captain Phillips was growing tired of The Union and would sell. In March, 1853, the Union was absorbed by the Missouri Democrat. Mr. McKee received a half interest in the new paper and thus the Missouri Democrat, to become one of the great papers of the country, was launched. A youth had come from Illinois and had begun work as a clerk in the Union office a few months before the consolidation. He passed to the Missouri Democrat. His name was Daniel M. Houser.

The Union office was on Locust street between Main and Second. To that location, the Missouri Democrat was moved from Third near Pine where the Hill & McKee job office had been. And there the Missouri Democrat was published for a number of years. From that office, Daniel M. Houser, then a boy, carried proofs of editorials, which Benton wrote, to the senator for corrections. Benton, when in the city at that time, lived on Sixth and Walnut streets. Benton did not attempt to manage the paper but wrote for the editorial page as he felt inclined, the financial support of his friends securing for him the use of the columns. Some indication of newspaper values of that period is found in the amount which the owners of the Missouri Democrat paid for the Union—$15,000.

Only in an indirect way can the Union be treated as a genealogical antecedent of the Missouri Democrat. By the same sign the descent may be traced backward from the Union to the Reporter and from the Reporter to the Argus. The last mentioned paper was started in 1831, with Judge J. B. Bowlin as editor. The judge was an active local politician. He became minister to Columbia. William Gilpin, who had great visions of the future of the country west of the

Missouri and who became governor of Colorado, was another editor of the Argus. His service was rendered about 1839. Abel Rathbone Corbin, later the brother-in-law of General Grant, tried newspaper ownership with the Argus and passed the property along to Shadrach Penn who came to St. Louis bringing the fame of association with George D. Prentice of Louisville. Penn liked the name of Missouri Reporter better than the Argus. Treat entered St. Louis journalism in association with Penn. The latter died suddenly in 1846; he was editor of the St. Louis Reporter at the time. If successive absorptions count to establish a line of descent, it is possible to trace the Globe-Democrat back to the Workingman's Advocate. The Advocate was established in 1831 but was soon merged in the Argus when the latter came into existence. The Argus was of sufficient strength and enterprise to get out a daily edition in 1838. Andrew Jackson Davis was the controlling spirit in the Argus.

"Bentonites," the men were called who contributed to the establishment of the Missouri Democrat. They preferred to be known politically as the "Free Democratic Party." They were against the extension of slavery and for some plan not yet defined in their own minds which in time might gradually wipe out slavery. The Missouri Democrat in 1852 occupied identically the position that Abraham Lincoln did on the slavery issue. Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, besides Benton, contributed to the editorial page, although neither was known as the editor. That position was held by W. S. McKee, cousin of William McKee, the publisher. Peter L. Foy, who shared the views of Blair and Brown on the slavery question, became connected with the Missouri Democrat in the summer of 1853, when the paper was a year old as an editorial writer. Nowhere else in the west was there such a combination of editorial talent as gave character to the Missouri Democrat during the years immediately following the establishment of the paper. In that formative period of the "Republican and Reform" party the Democrat was a force for beyond the borders of Missouri. Benton's personal star was fading but a great political movement was taking form and these editors, professional and amateur, made the Missouri Democrat's page of national influence.

William S. McKee died in 1854. Hill sold his interest to Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, receiving, however, only a small amount of money for it. Editorial charge was taken by B. Gratz Brown, who had been giving more and more attention to the paper, before the purchase of an interest.

Adroit editorial steering, the conditions demanded. Vigorously Brown combated the charges that the Missouri Democrat stood for abolitionism, a very unpopular idea in St. Louis about 1855. He was conservative in his expressions about slavery. At the same time, the paper was strongly against extension of slavery into the territories, especially Kansas. Above all issues, just as Lincoln proclamined his position in that day, the Missouri Democrat never missed opportunity to proclaim that "the Union must be preserved."

From being only an editorial writer, Peter L. Foy came into personal prominence with the Democrat. He went to Jefferson City to act as legislative correspondent in November, 1855. From the state capital he was sent to Washington to do correspondence for the paper. He came back to Missouri in the

campaign of 1856 to resume the writing of editorials and to accompany Benton on that disastrous personal campaign through the state. The newly formed Republican party was running its first national ticket with Benton's son-in-law, John C. Fremont, at the head of it.

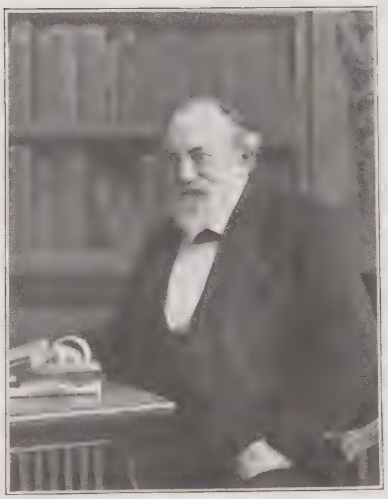
In that year of 1856, B. Gratz Brown was elected to the legislature and went to Jefferson City. Foy, in the absence of Brown, was given editorial charge. With the consent and encouragement of William McKee, Foy carried out one of the most daring and successful editorial policies in the history of St. Louis journalism. Benton had gone down to defeat in his campaign for governor. He had supported Buchanan for president against his relative, Fremont. He had turned to literary labors and had no longer use for an organ. Across the river, in Illinois, the Republicans had elected their state ticket with Bissell, of Belleville, at the head of it. The time was most opportune for just what the Missouri Democrat did. The paper came out for emancipation. It did not propose abolition, but it took a step which was far in advance of the previous policy of opposition to extension of slavery in the territories. Foy wrote and the Democrat printed a series of practical articles on the desirability of white over black labor. The action of the Democrat attracted widespread attention. B. Gratz Brown in the legislature upheld the new policy in a speech. Henry A. Clover and S. H. Gardner supported Brown in the new movement. The proposed remedy of peaceable emancipation for the slavery issue took so well that the Missouri Democrat pressed it vigorously. William McKee had come from New York state with anti-slavery leaning. He was willing to go as far and as rapidly in that direction as the public sentiment of a slave state and of the principal city in a slave state would warrant. As the popularity of the new policy manifested itself, Mr. McKee encouraged his editor. The agitation was continued with the result that at the next municipal election a candidate for mayor, John M. Wimer, was nominated on an emancipation platform and was elected. When Lincoln began to agitate his "house divided against itself cannot stand" he found the Missouri Democrat keeping step with him, fully committed to the new Republican party. In the campaign of 1858 between Lincoln and Douglas for the Illinois senatorship, the Missouri Democrat strongly supported Lincoln. For a considerable period its Illinois correspondent was John G. Nicolay who was located at Springfield and who became private secretary to President Lincoln in 1861. John Hay was another Illinois correspondent of the Democrat in the years immediately preceding the war. When the paper, following a custom of that time, offered a prize of fifty dollars for the best poem which would serve as the "carrier's address," John Hay competed for it and won it.

George W. Fishback came to St. Louis in 1855 and joined the Democrat force. He had charge of commercial and literary features. When B. Gratz Brown went to the legislature he sold his small interest in the paper to Fishback. About two years later, in 1858 or 1859, Frank P. Blair let Mr. Fishback have one-half of his interest. In 1862, Blair, dissatisfied with the course the Democrat had taken in support of Fremont, let go of his remaining interest and Mr. Houser became the purchaser.

Foy was the editor, and an aggressive one he was through the campaign

HENRY BOERNSTEIN

CARL SCHURZ



CARL DAENZER

of 1860 and until he was appointed postmaster by President Lincoln in 1861. Mr. McKee didn't write but he was a sturdy backer of the men who did write and he gave the fullest encouragement to the editorial course which won for the Democrat before the war a standing among the most important papers in the country. The character which the paper acquired previous to 1861 had a great deal to do with its subsequent success. During the war John F. Hume was the editor. He was succeesed by William M. Grosvenor. In 1871, following the Chicago fire by which the Republican, in part owned by him, was destroyed, Joseph B. McCullagh came to St. Louis and took the editorship of the Missouri Democrat.

Almost the oldest, certainly the most influential and successful German press of the United States, was no small part of St. Louis journalism. Weber, Palm, Bernays, Preetorius, Daenzer, Schurz, Hillgaertner, Stengel, Olshausen and other strong personalities created it. In 1835 the first Anzeiger des Westens appeared in St. Louis. The editor was William Weber, a German student, whose sympathies with republicanism and whose efforts to get into the Polish revolution of 1830 made him an exile after he had suffered imprisonment at Leipsic. Weber's first employment in St. Louis was librarian of the collection of books which became the Mercantile Library. The German press of St. Louis was not for Germans only. Weber denounced so vigorously the burning of the negro murderer at Seventh and Locust streets that the mob went to the Anzeiger office and threatened to wreck it. The Anzeiger consistently fought Knownothingism from the beginning until that misconceived political movement collapsed in 1855. It opposed slavery. As early as 1846 the Anzeiger appeared as a daily. Among the regular contributors were Engelmann, the scientist; and Frederick Muench, the patriot. Many years before the Civil war, editorials and other articles in the German newspapers of St. Louis were translated and given wide circulation in the American papers of the United States.

Henry Boernstein succeeded Weber as editor. He had received a university education in Germany, had served the Austrian army five years, had written plays produced in European capitals, had managed grand opera in Paris and had been a Europeon correspondent of leading papers. Boernstein was daring and aggressive. It was second nature for him to engage in political plotting. Revolutionary events of 1840 in Europe made Boernstein an exile. St. Louis was the city of refuge. Where Weber had been aggressive, Boernstein introduced the sensational. He laughed to scorn the frequent threats to "clean out the Anzeiger." He did not confine his activities in St. Louis to journalism. He carried on a theater, a hotel, and a brewery. When the Civil war began Boernstein went as a colonel. He tired of military life and took a consulship in Europe. Later he made his permanent residence in Europe and wrote letters to American papers. For years a feature of the Mississippi Blätter was Boernstein's budget of European "Tittle Tattle." Boernstein cleared considerable money with the Anzeiger for several years, but he was too erratic to wear well.

From 1856, when it supported Buchanan for President, the Missouri Republican was a Democratic newspaper. It also reserved the right to criticise candidates and platforms and it exercised the right. From the same year, when it

supported Fremont, the Missouri Democrat, predecessor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, was a Republican newspaper. Neither of these great papers was a party organ, but consistently supported the principles of the respective parties. Probably the names of no other two newspapers in this country have been so extensively commented upon as were those of the Missouri Republican and the Missouri Democrat in the years when they represented the parties of opposite titles. When Secretary of State John Hay visited the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1904 he told a Lincoln story on the names of the two St. Louis newspapers. Lincoln, said to Mr. Hay, during the campaign of 1861 that the Missouri Republican and the Missouri Democrat reminded him of a desperate fight he once witnessed in the court house yard at Springfield. Two men engaged in a rough and tumble bout. They clinched and struggled and rolled and tumbled all over the court house yard, Lincoln said. It was such an evenly matched fight that the circle of bystanders could not tell which man was getting the worst of it. Finally the combatants separated when both were completly worn out. The spectators looked them over carefully and tried to determine which one had won the honors. They were unable to decide, but they did make the astonishing discovery that each combatant had on the other's coat.

Charles Lewis Bernays was the saving element of the Boernstein regime in German journalism. He did as much as any other one man of his time to give the German press of St. Louis its high standing. He had studied at Munich, Goettingen and Heidelberg. He had been an editor of German papers and a correspondent in Paris. He had been in the diplomatic service, before he was one of the republican patriots emigrating to this country. Bernays and Boernstein had known each other in Europe. They came to the United States at different times but with the understanding that they would meet here. Bernays joined Boernstein on the Anzeiger. Much of the vigorous editorial writing which brought fame to the German press of St. Louis during a period of thirty years was from the pen of Bernays. Late in life he acquired marked facility in English composition and was on the editorial staff of the Republican several years.

After Boernstein went to war the Anzeiger suspended. It suffered from the reaction which comes to the paper which, depending too much on the sensational, suddenly loses that character. After five or six months a new Anzeiger des Westens was issued with Carl Daenzer as editor and manager. Daenzer participated in the revolution of 1848-9. In consequence he joined the large colony of German patriots in St. Louis. He was the opposite of Boernstein, a better newspaper man because he was enduring. He was possessed of a great store of information, he was thoughtful. His policy brought to the support and encouragement of the Anzeiger elements not confined to the German population. Bernays, who had gone to Europe as a representative of the Lincoln administration, came back and wrote better for Daenzer than he had done for Boernstein. Just before the Civil war, the coterie of German journalists in St. Louis received a notable accession in the person of Dr. George Hillgaertner, the talented young doctor of laws from Munich. Hillgaertner had been an active participant in the revolution, had been one of the signers of the paper against the government, had fled to Switzerland, had been charged with high

treason and had been sentenced to death. Shortly after his escape to this country in 1852, he was made one of the editors of the Staats-Zeitung, at Chicago, where he signed the call and was active in getting up the meeting of protest against the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, a decisive step toward the formation of the Republican party. After participating in the organization of the Republican party of Iowa, Dr. Hillgaertner came to St. Louis. Until his death, after the war, he was one of the most forceful German editors in the country. His influence was not confined to writing. As a public speaker, Dr. Hillgaertner was heard in all parts of the West during the Fremont and Lincoln campaigns. When Dr. Hillgaertner died, at the age of forty-one, the German singing societies, turnvereins and other German organizations formed a great escort to Bellefontaine. A daughter of Dr. Hillgaertner became the wife of William A. Kelsoe, a newspaper man.

The 97,000 people who lived in St. Louis in 1854 supported 21 newspapers and 12 magazines. The daily circulation of St. Louis newspapers was 19,000; tri-weekly, 6,400, and weekly 72,000.

The editorial career of greatest length in St. Louis newspaper history was Nathaniel Paschall's. It began in 1814, if the apprenticeship may be included. It ended in the capacity of editor-in-chief of the Republican, 1866. There was an hiatus in Paschall's newspaper life. For two years he was clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. The duties were not congenial. The docket was willingly put aside for the pad on which to write the daily editorial. Minds like Paschall's are intended for the newspaper profession. They combine the maximum of interest in public affairs with the minimum of personal ambition. Paschall was a wonder for work. During many years he wrote all of the editorials, edited all of the correspondence, did all of the clipping of exchanges and read all of the proofs of his articles. He was a judge of news. He laid out a political policy, which he followed with great force. Under him the Republican advocated Jefferson's principles and the Whig creed of Henry Clay. It parted squarely with those who went into the American or Know Nothing movement. It helped elect the Democratic ticket when Buchanan was chosen. It opposed secession. Paschall was a wonderfully clear writer. There was no mistaking what he meant in an editorial from his pen. Nathaniel Paschall had some peculiar traits. He was rugged, mentally and physically. His recollection of events and dates was astonishing to his fellow-workers. He could not be persuaded, until his health began to fail, to wear an overcoat in winter. He could tell where on the page to look for an article printed months before. He did not use spectacles. When this sturdy old man of St. Louis journalism died, the business men of the city, many of whom had not a speaking acquaintance with him, met on 'change and paid tribute to him in these words:

> In all that tended to promote the growth and prosperity of his State, in all that tended to enlighten and elevate the character and promote the interests of its people, to inculcate learning, to strengthen the moral and social condition of his fellow-citizens, Nathaniel Paschall was during the whole of his active life, an earnest, enlightened and faithful worker.

Modesty was a trait of Nathaniel Paschall, so strong that it amounted to diffidence. He was never heard to boast of what he had accomplished. Yet his

course in breaking with the Buchanan administration on the Kansas policy, in supporting Douglas with all of his editorial might, in checkmaiting Claiborne F. Jackson's secession plans, in overcoming the influence of Senator Green, did a great deal more than history has given credit toward holding Missouri in the Union. How carefully Nathaniel Paschall edited the Republican was illustrated when William Hyde, the city editor, brought in his account of the funeral of Thomas H. Benton in the spring of 1858. The obsequies were attended by an immense number of people. Inspired by the occasion Mr. Hyde used some adjectives. He wrote of the ex-senator as "eminent." Mr. Paschall ran his pencil through "eminent" and interlined "distinguished." Some time afterwards Mr. Hyde asked Mr. Paschall why he made the change. The editor replied:

"Benton was a distinguished, a conspicuous, or a noted man, but not an eminent one towering above men of his station. He was not learned, not eloquent, not profound."

Then followed an off-hand analysis and review of Benton's public life as Paschall had known it from the time he was an apprentice under Joseph Charless and was receiving his initiation into journalism.

"Yes sir," said the editor as he concluded his analysis, "Benton was a prominent man, a noted man, but not what should be meant when we say 'eminent.'"

The power which the Missouri Republican wielded in the Democratic party was shown in 1860. At Charleston, the Democratic party had divided and the adjourned convention at Baltimore had put out a second ticket, headed by Douglas. Missouri Democrats divided sharply. There were Breckinridge Democrats and Douglas Democrats. Claib. Jackson was nominated for governor at a regular convention. The Republican knew his leanings toward secession. Thomas C. Reynolds was the nominee for lieutenant-governor. To Mr. Reynolds Mr. Paschall said:

> Jackson's course has been unendurable. He should instantly, upon hearing of Douglas' nomination, have proclaimed his adhesion to the usages of his party and announced his purpose to do everything in his power to carry the Douglas ticket. He hates Douglas, I know. His personal likings in this matter, whether they relate to Douglas or to Douglas' friends, are a thing of indifference.

Then followed an intimation that if Jackson did not support the regular nominee he need not expect his own appeals for support on the ground of his regular nomination to avail him. To William Hyde Mr. Paschall gave instructions to go with Mr. Reynolds and ascertain the result of the message to Claib. Jackson.

"Watch those gentlemen," the editor said to his correspondent, "do not let them get away from us. If they don't come out publicly for Douglas within three days after they meet—say at Boonville—telegraph immediately and come home."

The correspondent did his work well. He found Claib. Jackson, rode across the country with him, occupied a bed in the same room with him, and heard the stormy interview in the moonlight outside when the messenger of the Breckinridge Democrats in St. Louis arrived with the demand upon Jackson to come out for Breckinridge. At Boonville, Claib. Jackson asked for another day of grace; he wanted to consult Congressman John B. Clark at Fayette. Clark had

been one of the leaders of the Missouri delegation at Charleston. Mr. Hyde telegraphed to Mr. Paschall Mr. Jackson's request for more time, and went on to Fayette with the politicians. While the conference proceeded behind closed doors, Mr. Hyde completed the Fayette end of the arrangements he had begun at Boonville the night before. There was no wire from Fayette. Boonville was the nearest telegraph point. The correspondent stood near the door of the room where the conference was taking place. Outside, around the corner, a negro boy, trusty and light of weight, sat on a saddle horse of Howard county's best breeding. Thomas C. Reynolds was a St. Louis lawyer and alive to the enterprise of journalism. He had agreed to pass out the word as soon as a decision was reached. He did his part. Hyde folded the sheet of paper, dashed out and gave it to the boy. Down the Boonville pike moved a cloud of dust. The politicians came out slowly from the conference and the speaking began. There was much preliminary oratory. When Claib. Jackson finally reached his climax and announced that the Democratic state ticket supported Douglas, the news had already traveled by pike from Fayette to Boonville and by wire from Boonville to St. Louis and was being read on the bulletin board by the astonished Breckinridge Democrats.

Missouri was carried by a close vote for Douglas. The Missouri Republican's policy aligned the state in the presidential election of 1860 against the secession movement. In the three months which followed the election before the outbreak of hostilities, the Missouri Republican deplored the growing friction between the Republicans and the secessionists; it advocated a course intended to avert the shedding of blood in the streets of St. Louis; it did not waver in its support of the National government as against the claimed right to secede.

While St. Louis was under martial law in August, 1861, three newspapers were compelled to suspend publication. The form of order directed by Justin McKinstry, the provost marshal, was this: "You are hereby ordered to suppress the newspaper called the Morning Herald, James L. Faucett, proprietor, and not allow the publication of the same from the date of this order." Squads of soldiers took possession of the offices of the Herald, the Bulletin and the Missourian and enforced the order.

Nathaniel Paschall's active connection with the Republican was forty-five years. In the fifty-six years of his association with the paper, George Knapp had a proprietary interest during forty-nine of them. John Knapp was in charge of the publication office thirty-four years. Neither George Knapp nor Nathaniel Paschall supplied that attention to business detail which is essential to success in a metropolitan paper. John Knapp came in as a partner in 1856. He bought a considerable interest for cash and was the publisher. Within two years after this change the paper was making money at a rate that astonished George Knapp and Nathaniel Paschall. The circulation was greatly increased. The advertising patronage was doubled. Then it was that the paper attained the blanket sheet proportions, larger than any other paper west of the Alleghanies, and larger than any of the eastern papers, with two exceptions.

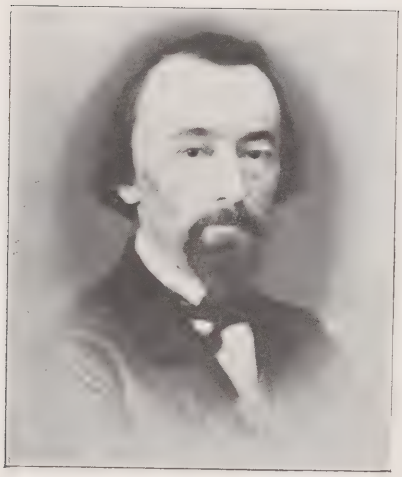
Early in its history the Missouri Democrat began to be known for the quality of its staff correspondence. James Redpath walked into the office one day

in the fifties. He was hungry and ragged. He told Mr. Houser, he had come from Mobile, most of the way on foot. Mr. Houser took him to Theophile Papin then in charge of the city department and suggested that he be given something to do by way of trial. Redpath was tested on several local assignments, with such results that he was sent to Kansas, in 1855, then the storm center for news. Redpath's letters from Kansas, signed by his initials, attracted the attention of the whole country, so much so that Horace Greeley sent for him and won him away from the Democrat to the Tribune. Redpath suggested Albert D. Richardson as his successor in the Kansas news field. The Democrat put Richardson on the staff and held him until Horace Greeley again offered a better paying position. Richardson went to the Tribune only to lose his life some years later at the hands of McFarland. Redpath left the newspaper profession to establish and conduct the Redpath lecture bureau.

Another staff correspondent of the Democrat was Henry M. Stanley, who began as a local reporter on the paper. Following the Civil war Stanley was sent west to do correspondence in the Indian wars and with Indian peace commissions. He represented the Democrat at the time William Fayel was in the field for the St. Louis Republican. Both men wrote with descriptive power and their letters added not a little to the reputation of the St. Louis press. The work of Stanley was observed by James Gordon Bennett. Stanley went to the New York Herald as a staff correspondent. He was sent to Africa to find Livingston and became the explorer of world-wide fame. Whitelaw Reid, long before he became connected with the New York Tribune, was a correspondent of the Democrat. The late Henry V. Boynton, of Washington, was for a considerable period the Washington correspondent of the Democrat.

The Westliche Post was a paper which had to be reckoned with as a great national force in the years following the Civil war. Probably it was for years the most profitable German newspaper property in the country. Just before the war Carl Daenzer and Dr. Wetzel issued the first number of the Westliche Post. Mr. Daenzer withdrew from the Westliche Post to revive the Anzeiger. In 1864 the great career of the Westliche Post began with Emil Preetorius, as editor. Thenceforward it was to represent a powerful following. University bred, a doctor of laws, Preetorius was in the revolution of 1848-9. He joined the colony of patriots in St. Louis. But it was not until ten years later, toward the end of the Civil war that he entered the newspaper business. Theodore Plate was associated with Preetorius, taking the business management. Arthur Olshausen, who had published the old Anzeiger, and Theodore Olshausen were actively interested in the Westliche Post. Carl Schurz, coming out of the army, joined his fortunes with this strong combination. Joseph Pulitzer was a Westliche Post reporter. William Stengel, from the university of Tuebingen, one of the most talented of German journalists, came to St. Louis when he had served through the Civil war and became assistant editor to Preetorius. This Westliche Post staff in the late sixties formed the strongest group of German journalists of the country. The influence of the Westliche Post was national. While he was one of the editors, Schurz was elected to the United States Senate. He retained his interest in the paper. The stockholders in the Westliche Post realized handsomely.

CHARLES LOUIS BERNAYS



DR. GEORGE HILLGAERTNER

EMIL PREETORIUS

Of Joseph Pulitzer's advent as a reporter in St. Louis, the late William Favel had this vivid recollection:

In those days the alley back of the old post office on Third and Olive streets was a lively thoroughfare. One sultry day most of the reporters of the city were in that alley, attracted by some incident which promised news. Suddenly there appeared among us the new reporter. He apparently had dashed out of the office, upon receiving the first intimation of whatever was happening, without stopping to put on his coat or his collar. In one hand he held a pad of paper and in the other a pencil. He did not wait for information but announced that he was the reporter for the Westliche Post and began to ask questions of everybody in sight. I remember to have remarked to my companions that for a beginner he was exasperatingly inquisitive. Pulitzer was so industrious that he became a positive annoyance to others who felt less inclined to work. As it was considered quite fitting in those days to guy the reporters on the German papers, the English reporters undertook to curb Pultizer's eagerness for news. On more than one occasion the new reporter was sent out from the coroner's office on a wild goose chase. But it was then observed that while taking this banter in good part, Pultizer never relaxed his efforts. The consequence was that the city editors of the English papers soon discovered that the Westliche Post often contained news which they missed. Major George W. Gilson, city editor of the Missouri Democrat, posted an order on the bulletin board directing reporters to give less time to attempts to delude the German reporters and more time to work in competing with them. We soon learned to appreciate Pultizer's extraordinary capacity for news-gathering. Of all his qualities, the most notable was his determination to accomplish whatever he set out to do. I recall an incident. Pulitzer was at Jefferson City as the correspondent of the Westliche Post. I was the correspondent of the Republican. One night there was a secret Democratic caucus to which only representatives of the Democratic papers were admitted. Early in the session there was a noise in the corridor. Suddenly the doors were burst open. The doorkeeper was sent sprawling. The correspondent of the Westliche Post walked down the aisle to the press table, laid down his pad of paper, took his seat. No one raised question or objection. The next day the Westliche Post was the only Republican paper which had a report of the caucus.

The staff of the Republican in 1870 was a happy family. That year the office, a mammoth establishment for its time, burned, with a loss of $170,000. Upon the site, Chestnut street, near Main street, was built a low structure. It was of temporary character. The publishers of the Republican intended to follow the westward movement and to build more elaborately and permanently on Third and Chestnut streets. The front of the temporary building was the business room. Through this was reached a large room, a hall in dimensions. The center of this hall was occupied by a fountain in a pool of considerable size, with ferns and palms. Around the walls were arranged desks of a variety of sizes and patterns. At the farther end of the hall were the files of the daily papers, and large tables on which the exchanges were heaped. This was the editorial home of the Republican. From his revolving chair near the door, William Hyde could turn and see every member of the staff, from the writer of the leaders to the newest reporter.

In the twenty-eight years of his connection with the Republican Hyde advanced through the grades from reporter to editor-in-chief. He was a man of splendid physical appearance. He came of Revolutionary stock. His father was a Connecticut man, who moved to New York and became a professor in Genesee College. His mother was a Gregory, of New York, a highly accomplished woman. Hyde took a partial course at McKendree, in Illinois, and afterward graduated

in law at Transylvania University, Lexington. He began his newspaper career with a solid educational foundation. He did his first newspaper work in Belleville and came to the Republican through legislative correspondence at Springfield, which attracted attention. Not quite twenty years later Frank R. O'Neil trod these same preliminary footsteps and joined the local force of the Republican. O'Neil came frome Belleville, had early experience on the Southern Illinois weekly press and as legislative correspondent at Springfield attracted the attention of Hyde, as Hyde in the same line of work had impressed Paschall. In about the same time that Hyde attained the chief place on the paper, O'Neil likewise became the editor.

A strong man on the editorial page was Daniel M. Grissom. He wrote leaders which dealt with the practical. He was at home in every field of editorial comment. What he wrote was easy to read. The style was virile and straightforward. There was no striving after effect in words. Grissom's active service as an editorial writer on the press of St. Louis was thirty-five years. A native of Kentucky, a farmer's son, he was educated at Cumberland University, Tennessee. After two years of teaching he became a writer on the St. Louis Evening News in 1853. He was editor of the Union and later of the Dispatch. At the instance of Hyde, Grissom went to the Republican in 1869. He remained there until he retired from active newspaper work in 1888.

To Thomas Dimmock fell the task of setting a literary pace in St. Louis journalism. A native of Massachusetts, Dimmock was brought west when he was a boy. His education was obtained in the schools of Alton and in Shurtleff College. In Dimmock's early life, Alton was a place of literary culture. It was noted throughout the Mississippi Valley. About Shurtleff centered a circle of those who thought much and who wrote carefully. In surroundings where the standards were high Thomas Dimmock's taste was formed. Several years Dimmock was editor of the Alton Democrat. Shortly after the war, he came to St. Louis to be an editorial writer on the Republican, continuing the connection until some time in the eighties. He loved books. He wrote reviews which brought him national reputation as a critic. He lectured upon literary subjects which interested him. He led the movement to erect a monument on the brow of the Alton bluff to Elijah P. Lovejoy, the martyr to a free press. At the dedication of the monument, Dimmock delivered the address.

A graceful writer of special articles for many years beginning in 1871, was Clarence N. Howell, a graduate of the University of Michigan. A man who served the paper as city editor was Stanley Waterloo, the author, another University of Michigan man, William Homes, a Presbyterian minister for several years in St. Louis, gave up the pulpit to become an editorial writer on the Republican in 1856. In 1864 he traveled through California, Arizona and Mexico, writing a series of very entertaining letters to the Republican. Ill health compelled him to give up newspaper work in 1868. He ranked as one of the most scholarly newspaper writers of his time.

"Journalism leads to anything if one quits in time," William H. Swift once remarked. Before he left the vocation, Mr. Swift made his mark in

it. He created and developed the importance of the financial and commercial department. That was during his connection with the Republican. After the 'change hours and a round of the banks, Swift would come into the editorial rooms of the Republican and in a few short, pungent sentences, tell what the day had brought forth in his field. Hyde, Grissom, MacAdam and the others listened with respect. Swift was a natural newsgatherer. But he brought more than facts. His mind held the impressions. He analyzed instantaneously what he had seen and heard. This five or ten minutes' monologue of Swift's furnished daily suggestion for the editorial page. It was the basis of frequent assignments for the local staff. Swift was a graduate of the university of journalism of that day—the composing room. He went through all of the grades of the profession—reporter, city editor and editor-in-chief. He knew St. Louis and St. Louisans as did few newspaper men of 1870. But business life lured him.

For almost a lifetime Thomas E. Garrett maintained a standard for dramatic criticism which was of more than local note. He discovered and brought to public notice the genius of Mary Anderson. A general utility man of the Republican staff for many years was the Reverend James A. Dacus. He seemed to have no specialty. He could write intelligently and readably on almost any topic suggested to him. The fact was Dacus had been an omnivorous reader, with a marvelous memory. Dacus was "the walking encyclopedia" of the paper.

Twenty years the Missouri Democrat had been growing, when in March, 1872, by order of the court it was sold for $456,100, the bidders being limited to the owners, McKee, Fishback and Houser. Fishback took the paper at that price. McKee & Houser started the Globe. Within three years the Democrat was sold to the Globe for $325,000. St. Louis newspapers, that succeeded, were characterized by strong individuality. They were not imitators of each other or of newspapers in other cities. Without press franchise, without a subscription list, without anything but press and type, the Globe entered upon a newspaper duel with the long-established Missouri Democrat. Mr. Houser spent money for news with a lavishness St. Louis newspaper business had never known before. Joseph B. McCullagh joined the Globe late in 1873, after Mr. Houser's policy had had a year's trial. The Globe continued to spend money freely and judiciously for news. In the phenomenal success Daniel M. Houser gave a remarkable illustration of newspaper business management. The editorial force of the Globe had only to suggest where the news service might be improved. Houser not only met the bills without objection but encouraged the costly enterprise. In three years the Globe outstripped the Democrat. It did so on the merits of very large expenditures for news. Daniel M. Houser was the father of that policy. He realized the benefits and when the Globe and the Democrat were consolidated in 1875, he continued the policy. For years there was no paper west of New York which paid for news service what the Globe-Democrat did. In New York there was only one competitor, the Herald. The policy was profitable. It enabled the Globe-Democrat to extend its circu-

lation in the territory where its politics did not recommend it. Under the policy which encouraged enormous telegraph bills distance lent enchantment to news. The Globe-Democrat sometimes gave more space to a happening hundreds of miles away than it did to similar news at home. Professor William T. Harris, after retiring from the superintendency of St. Louis schools, delivered a series of lectures in St. Louis on speculative philosophy, lectures of great value to those interested in that field. These lectures were given very little space in the Globe-Democrat at the time. Subsequently Doctor Harris delivered the same lectures in Boston. The Globe-Democrat received long, intelligent reports of them by telegraph; and it may be added that more people read them as telegraphed than would have read them if the lectures had been fully reported in St. Louis. Underlying this news policy was insight of human nature.

When the Globe appeared on the 18th of July, 1872, its platform was announced in these words: "In the prevalence or overthrow of Republican principles is wrapped up the thrift and glory or the ruin and disgrace of the American people." The editor was a newspaper man of fifteen years' experience in St. Louis—Charles R. Davis, a native of New London, Connecticut. Mr. Davis died after having had charge of the Globe a year. A few weeks later, in the fall of 1873, Joseph B. McCullagh took the editorship.

The stock of the Globe-Democrat after the reorganization was $500,000 divided as follows: William McKee, $300,000; D. M. Houser, $160,000; J. B. McCullagh, $20,000; Henry McKee, $10,000; Simeon Ray, $10,000. The old Missouri Democrat was established with some expectation on the part of party leaders that it would be subservient. Very early in the history of the Democrat Frank P. Blair insisted upon the support of a measure of party policy to which sturdy William McKee could not consent as a newspaper man. Mr. Blair pressed his point strongly in a conference of the owners of the Democrat. Daniel M. Houser had risen to the management of the counting-room. He was seated at his desk posting the ledger when Mr. Blair came out of the conference, defeated and disgusted.

"Dan," said Mr. Blair, with some manifestation of heat as he passed through the counting-room, "if you want my stock in this paper, you can have it." Mr. Houser became one of the owners of the Democrat, his first interest being the stock received from Frank P. Blair, one-sixth of the capital.

The newspaper career of Joseph B. McCullagh was thirty-seven years and all but twelve years of that time was in St. Louis. While Mr. McCullagh was away from the city of his adoption he was growing. Leaving his home in Dublin when he was eleven years old, McCullagh made several trips as a cabin boy on a steamship between Liverpool and Baltimore. When he was twelve he began to learn the trade of printer in the Freeman's Journal office in New York. At sixteen he was a compositor on Dr. McAnally's Christian Advocate, attending Sunday school and the literary society in the church at Fifth and Pine streets, and giving his leisure hours to the study of shorthand. At seventeen he became a reporter on the Mis-

souri Democrat, John Frazier recommending the youth to Mr. McKee. That was in 1859. At Jefferson City the Legislature was wrestling with the shadows of approaching war. McCullagh reported the proceedings fearlessly. In 1860 he went to the Cincinnati Commercial for better pay than the Democrat offered. From the very beginning of hostilities he was a war correspondent and in the thickest of it. When Commodore Foote was hit by a shell at Donelson, McCullagh was in the pilot house with him. At Vicksburg, McCullagh ran the batteries. He missed nothing. After the war he became a Washington correspondent, the contemporary of Whitelaw Reid and George Alfred Townsend. He passed through the experience of starting a newspaper in Chicago—the Republican. The great fire wiped out that venture. Immediately afterward, late in the fall of 1871, McCullagh came back to St. Louis. From that time for a quarter of a century there was but one field, one paper for him. The most tempting offer from other cities made not a fleeting impression on his mind.

The late Charles A. Dana, who created the New York Sun, said Joseph B. McCullagh was the best reporter he had ever known. He emphasized, rather than qualified this opinion when he further said he could hire all of the editors he wanted, but good reporters were scarce. McCullagh never outlived entirely the reporter habit. He brought many paragraphs written in the plain hand which no printer could mistake and in the concise style which left no room for editing. Occasionally he did an interview. When he went away on infrequent trips he wrote charming letters.

About 1880, St. Louis entered upon a crisis. The fire of 1849, the cholera epidemics, the Civil war, none of these so tried St. Lous as did the ten or twelve years' period beginning about the year mentioned. The decade of greatest danger that time might be called. Chicago boomed with the prodigious development of the northwest. Kansas City and Omaha suffered from the exaggerated methods of Chicago. Wichita and a dozen other places in the west went wild with the fever of real-estate speculation. St. Louis almost stood still. Cities west and south confidently expected to outstrip her before the end of the century. The period was one of revolution in material conditions. Railroads were usurping the waterways. The community which had grown strong and wealthy, which had defied the panic of 1873, which had shown more population than Chicago in 1870—to some extent a fiction—was turning slowly to the new channels of commerce. St. Louis was advancing a little, backing almost as much as the gain, using first one paddle wheel and then the other, like an immense, unwieldy steamboat getting ready to go ahead after having made a landing. The opportunity was McCullagh's. One day, in 1881, he came into the local room and said to the city editor: "We will have a railroad department. Make all you can of it." He gave explicit and detailed instructions. Up to that time the railroad news of the Globe-Democrat, as with other papers, had been a matter of a half-column, more or less, as the notes of daily incidents and accidents seemed to justify. "The Railroads" of the Globe-Democrat became at once a dominant feature,—three, four, five columns, a page if so

much space could be well filled. Not for a week or for a month, but for years McCullagh taught the lesson of commercial salvation for St. Louis.

But this innovation was only one element in his broad policy to build up St. Louis. A moving conviction in his mind was that St. Louis must grow with the Globe-Democrat. "The towline" as he called the paper's influence was never coiled. He sent a correspondent to Philadelphia to make a study of the building associations and he stimulated the idea in St. Louis by giving a great deal of space to these institutions here. He sent correspondents and artists south, west and north to write and to sketch, paying their way and dealing with whatever they conceived to be interesting. Communities were at first incredulous if not suspicious. After the letters and the pictures began to appear, and when no attempt was made to sell extra copies or to canvass for subscribers, people awoke to a comprehension of the McCullagh policy.

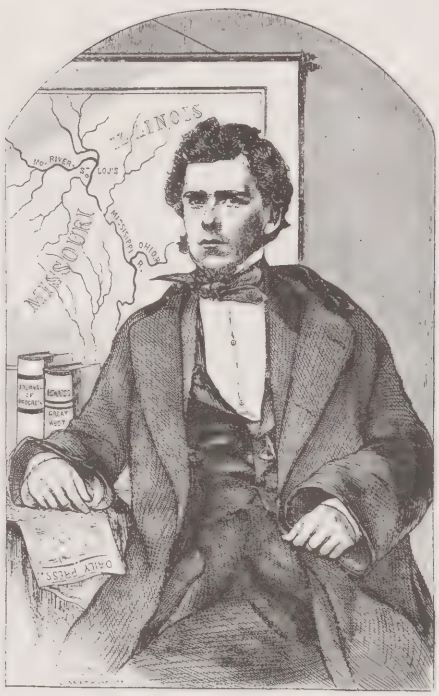
When the Gould railway system was tied up with a strike which seemed to McCullagh to be unjustifiable and the result of dictatorial wilfulness on the part of the leaders rather than of just grievances, he attacked the situation vigorously. After the trouble was over, Jay Gould met McCullagh in the rotunda of the Southern hotel. He wanted to express appreciation of the course of the Globe-Democrat. McCullagh said the Globe-Democrat had done only what seemed to be right for a newspaper having the interests of the community and the southwest at heart. Gould replied he believed that, but the railroad would like to show its good-will in some tangible way. McCullagh suggested that St. Louis business men had been trying to get a fast mail service on the Missouri Pacific westward. If the railroad felt like showing its good will toward the city and the Globe-Democrat, that might be the opportunity. Gould turned to one of the officers of the road, and asked that preparations be commenced at once to install the service. This was the first of the fast mail trains started out of St. Louis.

"Booming," in the sense it has come into universal use, originated with McCullagh. The first application of it, according to an authority so well recognized as the Century Dictionary, was in the Globe-Democrat in 1878. McCullagh consistently boomed St. Louis. He didn't always do it by the direct method. He printed things that stung local pride. He scourged complacency when he thought that course was in the interest of progress. He could make "Poor old St. Louis!" look aggravating in print. He believed in the counter irritant. But through all of his years at the head of the Globe-Democrat, McCullagh was never a knocker. While criticism was biting when lethargy threatened, support was never withheld when public spirit had been aroused and was doing its best.

There were men of affairs who realized what McCullagh, with the Globe-Democrat, did for St. Louis in the critical period. They saw in his policy and methods more than the building of a newspaper. They realized what in prestige, in hold upon its trade territory, in commercial influence as the great distributing center, the city owed McCullagh's policy with the Globe-Democrat. These men in business and in the professions had meas-

JOSEPH B. McCULLAGH

WILLIAM HYDE



RICHARD EDWARDS

ured the crisis and its dangers. They felt that such service as McCullagh had rendered the city should not pass without recognition. McCullagh was then living in downtown apartments. He took his meals at a hotel. He had no home. The movement, started quietly, found support. A fund of $25,000 was assured. It was to be applied to the purchase of a residence; the deed was to be handed to McCullagh. Ready to carry out the plan, the moving spirits in it sought for the proper person to lay the matter before the editor and to ask his acceptance. They chose, after some thought, James Campbell, by reason of the known personal friendship existing between the two. Mr. Campbell made the approach delicately. McCullagh met it with a negative answer, courteous but positive. And with a flash of humor, he added:

"Some of them might come around afterwards and want to run the paper."

Some years later, when his health failed, a movement in different form to show appreciation of what McCullagh had done for this community was started. It was proposed by a number of men who had seen the substantial benefits of his newspaper management to meet all of the cost of a long journey for recuperation. Nothing came of the suggestion. McCullagh had never sought wealth, but he had provided against emergencies, and would have preferred to pay his own expenses if he had cared to travel. But these expressions were pleasing to him in that they showed appreciation of his efforts to make his newspaper life of some good to the city. He had a strong aversion to the expression of gratitude in words. He used to say that the attempt to voice the sentiment weakened it. When Eugene Field wrote a graceful tribute in verse to "Little Mack," McCullagh didn't write him a letter of thanks; he sent him a gold watch.

McCullagh taught journalism by practice and by precept. Late in the evening the foreman of the composing room laid upon the chief's desk the proofs. It was a favorite practice with McCullagh to pick out a local item written in rather diffuse style, go through it line by line and strike out words, phrases and even whole sentences that were not essential to the facts. Then he would carry the proof to the city editor and "show him." Another practice was to verify footings of statistical matter. Woe to the city editor or to the telegraph editor if he sent up stairs a tabulated vote or any other collection of figures which did not total correctly. There was another grave offense under the chief and that was the mistake in the spelling of a name or in the initials. With the city directory convenient, no excuse was permitted for mistakes in names of city people. The chief insisted that a man on a daily paper should be posted on current events outside of his department. He expected every member of the staff to read the Globe-Democrat before he came to work. One noon he walked into the news editor's room and addressed a word of comment on the most prominent article in the paper that morning. The news editor was a recent acquisition to the staff. He replied casually that he hadn't read the paper. Very firmly the chief told the newcomer that if he expected to stay on the Globe-Democrat he must read it as regularly as he ate his breakfast. There were departments and specialties

but every man on the staff was expected to possess general information and to be willing to undertake any assignment.

Without pen or pencil in hand, without paper or book before him, McCullagh was charming in conversation. He talked readily and freely. He told a story well. He could gossip. He was wonderfully accurate on historical facts. He caught the inaccuracies of attempted quotations with marvelous certainty. Diffuseness of style he abhorred. When he was engaged in a somewhat personal newspaper controversy he came into the city room one noon and, laying down the morning paper, pointed to two lines in the first column of the editorial page. The words were blistering.

"When you have to go after a man," said McCullagh, "put a drop of vitriol on him. Don't pour a barrel of vinegar over him."

Characteristic of Mr. McCullagh, was the editorial announcement of the removal of the Globe-Democrat from the location the paper had occupied on Fourth and Pine streets to "The Temple of Truth" on Sixth and Pine streets. It was limited to three words: "We have moved."

The strength of its editorial page became a marked and distinguishing feature of the Globe-Democrat under the administration of Henry King who came from Kansas at the invitation of Mr. McCullagh about 1883, to be the leading editorial writer. That was the beginning of a new policy as to the editorial page of the Globe-Democrat. The late Noble L. Prentis divided editors into those "who came into the profession from college or from the composing room," and those "who are newspaper writers from the beginning." Mr. Prentis said of Henry King:

> If he didn't "lisp in numbers" he editorialized in petticoats. His first essays in writing were like those of Benjamin West in painting. He has carried the art or science of word-handling to a higher pitch than any other Kansas writer in any field. No word mason among us has polished and fitted each stone in his structure as he has. To write, with some, is recreation, with many a business, with others the effect of occasional inspiration, but with him it is an art, like music, or painting, or acting. His thoughtful devotion to form does not run into pedantry or finical word-picking, but is the result of the man's constitutional nicety and daintiness of mind, which betrays itself even in the clear, legible and rather peculiar handwriting in manuscript which knows no "outs," "doublets," blots or interlineations.

When he became editor in chief of the Globe-Democrat in 1896, after the death of Mr. McCullagh, Captain King continued and developed the news policy of the paper and at the same time added to the staff until he had given the paper an editorial standing which out-classed in strength and finish most of the editorial pages in the country. Notable features were emphasized, such as the Sunday stories of Caspar S. Yost, the historical articles of Charles M. Harvey, the literary work of David R. McAnally, the pleasant satire of Collier, the Scotch humor of Fitzmaurice.

From 1864 to 1878 the Dispatch passed through vicissitudes which ought to have wrecked it half a dozen times. Checkered is hardly the word to apply because that would mean alternate prosperity and adversity. The Dispatch had few periods of prosperity. Its career was almost continuous adversity. There was a period when the prospect seemed hopeful; Charles P. Johnson was one of the editors, but the law claimed him. A bright spot

was when Stilson Hutchins, having sold his interest in the Times, conducted the Dispatch, beginning in 1873 with the brilliant John N. Edwards and D. Robert Barclay as editors and John M. McGuffin as publisher. The Dispatch yielded good profit for a year or two. But the mistake was made of tying to it the debt-burdened Times. The Dispatch was sold by Hutchins to raise money to save his first love, the Times. The buyer came from successful newspaper management elsewhere, put his capital into the Dispatch and lost it. In the years of St. Louis journalism it has occurred repeatedly that newspaper men, whose experience in other cities had been measurably successful, have come here to fail, either in starting new papers or in operating old properties. The successful St. Louis newspapers from the business point of view have been those conducted financially by men who obtained all or nearly all of their training in St. Louis.

When the Dispatch passed into the possession of Joseph Pulitzer at trustee's sale in 1878 it was thirty years old, if the legitimacy of descent be not too closely scrutinized. There was in 1838 an Evening Gazette, which in 1847 became The Evening Mirror. The latter was succeeded in about a year by The New Era, out of which came in another twelve months The Intelligencer. The Intelligencer in 1857 consolidated with The Evening News. In 1867 The News was absorbed by The Dispatch and eleven years later The Dispatch attached to itself The Post. The actual making of The Post-Dispatch began under the distinctive policy which Joseph Pulitzer applied from the time he acquired the paper. He organized his staff, composed of John A. Dillon, John A. Cockerill, Henry W. Moore, Florence D. White, John F. Magner, John T. McEnnis, Will J. Thornton and George A. Schuette. The judgment of Mr. Pulitzer in the selection of his talent was vindicated by results. Afternoons, when the paper had gone to press, Mr. Pulitzer sat in the editorial room of The Post-Dispatch and talked to his staff about the Constitution of the United States and journalism. Zealously the paper followed the spirit of Mr. Pulitzer's proclamation that The Post-Dispatch "will oppose all frauds and shams wherever and whatever they are." Mr. Pulitzer developed and magnified the police power of a newspaper beyond any former conception of that quality, and found the policy to be profitable.

Joseph Pulitzer enlisted in the army the day he landed in this country. He joined the Lincoln Cavalry, a New York regiment. His services took him to Virginia where he saw fighting at Five Forks. This connection with the cavalry led to Pulitzer's first employment in St. Louis, just after the war. That job was hostler at Benton Barracks, now the Fairground park on Grand avenue. Pulitzer was fireman on a ferryboat a few days. He did manual labor on the Levee in an emergency. He drove a carriage a short time. He even helped to bury the cholera victims on the island below the city. The willingness of the young immigrant to do anything honest to support himself at length brought him to the notice of The Westliche Post people. Discovering that Pulitzer was a man of education, Preetorius tried him at reporting. In six years Pulitzer was one of the editors and had obtained an interest in the paper. Restless energy was his characteristic.

For several years Joseph Pulitzer hesitated between journalism and the law. He had achieved about all there was to learn or gain with the Westliche Post. He tried politics, as a member of the legislature, as a police commissioner, as a leading participant in the Greeley-Brown campaign of 1872, as a member of the constitutional convention of Missouri. In his leisure hours he read law. He even went so far as to rent an office in the Temple bulding, near that of Charles P. Johnson for whom he had great admiration. The fact that he had succeeded as a political orator, coupled with his confidence that he had the industry necessary to reach success in the legal profession, encouraged him. But Mr. Johnson advised against this career. He told Mr. Pulitzer frankly that he was too restless, too nervous, too easily agitated for the law. He advised journalism. Mr Pulitzer got his license to practice and went to Europe to think about his future. In the winter of 1876-7, Mr. Pulitzer was in Washington. That was the exciting period following the Tilden-Hayes campaign. Mr. Pulitzer contributed editorial correspondence to the New York Sun. As a matter of fact he was trying himself out, to determine for himself his aptitude for English journalism. The results were satisfactory. Mr. Pulitzer's Washington letters attracted a great deal of attention. In 1878, Mr. Pulitzer went to Europe and made a study of conditions there writing his "impressions" for The Sun. In December of that year, Charles P. Johnson and John S. Marmaduke afterwards governor, received telegrams from Mr. Pulitzer saying he would arrive the next evening and asking them to meet him at the Lindell hotel. The subject of the conversation was the approaching sale by trustee of the Evening Dispatch under mortgage. Mr. Pulitzer was advised strongly by these two personal friends to bid in the paper. Mr. Johnson could speak advisedly of the St. Louis newspaper field. He had studied it at close range but had preferred law.

When the new proprietor went into the Dispatch office on the morning of the 10th of December there wasn't a bushel of coal or a roll of white paper. The boiler and engine were held in place for operation by iron bands and strips which had no place in the original construction. Steam heating pipes throughout the building were tied with rags to stop leaks. The old press was badly battered. Mr. Pullitzer looked through the building, pressed into service a few people and that afternoon got out an edition of 1,000 copies.

In forty-eight hours a consolidation was effected with the Post, one of the best evening papers St. Louis had ever had. By this arrangement Mr. Pulitzer gained the prestige which John A. Dillon had created in the short life of the Post. He acquired the services of a good staff. But upon the consolidation—the Post and Dispatch—he stamped his own peculiar and effective personality with the following editorial announcement:

The Post and Dispatch will serve no party but the people; will be no organ of "Republicanism," but the organ of truth; will follow no caucuses but its own convictions; will not support the "Administration," but criticise it; will oppose all frauds and shams, wherever and whatever they are; will advocate principles and ideas rather than prejudices and partisanship. These ideas and principles are precisely the same as those upon which our government was originally founded, and to which we owe our country's

marvelous growth and development. They are the same that made a Republic possible, and without which a real Republic is impossible. They are the ideas of a true, genuine, real Democracy. They are the principles of true local self-government. They are the doctrines of hard money, home rule and revenue reform.

After two weeks, the name was hyphenated—Post-Dispatch. In 1887 the publication of a Sunday edition was begun. In 1893 the price of the Post-Dispatch was reduced to two cents and the use of pennies was encouraged where previously a nickel had been the smallest coin in common use by St. Louis. In the newspaper evolution of Joseph Pulitzer his St. Louis experience was everything. When Pulitzer went to New York to become of international stature it was to apply on a large scale the theory and practice he had tried here.

In May, 1888, Charles H. Jones of Jacksonville, Florida, purchased an interest in the St. Louis Republic. In that year the name of the paper underwent change from Missouri Republican to St. Louis Republic. Colonel Jones held the editorship of the paper five years and retired. During that period Charles W. Knapp was the publisher. Upon the retirement of Colonel Jones, Mr. Knapp became the editor-in-chief with Joseph A. Graham as managing editor.

While it celebrated the second birthday anniversary in 1909, The St. Louis Times could hardly class as an infant newspaper. It was not started when the first issue appeared. Back of that date were many years of favoring traditions and valuable good will. The St. Louis Times inherited directly and legitimately elements of vitality and strength for which new papers usually must wait on years of cultivation. The bringing of the Westliche Post and the Anzeiger together under one management, the Anzeiger taking the evening field was accomplished in 1898. Where twenty efforts to establish German papers in St. Louis failed, two, the Westliche Post and the Anzeiger achieved signal success. On the Anzeiger, in 1877, a big-framed, dancing-eyed, light-haired youth hustled for local news. He was fresh from the fatherland. He piled lumber a few days, and then he worked in a grocery a few weeks after his arrival in St. Louis. He was sanguine and he was tireless. He grew to mean more and more to the Anzeiger every year, coming into the full confidence of the founder, Carl Daenzer. At the same time, in the office of the Westliche Post, a young man, educated at Washington University, was following in the footsteps of his illustrious father and growing into the business. Edward L. Preetorius, speaking for the Westliche Post, and John Schroers, representing the Anzeiger, brought about the community of interests. Thereby they began the preparation for the St. Louis Times. In the summer of 1908, Mr. Schroers sold his interest in the Times.

The Amerika came into existence through an organiation known as the German Literary Society with several hundred members. It was started in 1872 under the editorial charge of Anthony Hellmich. Doctor Edward Preuss succeeded Mr. Hellmich, and under his able direction the paper achieved marked success. The Amerika had its own field. It devoted considerable attention to religious matters in the German parishes. It had a

large and loyal constituency. The business head of the paper for some years was Henry J. Spaunhorst, who was president of the German Literary Society. Mr. Spaunhorst was succeeded by William Druhe. The next business manager of the Amerika was John Peitzmeyer, son-in-law of William Druhe.

The union of the pioneer penny paper, the Chronicle, with an existence beginning in 1880, and the Star, dating back to the successful experiment in distinctive Sunday journalism by Mead and Gitchell and Munford in 1884, offered fine opportunity. The Chronicle drew to it a loyal following among the trade and labor organizations of the city. The Star, in its advocacy of Republican principles under Nathan Frank, had found substantial support. In 1909 the Star and Chronicle passed under the control of E. G. Lewis.

Not a newspaper of St. Louis, but a newspaper from St. Louis was the Woman's National Daily in its genesis. It was started by Edward G. Lewis, the founder of the Woman's Magazine and of the Woman's Farm Journal, two monthly publications of large circulation. The want of the daily newspaper, which Mr. Lewis felt, was scattered along 40,000 rural free delivery routes. An Egyptian temple, the interior copying Karnak, costing $195,000, was the home of the Daily. The press upon which this paper was printed, at the speed of 5,000 a minute, cost $92,000. The electrical equipment cost $10,000 more. Telegraph wires ran into this temple of new school journalism. News was handled on the tabloid principle. At 2:30 in the afternoon the great press started. At 6:30 in the afternoon the last electric van rolled away to catch the mails. The next morning the paper was reaching readers on most of the rural delivery routes within five hundred miles of St. Louis. The precision of this rapid performance in newspaper issue was marvelous. Minutes count. Newspaper men, accustomed to the haste of the daily press were amazed at the celerity which marked every stage of the production of the Woman's National Daily.

In October, 1873, the publishers of the Missouri Republican received a notification from a subscriber which is probably without counterpart in American history. The notice read thus:

> Gentlemen:—Your paper has been faithfully delivered at the corner of Main and Mullanphy Streets for fifty-two years. The last of the family died there on the 22d of last month and there is no one left to read the paper. I find this morning twenty-two numbers unopened on the front steps. Send bill for liquidation. W. Wadingham, administrator.

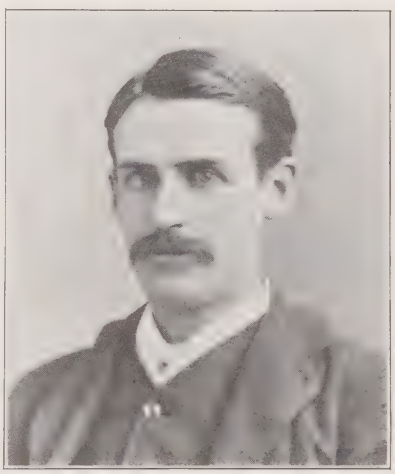
The Knapps and the Paschalls never forgot the days of small beginnings. Whenever anniversaries or other occasions suggested reminiscences, all honor was given in print to Joseph Charless and his son Edward Charless. The recollection went beyond words. There is of record in the minutes of the directors of the paper an incident which does honor to the newspaper profession. The directors in 1882 were George Knapp, John Knapp and Henry G. Paschall, the last-named a son of Nathaniel Paschall. At a meeting of the board on the 2d of January a resolution was adopted conferring upon the

FRANK R. O'NEIL

JOHN F. MAGNER

CLARENCE N. HOWELL

GEORGE MUNSON



THOMAS M. KNAPP

NEWSPAPER MEN OF 1875-1900

only surviving representative of Edward Charless an annuity. The letter breathed the old-fashioned, delicate courtesy:

Dear Respected Madam: Wishing you a happy New Year, we take pleasure in communicating the following preamble and resolution, which, with the cordial appreciation of the stockholders of the corporation of Publishers: George Knapp & Co., have been adopted:

Whereas, Mrs. Jane L. Hoffman is the only surviving representative of the noble and worthy Edward W. Charless, the founder, over sixty years ago, of The Missouri Republican, he the successor of his father, Joseph Charless, who, beginning in 1808, published the paper under the name of Louisiana Gazette and Missouri Gazette,

Resolved, That an annuity of $200, payable quarterly in advance, from the 1st of January, 1882, be and is hereby appropriated to the use of Mrs. Jane L. Hoffman during her natural life.

With the kindest wishes for your continued good health and cheerful, genial disposition, and hoping your life may long be spared, we are devotedly your friends.

Always considerate of its local department, the Republic had a remarkable procession of city editors. David H. MacAdam, a Scotchman of no little literary ability, the father of the present Washington correspondent, was followed by George Brown, John McGaffey, John G. Dill, Stanley Waterloo, Clarence N. Howell, Frank Stone, Charles A. Taylor, Frank R. O'Neil, W. A. Kelsoe, Robert M. Yost, M. J. Lowenstein, Harry B. Wandell, Dent G. Robert, D. J. McAuliffe. John Knapp established a practice which kept the proprietors in close touch with the writers on the paper. Farley, the assistant foreman of the composing room, knew the handwriting of every man on the staff. After the paper had gone to press he penciled above each article, editorial, local and special, the name of the writer. The paper thus marked was upon the desk of Colonel Knapp when he reached the office in the morning. It was consulted in no hasty or perfunctory manner. The Knapps made it their business to know the kind of work every member of the staff was doing. They gave credit where it was due. Their first inclination, in every controversy which arose over publications, was to stand by the writer. Unless it could be shown that the editor or reporter was clearly in the wrong, the proprietors sustained him. This policy had not a little to do with the spirit which held the staff in harmonious relations.

Long and honorable is the list of those who have lived their lives in St. Louis journalism. There was Phil G. Ferguson, gentle mannered, kindly, with a spring of humor which never ran dry. Away back in the early fifties, when starting newspapers was a thriving St. Louis industry, Ferguson had his fling at proprietorship. He also tried editing and managing. But in the end he found more satisfaction on the local staff of the Democrat and later the Globe-Democrat. A custom of St. Louis, dating from the early days, was the gathering of merchants and professional men at the postoffice Sundays between 12 and 1 o'clock to receive the mail. The office opened at 12 o'clock and mail was handed out to all who cared to call for it. This was a Sunday substitute for the carrier service week days. "Sunday at postoffice corners" was at its best as a St. Louis habit when the postoffice was located at Third and Olive streets. But the custom did not lapse for some years after the removal to Eighth and Olive. The crowd began to

gather about half past 11. It was at its height at half past 12. It did not entirely disperse until half past 1. Citizens who went to church in the morning walked to the postoffice corner after the sermon, stopped to chat a few minutes, called for their mail and went home to the early dinner. For years Phil Ferguson did the "Corners' Gossip." He made it a feature of the Monday morning paper. This weekly gathering was a regular assignment with all of the papers, but no reporter ever approached "Jenks," as Ferguson was commonly known, in the humorous personal treatment of it.

In 1879 Abram S. Mitchell came back into St. Louis journalism. He was an editor and a successful one at an earlier period. In association with Charles G. Ramsey, Mr. Mitchell made the St. Louis News, which was the predecessor of the Dispatch, the leading evening paper for several years. Mitchell was an editor when the editorial page was the overshadowing feature of the paper. He was a very vigorous writer and a man of considerable literary attainments. Mr. Mitchell came back to St. Louis journalism to take charge of the Times-Journal. In the brief period of his administration one act stands out as especially worthy of mention. Mr. Mitchell came into the city editor's room and told of a youth he thought would make a good reporter. He described him as having had the advantages of classical education, and as being engaged at the time in a job printing office. Mr. Mitchell requested that the youth be given a trial. The next day William Vincent Byars made his entree to St. Louis journalism. Reporter, editor, author, poet, he has honored the profession.

George Brown was the highest salaried newspaper reporter in St. Louis about 1875. He came here with some experiences on an English paper, but wholly unacquainted with this country. Yet he stepped into a good position within a week and advanced rapidly to star place on the local staff. One day the door of Mr. Hyde's room at the Republican office opened. A stout young man entered just far enough to expose his presence and without a word of introduction, asked:

"Want a reporter?"

"Not today," said Mr. Hyde, without looking up from his paper.

The visitor began to back out and was just about to close the door when the editor called after him:

"Hold on! If you want to show what you can do, you may go up to Dr. Finney's church tomorrow morning and make a report of his sermon."

"How much do you want?" asked Brown in the matter of fact manner which was his striking characteristic.

"Half a column," replied the editor. Not another word was said. The door closed. The editor told his city editor, Mr. MacAdam, of the occurrence.

On Monday morning Mr. Hyde, looking over the paper, saw the sermon story occupying exactly half a column to the line. In a little while George Brown came in. Mr. Hyde nodded to him and said:

"I told you to give us half a column on Dr. Finney, didn't I?"

"Yes sir, I did," said Brown.

"I see you did," continued Mr. Hyde. "But tell me; how did you happen to make just half a column, no more, no less?"

With not a smile or the suggestion in tone that he had done anything more than what was ordinary, Brown replied: "I took a copy of your paper and folded it once so as to make a half column. I counted the lines in the half column. I counted the words in enough lines to strike an average. I multiplied the number of lines by that average, and then I wrote just that number of words about the sermon."

Mr. Hyde was a man of few words and of quick action. He employed Brown.

Reporter, city editor, editor, manager, Frank R. O'Neil was a figure in the newspaper life of St. Louis. The quality of his work was far above the ordinary. His associates first discovered his talent and then came public appreciation. What Frank O'Neil wrote could be identified by the daily reader. The man enjoyed his work. He was wonderfully accurate in statements and rigidly faithful in portrayal. More than this he had a capacity for turning out "good copy" which was the envy of his fellows. The revelations of life to the newspaper man sometimes beget cynicism and hardness. Frank R. O'Neil never lost his inborn kindness of heart. Weaknesses of human nature strengthened his feeling of charity. He never glossed wrong doing in his writing. Perhaps a more politic man would have won greater personal renown with those who did not know him so well, but he would not have won to such a degree the confidence, the admiration, the love of those with whom he worked day by day. In 1883, after the death of Jesse James, when Frank James had a price of $10,000 on his head, and was being hunted by detectives, O'Neil met the noted bandit, through arrangement of a mutual friend, remaining with him two days, and, under a promise not to reveal his whereabouts, returned to St. Louis and wrote a graphic interview with him, which he held for release, faithful to his promise, until James surrendered, when it was published.

In 1878, during the yellow fever epidemic in the South, Quarantine Station, below Jefferson Barracks, full of refugees, became infected, scores of deaths being reported daily. The people of the city were panic stricken. Health Commissioner Francis invited the newspapers to send reporters to the station to investigate conditions. O'Neil and two other reporters accepted the dangerous assignment, spending an entire day there. On their return O'Neil wrote a vivid description of the prevailing conditions, which was widely copied. Just as he finished this story, O'Neil was sent to cover an assignment at the Insane Asylum, where several patients had been mysteriously poisoned. He returned in time to write a graphic two-column account of this for the regular edition, thus in one day having accomplished a task that ordinarily would tax the capacity of several men.

When Frank R. O'Neil and Clarence N. Howell were the central figures of the Republican local staff, a kid reporter was taken on. He was a slender boy, laughing-eyed, interrogation-faced. He was at the age and of the temperment to absorb knowledge. He had adopted mankind for his

study and the newspaper office for his school room. The boy looked up to O'Neil and Howell with all the admiration and confidence the youthful collegian gives to favorite professors. His daily assignment was the school board offices in the old Polytechnic building at Seventh and Locust streets. A cultured woman, a lady of breeding, Mrs. Bernoudy, who had charge of the office of the superintendent of schools saw what the boy needed. She talked books to him. She opened to his mind the opportunities for reading. In time the boy knew more of what the public library contained than any other one person except the librarian, himself, Mr. Crunden. The faculty to self-educate runs strong in the Irish blood. The boy reporter gained from his reading, first, information of wide range, then style of expression and finally, ideas which put him on the road to become the writer of more than local fame. The evolution of William Marion Reedy belongs to the history of St. Louis journalism.

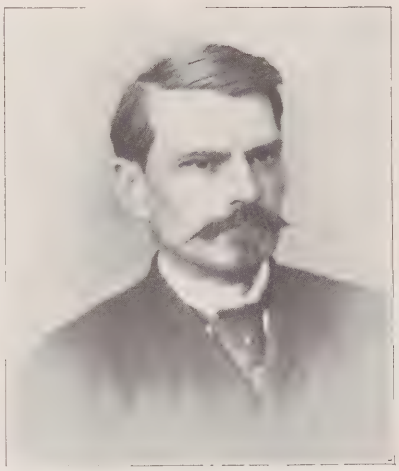
The late William C. Jones brought into the Dispatch office about 1874 a fair faced young man whom he introduced as a McKendree graduate with a Heidelberg finish. He wanted his friend to have a try at journalism. That was William A. Kelsoe's introduction to more than a third of a century of capable, reliable work on St. Louis newspapers. Will J. Thornton began; he made a specialty of railroad news. John T. McEnnis, John F. Magner and Florence D. White took apprenticeship at reporting with Pulitzer's Post Dispatch. All of these young men entered their newspaper careers in St. Louis offices and continued with the profession here.

The Fields, Eugene and Roswell M., went to Kansas City, Denver and Chicago after an apprenticeship of years on St. Louis newspapers. Dent Robert, the San Francisco editor, was a graduate of the St. Louis school of journalism. So were George Grantham Bain, Justin McGrath and John J. Jennings, who made their way in New York. Augustus Thomas and Harry W. Walker were St. Louis reporters before they went east to become important, one as a writer of plays, the other as an official and politician. John A. Dillon, who entered the profession as an editorial writer on the Globe-Democrat, went to New York and became the leading editorial writer on the World.

Of a later generation of journalists "made in St. Louis" were George S. Johns, Caspar S. Yost, Homer Bassford, Jewel H. Aubere, O. K. Bovard, D. J. McAuliffe, William M. Ledbetter, Jon E. Gorse, Ripley D. Saunders. Henry D. Wood, John W. Kearney, Clark MacAdams, Louis C. Dodge, Donald G. Fitzmaurice, J. N. Fining, Hastings MacAdam, Joseph Miller, Jr. These were some of the men who grew into positions of importance on the St. Louis papers. They learned the town and the inhabitants thereof before they began to write editorials, to direct the local staffs, to let their imaginations loose on stories full of the local color true to life.

John Hogan wrote his carefully considered "Thoughts on St. Louis" for a newspaper. The articles made such an impression upon the community that they were published in book form. His appreciative fellow citizens bestowed upon Mr. Hogan a set of silver plate in recognition of the

EUGENE FIELD



DAVID R. McANALLY

THOMAS ELWOOD GARRETT

MARK TWAIN AND DAVID R. FRANCIS
Unveiling Tablet on Birthplace of Eugene Field

value of his suggestions. The charming "Recollections" of John F. Darby first appeared in the newspapers. Authorship came as a demand upon John N. Edwards after some of his wonderfully graphic descriptions of Civil war episodes had been printed as special articles when he was an editorial writer on the Republican and the Dispatch. Theophile Papin's letters from Europe about 1880 attracted wide interest. Readers found it difficult to believe that the writer was a business man who had followed the prosaic life of an operator in real estate. The profession of journalism in St. Louis sustained a loss when Theophile Papin gave up writing in his earlier career. The most charming sketches written of early times in St. Louis were from his pen. Theophile Papin was of the family which founded St. Louis. He knew the people from boyhood. After leaving college in 1849 he followed his natural bent and became a member of the staff of the Reveille, the brightest paper of its day. "Black Eagle" was the name Seth Wallace Cobb bore as a newspaper correspondent in Tidewater, Virginia, before the Civil war. After the war he was editor of the Petersburg Express. Many years afterwards when he had accumulated a fortune in the grain trade of St. Louis and had served three terms in Congress, Mr. Cobb went to Europe and wrote in a charming style a series of travel letters for the Republic.

Shepard Barclay for years held a connection with the press of St. Louis. After studying law at the University of Virginia he went to the University of Berlin to attend lectures. His stay abroad covered the period of the Franco-Prussian war. A natural inclination prompted him to act as war correspondent for a St. Louis paper. After Judge Barclay's return to St. Louis he did considerable editorial work for several years. The one lawyer's desk in St. Louis which most strikingly resembled that of an industrious editor was in Judge Barclay's office.

In 1886 the Republic startled, not only this country, but the old world, with the announcement that the Panama Canal scheme had collapsed. At the same time were exposed the scandalous practices of officials connected with the canal company. The exposure was made in complete and convincing form; there was no surmise, no indefinite hinting. The facts were given in a straightforward business-like style. The occasional correspondent who did the business world a service was Leonard Matthews. Mr. Matthews had retired from business in St. Louis. He was traveling abroad. His brother was in command of the Brooklyn and was cruising in the Caribbean Sea to stop filibusters intending disturbance to Honduras. Leonard Matthews was a guest of his brother on the Brooklyn. He discovered the disagreeable, ruinous conditions prevailing on the Isthmus, wrote an account of them and sent it home. The article appeared in March, 1886.

The composing room, before the linotype, graduated many who became reporters and editors. One of these was George W. Gilson, city editor of the Globe-Democrat for several years; another was O. R. Lake, McCullagh's trusted night editor. Four men who became famous in art or authorship, graduated from the Republic's art department. They were but little more than beginners when they became members of the staff. H. R. H.

Heaton, who went from St. Louis to Chicago, was one of the talented quartette. Paul Cornoyer, the widely known artist, was another. Augustus Thomas, the play writer, was the third member. A. Russell, whose striking color pictures have made so attractive the front page of the Globe-Democrat Magazine section, was the only one not lured away from St. Louis.

Not many of his later associates knew that Saunders Norvell, wholesale merchant and public man, had his newspaper romance. The Post-Dispatch, when Joseph Pulitzer sat in the front room and directed details, encouraged talent. Norvell discovered that he could sketch. One day he brought into the Post-Dispatch office a striking character drawing of a well-known man about town. Pulitzer was pleased.

"Young man," he said, "that is very good. We'll put it in the Post-Dispatch and pay you $5 for it. See if you can do as well again."

Norvell, at sixteen, started as a newspaper artist. His sketches were taken and printed promptly. The pay was slower. Norvell called but brought no sketch. He called again. Pulitzer wrote an order on the cashier.

"Young man," he said as Norvell started toward the door, "you've missed your vocation. You were born to be a collector."

William Flewellyn Saunders learned and wrote more about industries of St. Louis than any other reporter in the city. That was his preparation for the position of general manager of the Business Men's League.

St. Louis newspaper offices were educational institutions for many young men before they were admitted to the bar. Judge Jesse McDonald was a journalist before he was a lawyer. The same was true of E. T. Allen, John T. Fitzsimmons, Thomas M. Knapp, Charles M. Reeves, George S. Grover, Frank W. Peebles, James Young, Cortez A. Kitchen, Carl Ungar, Henry E. Haas.

J. W. Buel, the author of many books, and Richard Sylvester, head of the police system of Washington, were St. Louis reporters. Among those who graduated from St. Louis newspaper offices to enter other callings can be mentioned the late William H. Woodward, who came to this country from Hereford, England, a boy of eight. Mr. Woodward's father was an Episcopal clergyman, rector of Grace church in St. Louis, until his death. Young Woodward entered the Republican office in 1852 and remained there thirteen years. Former St. Louis newspaper men were William C. Teichmann, the consul, who entertained Admiral Sperry's battleship fleet at Colombo; Rolla M. Kendrick, at one time critic of the Globe-Democrat; Newton Crane, the English barrister; Emile W. Leonhardt, James C. Espy, William T. Marsh, Tobias Mitchell, R. P. Thompson and W. A. Thompson, E. P. Carruthers, Stephen A. Martin, Thomas Jefferson Meek, Eugene R. Stroh, John Kraus, Charles H. Kelleter; Henry E. Campbell, who became a Baptist minister; Dr. F. J. Taussig and Dr. J. A. Hornsby; Samuel Polk and Fred Kretschmer, railroad officials; Albert Lawson, Estill McHenry, John M. Holmes, Samuel Abeles, James Cox; Charles Witter, of the School of Pedagogy; Jesse J. Mayes, United States Army; Nathan Cole.

The sum of $15,000,000 would not purchase the daily newspaper properties of St. Louis in this year of 1909. That is to say, if the owners were willing to sell, the valuations would not come within that sum. The original investment in the St. Louis daily newspapers was not $100,000. The Republic's beginning was a hand press and a few pounds of type. It is tradition that when the printer ran short of certain capital letters in the large metal type he whittled substitutes out of wood and stuck them into the forms.

William McKee had a job office which he put up against a few thousand dollars contributed by several Free Soilers. The Missouri Democrat was started. McKee's job office was the plant, and counted for one-half the stock of the company. The rest of the stock was divided into three parts and held by men who contributed the small working capital.

Joseph Pulizter paid $2,500 at the east front of the courthouse for the Dispatch and the Post came as a partnership asset.

A printer and a reporter started a gossipy Sunday paper, called the Sayings. They brought it out as an evening paper, calling it the Star Sayings, got Nathan Frank interested and turned the property over to him. The misfortune of Mr. Frank and of St. Louis journalism was that at the time he found he owned a newspaper his law books did not burn and his clients did not forget him.

About $10,000 was the foundation of the St. Louis Chronicle. A part of that was spent in buying pennies by the barrel and turning them loose in St. Louis when this was a half-dime city only.

The capital of the Times was the prestige and the net earnings of the Westliche Post and Anzeiger. Furor Teutonicus, in journalism, as Americanized by St. Louis atmosphere, was the inspiration of the Times. The Anzeiger and the Westliche Post passed the half-century mark a long time ago. They were founded and placed in the very front rank of the German press of the United States by a coterie of intellectual, freedom-loving Germans.

What the St. Louis daily newspapers of the present cost in investment is a mere matter of satisfaction of curiosity. What they represent in present valuation is not of primary concern. The figures are interesting chiefly as illustrating to what magnitude this combined profession and industry of newspaper making has grown in St. Louis. To produce a metropolitan newspaper in the year 1909 means a daily expenditure running into thousands of dollars. The cost of production of five St. Louis daily newspapers, two morning and three evening, is over $125,000 weekly, of which at least 80 per cent is disbursed on pay rolls. This does not take into account the news dealers, the carriers and the newsboys, who derive their living from the sales of the St. Louis daily papers.

Why these thrived when other newspaper endeavors failed is of greater importance than what they cost or what they are worth. In what they are survivals of the fittest is the phase which has chief claim on consideration.

Four different Heralds and as many Tribunes proclaimed their entrances upon the field of St. Louis journalism. There have been Bulletins,

and Journals, and Unions, and Eras, and Arguses, and Intelligencers. Odd names, such as The Reveille, The Barnburner, The Repudiator, The Pennant, The Fountain, The Native American, The Reporter, The Magnet, have been tried on St. Louis newspapers, but they did not insure vitality.

Before the Commercial Club, in 1907, Captain Henry King during an admirable talk, gave the secret of newspaper success in St. Louis. The evening was devoted to the consideration of newspaper standards and policies. Speaking as the editor-in-chief of Globe-Democrat, Captain King outlined the editorial conduct of a newspaper enterprise, which for more than half a century had wielded great moral and political influence and had been preeminently successful in a business sense. He said:

We often hear the accusation that newspapers are controlled in policy and purpose by their advertisers. In so far as this implies a sacrifice of principle in return for patronage, it has no foundation. But newspapers are influenced in a measure by the business interests of the community. Speaking for myself, I have found that what is best for such interests is best for the city and all classes of its population. The operations of finance and commerce form the basis of the city's prosperity, and a newspaper must keep in friendly touch with them, or forfeit its best opportunity for useful public service. For my part, I feel that it is my duty, as it is always my pleasure, to consult and co-operate with the business men of St. Louis, because I have learned that their success is indispensable in promoting the general welfare and progress. If they advertise, so much the better for them, I am sure, as well as for the newspapers.

When the Missouri Republican reached the half century mark, July 12, 1858, the editor wrote: "Fifty years ago today, this paper came into existence. The cycle of fifty years is a rare event in human life—it is an epoch in the history of the country—it is a miracle in journalism." Looking backward the editor accounted for the miracle in this way:

The success of the Republican originated with its constant efforts to promote all departments of business in their diversified channels and to identify itself with the whole interest of St. Louis; it has been the firm friend of the city by being for half a century the faithful and reliable organ of every class of business. The Republican looks to the people for its success, by devoting a portion of its columns to all the various ramifications of commerce, trade and professional pursuits which make the life and being of St. Louis. Its destiny is linked with that of the city.

George Knapp had a character as positive as Nathaniel Paschall's. Yet these two men built up the Republican until it was of commanding influence without clashing. Together they made the paper a persistent advocate of measures calculated for the public good. Mr. Hyde summed up George Knapp's newspaper policy in a very few words:

"He wanted his paper to be clean and decent," said Mr. Hyde. He hated inquisitorial journalism which drags the purlieus for scandal and dirt. His ambition, like Chambers' and Paschall's, was to issue a sheet full of legitimate, current news, editorially commented upon, honestly, intelligently, fairly, alike welcome in the family circle as by professional and business men.

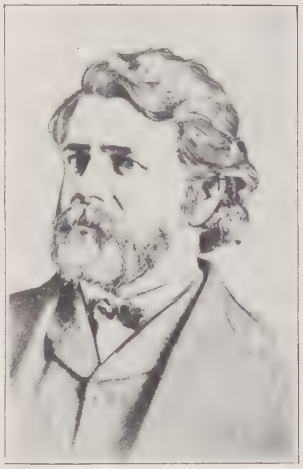
The character of the Republican's course toward other newspapers, even when personal journalism prompted vicious attacks upon it, was well illustrated by a paragraph in that editorial review of the first half century. The editor, presumably Nathaniel Paschall, wrote:

Since the establishment of the Republican, many journals have come into existence, sprung upon the arena to dispute the prize of championship and public patronage, but

WILLIAM A. THARP

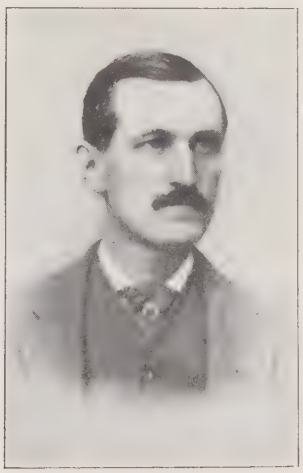
CHARLES LESSER

DAVID REID



WILLIAM FAYEL

E. D. KARGAU



WILLIAM M. SPINK

JAMES M. GALVIN

NEWSPAPER WORKERS OF OTHER DAYS

after a short display of futile efforts retired from the lists and sunk into oblivion. We could mention more than twenty papers which have come into being, sickened and died from the want of support which a public ever accords to a merited journal; but the revelation will neither profit us nor our readers and we would not probe wounds of disappointment which have probably nearly healed.

If the semi-centennial of a newspaper is a miracle, what shall be said of the centennial? That is an event in the history of a city, of a state, of a country, of the world. The centennial of the St. Louis Republic, celebrated July 12, 1908, found the editor a Knapp, the head of the business office a Paschall—Walter B. Carr. In the centennial issue appeared the following:

1808-1908

A hundred years of earnest endeavor, a hundred years of honest effort to fulfill the great ideals to which it was committed by its founder, is the record of The Republic's first century of life. To-day, with a vastly wider field for service and a power for good immensely greater than it possessed when it started, it cannot begin its second century with any more solemn committal to high standards of duty than was made in the prospectus announcing its advent in the village of St. Louis the twelfth day of July, 1808. So, on this twelfth day of July, 1908, it adopts anew the old pledge and in the coming years will zealously strive "to impress upon the mind that next to love of God the love of country should be paramount in the human breast."

Not all newspapers, perhaps, acquire a marked individuality with distinctive human qualities, but for some a character develops which is so peculiarly and entirely its own that it takes on a personality of compelling force. This came to The Republic generations ago and for the entire hundred years of its existence the paper has been the primary thing and the human beings who in the succession of years have directed its conduct have been only sympathetic instruments for the preservation of a character that must be held faithfully true to itself. With singular fidelity they have adhered throughout the passing years to the same standards, resisting all temptations to make their newspaper a vehicle for their own personal exploitation.

It has happened to no other American newspaper that the ownership and conduct in the span of a century have been in so few hands. The names of Charless, Paschall and Knapp make an unbroken chain of continuity from the beginning in 1808 to the century's close in 1908. As a matter of mere business permanency The Republic is notable among the mercantile institutions of the country, since the controlling ownership and active management rest at the end of a hundred years in the hands of direct or collateral descendants of men who had their training under and became partners of either the founder or his son. The paper was but four years old when Nathaniel Paschall entered its service, and a grandson is today, ninety-six years later, one of the owners and managers. Among them too, is a nephew of George Knapp, who came to the paper fifteen years after Paschall and eighty-one years ago.

Beginning under the founder, Paschall became the partner of the founder's son and was an active member of the paper's staff for forty-seven years. Starting under the younger Charless and the associate of Paschall, George Knapp, whose connection continued uninterruptedly for fifty-six years, formed partnership relations with both Charless and Paschall. Nathaniel Paschall and George Knapp worked side by side for thirty-two years and with them as associate for more than a third of that time was John Knapp, whose connection covered altogether a period of thirty-four years. His son, now and for more than twenty years head of the concern, has himself begun his forty-second year of service.

Thus no imaginary links, shadow bonds in the line of continuity, piece out The Republic's centennial chain. The Missouri Gazette of 1808 has changed its name, but The Republic of today is the same paper, devoted to exactly the same purposes and differing from the little sheet of 1808 only as the metropolitan city of 1908 differs from the village of 1808. Generation has followed generation in the conduct of the paper, and the younger men, having opportunity in years of associated service to benefit by the precept and example

of their elders, have taken up the responsibilities of conduct with conscientious recognition of an established character they must maintain, a recognized identity they must not sacrifice.

What else but uniformity of standards could flow from such close and long-sustained intimacies of association? From Charless the elder and Charless the younger to Paschall and Knapp the traditions of a moral mission and a high public duty were passed. To their successors came the same traditions, imposing the sacred obligation to respect and preserve the splendid record of the past. Sentiment will always be a potent factor in the affairs of humanity and The Republic has a heritage of inestimable value in the binding force of sentiment which is backed by the traditions of a century. It owes duties to itself it cannot escape and above all else it belongs to its readers, whose confidence and trust have been cemented by lifetime ties which must not be betrayed.

The Republic can make no better promises for the future than its pages have again and again presented in the past. Standing today upon the threshold of a new century it commits itself once more to the pledge of Joseph Charless and will continue its endeavor to impress upon its readers the fact that love of country should always stand paramount in their minds. So, also, it renews today the promise given fourteen years later by the younger Charless to uphold "whatever has a tendency to preserve, strengthen and perpetuate the Union of the sister States of this Republic, or promises to add to the prosperity of our own State in particular." As evidence that the promise is made in sincerity it offers its files for those trying years from 1860 to 1865, as incontrovertible proof of loyalty, an imperishable monument of genuine patriotism.

In the South and of the South, the sympathies of this paper moved deep and strong for the Southern people when the sectional differences developed to the point of rupture in 1861. With prescient anticipation of coming trouble, it fought vigorously in 1860 against the extremists of the Democratic party, Douglas having neither before or after his nomination any more earnest newspaper advocate than The Missouri Republican. As it fought for Douglas, so it fought against secession, and it can look back now with gratification at the record its pages unfold of strenuous endeavor to avert fratricidal strife.

It would be impossible to more accurately state its political platform or more definitely describe its relation to party organizations than was done at its birth and in various subsequent renewals of its political pledges. Now, as in 1808, The Republic aims "to advocate that cause which placed Jefferson at the head of the magistracy." But today, as the prospectus of Joseph Charless promised a hundred years ago, the highest aspiration of the paper is "to extinguish party animosities and foster a cordial union among the people on the basis of toleration and equal government." This is a mission that aims at something higher than mere party devotion. It proffers faithfulness to the principles for which its party stands and not slavish obedience to party organization. "It is not intended," as Edward Charless declared in his prospectus of 1808, "that this paper shall be the handmaid of party. Such a subserviency would in a great measure prevent its usefulness."

This journal came into being more as a public institution to subserve definite public purposes than as a business venture. Joseph Charless looked to other occupations for his living and there was no touch of bombast in his references to the press as "the vestal fire upon the preservation of which the fate of nations depends." His venture in journalism was not to develop an additional source of income, but to strengthen him for the realization of the high mission of public service to which he pledged himself with patriotic fervor. He wrote with serious zeal and absolute sincerity, therefore, when he declared the power of the press should be intrusted only to "the most pure hands officiating for the whole community."

Charless came to St. Louis just as enterprise and ambition were beginning to awaken among its people. The little French trading post was nearly half a century old, but it was still only a village. The tax collector was able to find for his lists only 257 people who were in possession of earthly goods of enough value to be taxable and it is not probable that the total population was more than 1,500, although half a century later it was estimated in these columns that the hamlet of 1808 could count 2,500 people. In the political nomenclature of the day it still ranked as a village in the Territory of Louisiana, that lower

part of the great empire acquired by Jefferson, which had New Orleans for its metropolis, being designated as the Territory of Orleans.

It is an illustration of the vitalizing power of aggressive journalism that the young Irishman who gave St. Louis its first newspaper registered a notable accomplishment in less than two weeks after the first copy of The Missouri Gazette appeared. St. Louis with a newspaper was no longer content to remain a village, so the third issue of The Gazette, which is reissued as a part of The Republic of today, reported the election of five town trustees, which act the people ignorantly supposed would formally advance them to the rank of a city. Unfortunately, they overlooked the necessary preliminary of a petition to and a permit from the Court of Common Pleas, which the territorial law, passed just a month before, required. That oversight invalidated their action, compelling a new proceeding at a later date, but none the less the stirring of civic pride which came with the newspaper created a de facto city eighteen months before the red tape of the law gave it de jure character.

Through all of its century of existence this paper has held its place as the herald of the city's progress. Whatever would advance the interests of St. Louis or promote the welfare of its people has found unflagging support in these columns. Fifty years ago today, Nathaniel Paschall, commenting on the fact that "the period of its being embraces all that is essential in the history of our city," explained to his readers that "the success of The Republican originated with its constant efforts to promote all developments of business in their diversified channels, identifying itself with the whole interest of St. Louis." It was pardonable that he should add with unconcealed pride that "its destiny is linked with that of the city." The link is still unbroken. What St. Louis is, The Republic is. Associated in their hundred years of joint history, they will face the fortune of the future together. The Republic continuing to look to the people for its success as it has always done in the past.

To be true to these traditions sanctified by a century of honorable memories is the ambition with which those who direct The Republic of today look forward to the advancing years of the Twentieth Century. In the story of the past they trust to find inspiration to make the story of the second century no less worthy when the time comes for it to be written down. Stimulated by the splendid example in a hundred years of accomplishment that carry not a single blot of odium, the effort of the future will be to hold to the same high standards, to unceasingly inculcate love of country, to battle courageously for the people, to be brave enough to be right even when the right is unpopular, to be independent but not neutral, to stand for party principles but never to be the slave of party, to represent the optimism of St. Louis, to assist in its advancement and give help to everything that can further the prosperity and happiness of its people. To this platform The Republic stands pledged by the record of the days that are gone. It has kept the faith a hundred years and commits itself now to the high resolve that the second century shall worthily supplement the first.

CHARLES WELBOURNE KNAPP.

As a city St. Louis has a character of its own. Naturally, its successful newspapers have their distinctions. Imported newspaper managers, as a rule, have not been so satisfactory as those home bred. The introduction of new blood has been tried experimentally many times. It resulted well occasionally but not generally. The wise imported editor discovers that he must be acclimatized. He comes to show, he remains to study his constituency, he succeeds in proportion to the thoroughness of that study. What wins in other cities will not always produce the same results in St. Louis. On the other hand what St. Louis sustains with marked approval often proves acceptable to another city. St. Louis bred newspaper men have been successful in other fields. Not so many imported newspaper men have been markedly successful in St. Louis. Wrecks of scores of enterprises

which were to give this community "live" newspapers are distributed through the one hundred and one years of St. Louis journalism. But the successful papers of today in this city range in age from a quarter to a whole century. They are directed by men who have had the greater part if not the whole of their newspaper experience in St. Louis. In positions of importance on these papers is a larger proportion of natives of St. Louis than the vocation of journalism can show to be true of any other city. The profession has descended in some cases from father to son. Traditions are nowhere so strong as in this newspaper field.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MINING INDUSTRIES.

We are happy to find that a spirit of enterprise and industry is every day manifesting itself among the people of this territory. They begin to be convinced that the peltry and fur trade is diminishing in value, and that it is necessary to give up, in part, the old staple, and to turn their attention to the more important one of lead. During the last two weeks several boats have left this place in order to enlarge the mineral establishments made many years ago by Julien Dubuque at a place called the "Spanish mines" on the Mississippi. The present adventurers have become the purchasers of a part of these mines under an order of the general court of this Territory, and have taken with them near one hundred hands, provided with all the implements necessary for mining and carrying on the lead business.—The Missouri Gazette, June 20, 1811.

The year that Laclede cordelled his expedition up the Mississippi, to found St. Louis, Francis Burton discovered lead. Burton was a French soldier. He had fought against the British. He participated in the defeat of Braddock. When the French power waned, he wandered west of the Mississippi and became a hunter in Missouri, before Missouri had a name.* A tradition is that Burton,—Breton, he was sometimes called—built his camp fire one night against what he supposed was the root of a tree. In the morning there was smelted lead among the embers. Thus was discovered the great lead field known to generations as Mine-a-Burton. This was not the first finding of lead ore in Missouri. It was the beginning of an industry which had its important place in the building of St. Louis. A beaver was pictured on the notes of the first bank of St. Louis. A pig of lead might have been a fit companion symbol.

In the early times, when the enterprising Frenchmen dominated the lead industry, they had a pleasant way of naming their mines. When a discovery was made and a grant obtained from the Spanish governor at St. Louis, the place was named after the owner with the prefix "Mine-a." Thus Mine-a-LaMotte received its name which was contracted into Mine La Motte. Mine-a-Joe was so called for the pioneer Joseph Bogy. Mine-a-Burton was named for the discoverer. Burton never was much of a miner. He preferred hunting. He lived to be one hundred and nine years old. The latter part of his life was spent in St. Louis. Thomas H. Benton, then the young editor of the St. Louis Enquirer, made Burton the subject of a sketch in the St. Louis Enquirer in 1818. This is what Mr. Benton wrote about the old discoverer:

Burton is a Frenchman from the north of France. In the fore part of the last century he served in the low countries under the orders of Marshal Saxe. He was at Fontenoy when the Duke of Cumberland was beaten by that marshal. He was at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and assisted in the assault of that place when it was assailed by a division of Saxe's army under der Count Luvesdape. He had also seen service upon this continent. He was at the building of Fort Chartres in the American bottom, and was present at Braddock's defeat. From the life of a soldier Burton passed to that of a hunter, and in that

character, about a half a century ago, while pursuing a bear to the west of the Mississippi, he discovered the rich lead mines which have borne his name ever since. The most moderate computation will make him at the present writing, 1818, one hundred and six. He is what we call square built man, of five feet and eight inches in height, full chest and forehead. His senses of seeing and hearing are somewhat impaired but free from disease and apparently able to hold out against time for many years to come.

The same year that Laclede came up the river and that Burton found Mine-a-Burton, Francis Valle of Ste. Genevieve was developing Mine La Motte. This was the first of four generations of Francis Valles, the founder of the Valle family. Francis Valle came out from Canada, where he was born, to Kaskaskia in 1730. Made commandant at Ste. Genevieve, he turned his attention to the lead industry. Mine La Motte took its name from M. de la Motte Cadillac. Like Renault, la Motte was seeking a silver mine. He located the wonderful deposit of galena, which was afterward called "the golden vein," and carried away some specimens. He was not a lead miner. Whatever Francis Valle may have thought about the silver tradition, he applied himself to the production of lead. The Indians brought in the metal rudely smelted and traded it. They resented the efforts of the white men to mine. Francis Valle and his sons built a block house to protect the mines. The Indians attacked it. One of the sons was killed. Operations were suspended, but there was demand for lead. Mining was resumed. Again the Indians attacked. Again occurred a suspension. It was only temporary Ste. Genevieve flourished on the trade. Spanish governors exercised a rather lax authority over the lead fields. Gradually St. Louis began to take notice of opportunities outside of the fur trade. The American Revolution created a more than normal demand for lead. Shipments of lead which were started down the river never reached New Orleans. The boats which had been loaded at Ste. Genevieve were found empty and adrift below the mouth of the Ohio.

The Valles were of the sturdy French pioneer stock which could not be daunted by disaster. They applied to the lead industry the same courage and persistence which gave to St. Louis supremacy in the fur trade. With the Valles were associated in the early lead mining the Prattes and the Beauvais families. One of the Valles had three lovely daughters, who were wooed and won by three gallant Rozier brothers, Felix, Francis and Firmin. Good lead land went to the daughters for dowry. The Roziers acquired more lead land and were interested in mining enterprises.

Julian Dubuque was the first St. Louisan to go into lead mining. He was a Canadian who had settled in Cahokia. His fur trading trips to the Upper Mississippi took him among the Sacs and Foxes. These Indians conceived great admiration for the trader. Dubuque was no ordinary character. He had the qualifications of natural leadership. He knew Indian character. Ten years after St. Louis was founded, the Sacs and Foxes persuaded Dubuque to come and live with them. They made him their counselor. All question of tribal importance were taken to him for his opinion. The beginning of the confidence was the cure of a rattle-snake bite by the trader. Thirty-five years Dubuque lived with the tribe near the site of the city in Iowa

which bears his name. For many years he was the only white man these Indians would permit to remain among them. His Indian name was La Petit Nuit.

Dubuque's life with the tribe began about 1775. A few years later, in 1788, the Indians met in solemn council and conferred the grant of a lead mine on their white friend. Some years afterwards, Baron Carondelet, then governor-general of Louisiana, confirmed this grant. Dubuque worked his lead mine, shipping the product to St. Louis. He came down occasionally to visit his old friends. His ambition was to have Pierre Chouteau, Jr., then a boy, join him and inherit the lead mine and the good will of the Indians. Young Chouteau went back with Dubuque at the end of one of these visits and remained several years. When General Pike went up the Mississippi in 1805 to explore the head waters, and to report on the country along the west bank, he saw Dubuque. For some reason the latter wouldn't talk much. He told the general his grant was twenty-eight leagues long, and from one to three leagues wide. That was quite a strip of Iowa. The grant of Carondelet wasn't shown. Dubuque said Soulard had it in St. Louis. He told General Pike that the output was from twenty thousand to fifty thousand tons of lead yearly. Pike in his report rather discredited Dubuque's statements. Dubuque died in 1809. His faithful admirers put the body in a lead coffn and buried it on Dubuque's Bluff. For a long time they kept a lamp burning over the grave every night. Dubuque left a will in which he made Auguste Chouteau his executor. He seems to have felt he had a title to the grant which could be conveyed, for he treated it as an estate which could be encumbered. Bradbury, the scientific explorer, in 1811, became much interested in the Dubuque grant and wrote about the controversy over it:

> Formerly these Indians, the Sacs and Foxes, gave permission to a person of the name of Dubuque to dig lead. He resided in their village, being much respected by them, and acquired some property, the management of which, after his death fell into the hands of Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis, who in 1810 advertised for sale Dubuque's property in the mines or his right of digging lead. It was bought by Colonel Smith, the proprietor of Mine Belle Fontaine, and Mr. Moorhead of St. Louis for about three thousand dollars. They ascended the Mississippi with an armed party to take possession but were roughly handled by the Indians and happy in having escaped with their lives. The Indians immediately afterwards called a council, and being fearful of giving offense to the American government, sent deputies to St. Louis to plead their cause before Governor Howard and General Clark. The deputies performed their mission with great ability; first disclaiming any intention to continue the grant beyond the life of Dubuque, and secondly any wish to offend the government by driving away Smith and Moorhead. They next stated that when the Great Spirit gave the land to the red men, their ancestors, he foresaw that the white men would come into their country, and that the game would be destroyed; therefore, out of his great goodness. He put lead into the ground that they, their wives and children might continue to exist. They lastly appealed to the justice of their Great Father, the President of the United States. Governor Howard and General Clark approved of their conduct and assured them the protection of the government.
>
> The ore is raised by the men but the smelting is done by the squaws. The method by which they extract the metal was described to me by Mr. Prior who was of the Lewis and Clark party and who traded with these Indians for lead. They first dig a deep cavity in the ground, near a perpendicular bank of the Mississippi, and from the face of the

bank make a horizontal hole to meet the bottom of it. A quantity of dry wood is then thrown into the cavity and set fire to, after which the ore is thrown in and the supply of both is continued. The metal runs out at the horizontal opening, and is received in holes made by the Indians with their heels in the sand of the river. In this state it is bought by the traders from St. Louis, who afterwards cast it into pigs in their own moulds.

The decision of General Clark stood until the Sacs and Foxes were removed in 1832. Then the St. Louis representatives of Dubuque's estate took possession under the Carondelet grant and began improvements. The government claimed the land by virtue of purchase and ejected the holders of Dubuque's title. The mines were worked under government leases on royalties until 1847, when the land was sold. One of the early plants for manufacturing white lead was at Buffalo. Pig lead from the Dubuque district was brought down the Mississippi to St. Louis, trans-shipped to New Orleans, then sent by sailing vessel to New York and finally up the Hudson and by way of the Erie Canal to Buffalo. That was long before railroads. The Buffalo manufacturers, by way of improving transportation, established an ox-team express which hauled their pigs of lead across Wisconsin to Lake Michigan, where they were taken by boats around the lake route.

Bradbury was one of the earliest scientific visitors in the Southeast Missouri lead field, going there about 1811:

On a Saturday evening I arrived at the Mine Belle Fontaine, and employed myself until night in examining the substances thrown out by the diggers, and found the most interesting specimens among the refuse of one man who, on that account, I particularly noticed. On the following morning I met him in the village, dressed in a white gown, with red slippers, and a blue silk waistcoat, embroidered with silver lace.

Some of these mines have fallen into the hands of Americans, who have ventured to penetrate the rock which is always found at a depth of from six to twelve feet below the surface, and have been amply rewarded for their enterprise. I remained a few days with Mr. Elliot, who at that time had only just commenced on the rock but had the most promising prospects of success. He had raised a considerable quantity of ore, and many tons of blende and with the last had repaired the road to his works, not knowing what substance it was. Mr. Moses Austin, proprietor of Mine-a-Burton, had been very successful, having found large masses of ore in the caves of the rock into which he had penetrated.

Louis Labeaume de Tateron came to St. Louis to be secretary to the Spanish lieutenant-governor, Trudeau. He dropped the prefix which indicated his descent from a noble family and became plain, democratic Louis Tateron Labeaume. For that action he had the precedent set by a number of St. Louis families of distinguished lineage. After the American occupation Mr. Labeaume was judge of the court of common pleas. He held one of the grants of lead lands to the southwest of St. Louis. His place was called Richwoods mines. On a square league he dug forty holes four feet deep, widely scattered. In thirty-eight of them he found lead.

The first notable improvement in lead mining methods was introduced by an adventurous Connecticut man. Moses Austin came to St. Louis about 1798. He visited the lead mines and saw at once the opportunity for improvement. It is tradition that until Austin came sheet lead was unknown. The shrewd New Englander smelted ore and poured it on a flat rock to produce the first sheet. Governor Trudeau was impressed with Austin's

shrewdness. He was encouraging American settlers. On conditions, the governor granted Austin a league which included about one-third of the Mine-a-Burton lead field. In accordance with the proviso, Austin built a furnace and sunk a shaft. He increased the production largely. He built for his home an imposing stone castle, which was one of the wonders of the lead country. Ostensibly the fortifications were for protection against the Indians. Subsequent events rather indicated that Austin never forgot that he was an American, and looked forward to the time when the American flag would fly west of the Mississippi forcibly, if not peaceably. He borrowed Spanish cannon from the commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and failed to return them when the Spaniards evacuated Upper Louisiana. Austin seems to have entertained the hope of silver, although he didn't waste time looking for it, but turned out lead for several years. When the American occupation took place, Austin told Captain Stoddard that the ore of Mine la Motte carried fifty ounces of silver to the ton. The Mine la Motte, up to 1804, had produced 8,000 tons of lead, but it had not shown enough silver to pay for the extraction. Austin grew tired of his lead mining and smelting soon after the American occupation. He went to Mexico and got a grant in Texas for colonization purposes. On his way back to Mssouri to raise his colony he was killed. His son, Stephen Austin, took up his father's prospect and led the colony to Texas. Stephen Austin was one of the pioneers in the movement for Texas independence, and the capital of the state was named after him.

Before Moses Austin became enamored of the opportunity to help found a republic in Texas he had taken out of Mine-a-Burton 9,360,000 pounds of lead. This lead was transported to the river either on pack animals or on carts, with great wooden wheels having no tires. The Indians called these wooden wheeled carts of the French pioneers "barefooted wagons." When St. Louis, under an enterprising municipal administration, put in the first street paving on Main street, there was bitter opposition. The argument was made that the wooden wheels of the "barefooted wagons" would go to pieces on the cobble stone paving and that the country trade would be lost.

The Austin home was the most formidable private residence of Missouri in that day, not excepting the mansions of the Chouteaus with their walled-in grounds, at St. Louis. Austin's home was a castle. It suggested the possibility of something more than defense against Indians. For three generations Austin's castle was the pride of Potosi, which became the name of Mine-a-Burton. It stood until the fire of 1871 played havoc with the ancient mining center.

In November, 1809, this notice appeared in the Gazette, informing the St. Louis public of the inauguration of a new industry:

"John N. Maclot having completed the erection of his shot tower at Herculaneum,—the first in the West,—gives notice to his friends and the public that he will manufacture lead into drop-shot on reasonable terms."

More than half a century after this announcement, the scaffolding of the tower still projected over the edge of the limestone cliff. Travelers on

the boats approaching or leaving St. Louis were told the story of the early enterprise. John Nicholas Maclot was from Metz. He was in Paris just before the French Revolution. Suspected of republican sentiments he suffered imprisonment in the Bastile. When released he came to this country. After some mercantile experience in Philadlphia, he came to St. Louis with a stock of goods, the year of American occupation. The opportunity to make shot appealed to his inventive mind and he went down to Herculaneum a new settlement which Moses Austin, the Connecticut pioneer was establishing. Austin was working the lead mines at Potosi. He proposed to make Herculaneum on the river the shipping point for the mines. Just below the town was a very high and overhanging cliff. To Maclot the conditions suggested a shot-tower with the altitude provided by nature. About all that was needed was to build on the edge of the cliff the place to melt and drop, with the proper receptacle at the base.

This was the first shot making establishment west of Pittsburg. Maclot continued his manufacture some years. He dropped from the Herculaneum cliff the lead which made buckshot and bullets for the War of 1812. When the Battle of New Orleans was fought on the eighth of January Maclot was there. He got off a letter to Mr. Cabanne, in St. Louis. This was what he wrote:

> The enemy have reembarked leaving their wounded and prisoners. They landed 9,966 men. After the action, 1,906 were missing in the next morning's report. They acknowledge a loss in the various engagements of over 3,600. Their total loss may be put down at 4,000.

Mr. Cabanne carried the letter to Colonel Charless. The Gazette came out with the glorious news. That night St. Louis illuminated. At least one candle burned in every window of the town "in honor of the brilliant success of the American arms at New Orleans," as Colonel Charless put it.

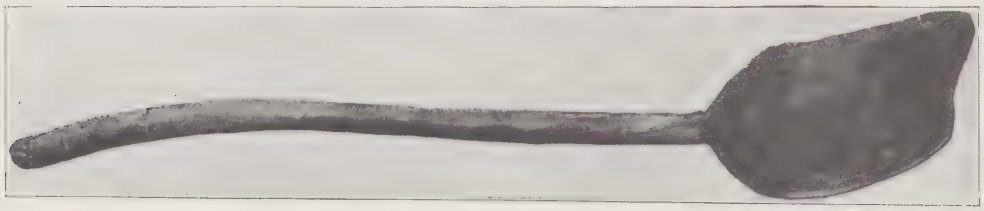
Maclot was the son of John Maclot de Coligny. He came of good family in Lorraine. He rendered the city of his adoption great service. Like some other pioneers of St. Louis, he did not have the fortune to hand down his family name, although he left descendants. His wife was a daughter of Charles Gratiot, Marie Therese, named in honor of her grandmother Madame Chouteau. The two daughters of Maclot became the wives of Henry A. Thomson of the United States Army and Pierre A. Berthold. Two daughters by a second wife, who was Miss Mathieu of Philadelphia, were Mrs. Wallace and Mrs Weston.

In 1810, pirogues in the lead trade went up the Meramec river to the Big river and hence up Big River, sixty miles. St. Louis had direct interest in the Meramec Diggings, as they were called. Travelers, looking into material conditions, were much impressed with the lead industry as a business interest of St. Louis. The Duke of Saxe Weimar who came under the patronage of the King of the Netherlands, wrote:

> I was told, that the lead ore lies almost on the surface, and is so extensive, that it is not worth the trouble to dig for it deep. If therefore a shaft is pushed so deep as to strike water, this shaft is abandoned and another opened. The easy method of working will last until the owner has labored over every part of his territory; then he will be obliged to have recourse to water pumps, and steam engines. On Fever river, on the Upper Missis-

FIRMIN DESLOGE

JULES VALLE



WOODEN SHOVEL USED BY PIONEER LEAD MINERS

EXCAVATING FOR MASTODON SKELETONS IN SUBURBS OF ST. LOUIS

sippi, are also very rich lead works. These, united to the works at Potosi, have delivered, during nine months, 887,298 pounds of lead; the amount of percentage which the United States received from these works during that time, was 104,113 pounds. It is supposed that in the next year the mine works will produce from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 pounds of lead which must be 350,000 pounds for the share of the United States. It is but a few years since these mines were worked.

The Missouri lead miners of a hundred years ago formulated their own mining code. When a hole or pit showed good prospects, the miner made his claim. He took a pole and measured twelve feet every direction from the edge of the hole. That was his claim. The miner could drift that distance but no farther. He must dig a new pit and make a new claim. The only implements of mining were a pick, a wooden shovel and a sledge hammer. The ore, sold at the top of the pit, brought from twenty to twenty-five dollars for one thousand pounds. A miner might make a strike of $500 in a day. He might work months and make nothing.

"A discovery" was the name applied when any considerable body of ore was found in the Missouri field. The prospectors dug holes five or six feet deep. If they found only a few pounds of ore they abandoned the spot. If the holes showed ore in abundance, the news of a discovery spread. Miners flocked to the locality. The new center of activity held its popularity only until there was a larger discovery or one in ground more easily worked. This was the process of mining lead southwest of St. Louis a century ago. The ore was commonly found in slopes near creeks. It was buried in dark red clay, a few feet from the surface. The chunks or lumps of ore were from one to fifty pounds weight. Not infrequently a mass of one thousand or two thousand pounds were found. The lime stone rock was reached at eight or ten feet. There the miners stopped.

Brackenridge, in his Views of Louisiana, told how the Indians mined and smelted lead ore and also what he found at Mine-a-Burton:

> The Indians are badly provided with tools for mining; a common hoe is almost the only instrument which they use. They merely scratch away the soil a few feet, and the ore may be said, without exaggeration, to be pried up, in the manner of stones in a quarry. The mode of smelting is equally rude. The ore is thrown on piles of wood and the lead is afterwards gathered up in cakes, in the shapes and forms assumed by melted lead when carelessly thrown on a hearth. It is afterwards melted by the traders and made into pigs by the use of moulds.
>
> We entered the village of Mine-a-Burton in the evening, situated in a long narrow defile, on the banks of a small stream, the houses being on each side and far apart. It was a very humble village, the dwellings more properly cabins than houses, with the exception of that of Colonel Austin, the nabob of the place, whose dwelling situated on an elevated point, had comparatively something of a castle-like appearance.
>
> The name of diggings was much more appropriate than that of mines, for they were nothing more than numerous pits, with the red earth thrown out near them, like newly dug wells. These covered a space in some places of ten or twenty acres, with the remains of hastily constructed cabins, the superficial search after the ore having been accomplished and the explorers having gone in pursuit of other discoveries; for such is the name given to the latest diggings where some one has been so lucky as to find an abundance of ore near the surface. The divining rod, I was informed, was pretty generally used; but I presume the more observing and experienced formed their opinions from the

appearance and color of the clay, the deposits on the surface and other peculiarities in the configuration of the land.

At the time of Brackenridge's visit to the Missouri lead mines, John Smith was one of the most noted captains of that industry. Colonel Smith entertained the first newspaper correspondent of St. Louis and made this impression upon him:

> There was nothing in his appearance to denote the fierce belligerent. He was a small man, of a delicate frame, even somewhat effeminate in his appearance—mild, blue eyes, fair hair, fair complexion—his face smooth and youthful, although he was not less than forty years of age. His manners in his family were mild and gentle; kindness and benevolence appeared to be the natural growth of his heart. Mrs. Smith seemed to be one of the most amiable of her sex, and their only child a daughter about ten years old, seemed to possess the modesty and sweetness of disposition of her mother.
>
> To enable the reader to form an idea of the desperate intrepidity of my host, I will select from a hundred instances the following: One of the diggers at the mines, a man of ferocious character and herculean frame, either of his own accord, or instigated by some of the imps of Satan about the mines, resolved to assassinate the colonel, and thus get rid of the floating grant and the great monopolist. Taking his rifle, for he was a great shot, he went to the house of his intended victim, and challenged him to a trial of skill at a mark, that is to say, the best in three at the head of a nail, at the distance of sixty yards. The challenge was, of course, promptly accepted, and they proceeded to some distance from the house, where the ruffian seized the first opportunity, when the colonel was off his guard, to turn the muzzle of his rifle on his unsuspecting companion; but in the haste which attended guilt, his ball passed through the colonel's left shoulder without inflicting a mortal wound. He fell; the assailant rushed upon him, and fell with him to the ground, though uppermost; while the colonel, whose presence of mind never forsook him, drew his dirk, but missing his aim, drove it into his own thigh; he drew it out, struck the assassin on the ribs; the weapon bent, and as a last desperate effort, he drew it across the stomach of the ruffian, inflecting a mortal wound. The assassin who had been endeavoring to seize the Colonel by the throat, now released his hold, and they both lay for some time bathed in blood. The slaves coming up, carried them both into the house. And here it may be mentioned, as a proof of the magnanimity of the colonel, that by his orders every attention was paid to his treacherous enemy until he died of his wounds.

For many years the smelting of lead was about as crude as the mining. As late as 1810 there was but one regular furnace in operation in the Meramec field. The common way was to build a stone furnace on the side of a hill, the top open, an arched entrance at the bottom. Three large logs, four feet long, were rolled into the furnace. Small logs and pieces of wood were piled around. The ore, in lumps as large as could be handled conveniently, was thrown on top of the wood. Fire was lighted in the evening. The next morning there was melted lead in the hole dug at the entrance to the arch. This was poured into moulds and formed the pigs. The custom was to put six thousand pounds of ore in at one firing. The first smelting gave about three thousand pounds of lead. The scorched ore and ashes or slag were put through the ash furnace and yielded from twenty-five to thirty per cent more lead. Even the stone furnace was an improvement on the time of Renault. Then the ore was thrown on log heaps and the product was whatever melted and ran down into hollows dug in the ground. A stick was thrust into the ground near the end of each hollow or mould. This was burned out and left a hole through each pig of

lead. Thongs were run through the holes and the pigs of lead were carried to the river on pack horses.

About 1854 Professor Whitney, a geologist of high rank, made the prediction that lead mining in Missouri was a lost industry. He thought the ore bodies had been nearly exhausted. In 1907 the southeastern Missouri lead district, directly tributary to St. Louis, produced in round figures 98,000 tons of lead worth $10,150,000. At the same time H. A. Wheeler, the consulting mining engineer, ventured the prediction that the district was passing from shallow to deep mining with the prospect of still more handsome results in the future. He reasoned that the field could be extended from St. Francois and Madison counties into Washington county; that the shallow deposits of the latter are "underlaid with disseminated ore bodies." He cited geological evidence to sustain his theory.

Last year the mines poured into St. Louis 1,998,870 pigs of lead. A pig is eighty pounds. A generation fifty years ago didn't produce so much. This prodigious increase came about through the disseminated lead mining. Before the Civil war there was a locality called Bonne Terre. It wasn't a town, or even a village. It was a place where the ground looked favorable for scattered lead. Therefore the miners called it Bonne Terre. Two houses were the only evidences of settlement. Two grants had been given. One was to Andrew Pratte; the other to Buron Pratte; they were brothers and connected with one of the earliest St. Louis families. Anthony LaGrave came to Bonne Terre. He was a Canadian Frenchman, who had turned lead miner. After considerable prospecting LaGrave settled upon Bonne Terre as the best thing he could find. The surface had been worked over. That wasn't what had taken the eye of LaGrave. In a bluff on the edge of a creek, the Canadian had seen and studied a ledge of limestone which was full of lead. The formation looked as if, when the limestone was in plastic state, liquid lead had been injected through it until it was hard to tell whether lead or limestone was the principal part of the mixture. LaGrave thought he saw possibilities in working this lead charged rock. He bought the Andrew Pratte land. Tradition has it that the price paid was about $900.

LaGrave went to work on the ledge of limestone. He laid up poles somewhat after the fashion of cob houses which children build. When the pile was high enough the chunks of lead bearing limestone were heaped on top and fire was started. The lead was not melted but the ore was roasted. The heating made the limestone brittle. LaGrave put the ore into hoppers with an old-fashioned grinding apparatus, something like an immense coffee mill. This grinding machine was run by mule power. It broke the limestone from the galena. Washing by hand power completed the separation. The smelting was done in a furnace which LaGrave set up on a primitive plan. This treatment was carried on several years. LaGrave got the reputation of successful extraction of lead from the rock. His method was much talked about in the lead region. LaGrave sunk a shaft down through the loose ground and into the limestone

far enough to give an idea of the magnificent dimensions of the disseminated lead body. But all of the time this pioneer was treating the disseminated ore, he was sending his wagons through the Flat river diggings and buying pure galena from surface diggings to smelt at his Bonne Terre furnace. These operations of LaGrave began some time before the war. They were continued during the war. The Iron Mountain railroad was built to the vicinity of Ironton. It was not far west of Bonne Terre. LaGrave hauled his pig lead to the railroad and shipped it to St. Louis. The amount of these shipments was so noticeable that it attracted attention in St. Louis. The news circulated that LaGrave was getting lead from the rock and among those who became interested was Mr. Barlow, an official of the Iron Mountain Railroad. This was Joseph C. Barlow a relative of Stephen D. Barlow. Impressed with the magnitude of LaGrave's shipments Mr. Barlow brought the property to the attention of J. Wyman Jones and other eastern men who organized the St. Joe Lead Company. And then began the development of the disseminated lead ore bodies according to practical and economical methods, born of the genius of Charles B. Parsons, who came from Massachusetts.

Properly classed, the disseminated lead ore production has been always a St. Louis industry, although eastern capital and brains took hold of the opportunity and showed what was in it. Firmin Desloge, a native of the lead mining district of southeast Missouri, educated in St. Louis, was one of the pioneers in the disseminated lead ore development. His father came from France about 1818, was a merchant, dealt in lead and in lead lands. The second Firmin Desloge had his apprenticeship at the lead business in old Potosi. There were times when the industry staggered under adverse conditions. Two men—Charles B. Parsons and Firmin Desloge—remained steadfastly with it until they had fully demonstrated the yielding value of the disseminated ore. They found lead almost at the grass roots. They went down through lead bearing rock to a depth of four hundred feet. It is forty years since treatment of the disseminated ores was undertaken seriously. The production of the district in that time has been a steady growth from 6,000 to 100,000 tons of lead. Varying somewhat with the price of lead, the district has been sending to St. Louis from $6,000,000 to $10,000,000 worth of lead annually.

Sixty years ago the Flat river country was famous. Forty years ago it became famous again. Today it is more famous than it ever was. It is sending to St. Louis millions where during former periods of fame it sent thousands of dollars in pig lead. Flat river is vital to a great St. Louis industry. Three generations ago the miners burrowed in shallow workings seeking pure galena. They didn't go down to the limestone with lead in vast quantities disseminated through it. Surface mining the method was called. One-tenth of the lead found by the miner went to the owner of the land. Some of the old St. Louis families had good incomes from these royalties, while the lead produced went to swell the commerce of the city. Fortunes, as wealth was estimated before the Civil war, were made out of Flat river and the other southeast Missouri

diggings. Galena was currency, just as furs had been in an earlier day at St. Louis. The stores took galena in trade and heaped it up until called for. Wagons were sent through the diggings on regular trips to collect the galena and haul it away to the furnaces at Mineral Point and Hopewell and elsewhere. As the ore was collected by these wagoners cash was paid for it.

Titles to the lead lands of southeast Missouri are traced back to the days of the Spanish governors at St. Louis. Grants were bestowed by those officials. The grantee was usually some person who had deserved well of the government or who could offer the inducement that he would develop the property and add to the prosperity of the province. If there was private graft in connection with these transactions before the American occupation history has not preserved record of it. These grants were usually of 1,000 arpents, or by the measurement of today about 800 acres. Very few of the owners worked the land. They let miners come on and dig for a share of what was found. This royalty was usually about ten per cent. The pioneer miners sunk well-like shafts fifteen or twenty feet. They took out only the loose mineral. They did not attempt to do anything with the lead in the limestone rock. For some years before the American occupation in 1804, Ste. Genevieve was the place of residence of most of those who held grants to these lead lands. But St. Louis was the capital and gradually residents of St. Louis acquired control of the industry. In the days of "gophering" after lead in this region those who were successful accumulated as much as $40,000 and $50,000.

One custom to encourage prospecting gave to the discoverer of new diggings all that he took out on one hundred square feet of the ground on which he sunk his first shaft. When he went beyond this measurement he began to give the owner the ten per cent. When mining began in the southeast Missouri field there were evidences that the Indians had obtained lead there. The aboriginal process of smelting was very simple. The Indians heaped up a pile of wood, threw the ore on top of it and let the lead run down on the ground. They resented the coming of the white miners. Blockhouses were built to protect the first miners. "Old Man Frye," who lived to be one hundred and sixteen years old, was a pioneer in the lead diggings. He was engaged to marry the daughter of Andrew Baker, another pioneer in the lead region. At that time a wedding meant a walk to Ste. Genevieve to have the ceremony performed. A wedding party was made up and with quite an escort the couple set out to walk the thirty or fifty miles at a leisurely pace. Young Frye and Miss Baker wore their wedding clothes. Their friends were in holiday garb. They had walked about ten miles when a band of Indians stopped them and made them prisoners. The intentions of the party were explained to the captors. Instead of showing sympathy the Indians took a humorous view of the situation. After some minutes of deliberation, the Indians stripped every member of the party. They allowed the young lady to retain a single garment. To the other members of the party they left nothing.

About 1856 Granby was the talk of all St. Louis. Those persons who held Granby shares were esteemed highly fortunate by their fellow citizens. Down

in southwest Missouri, long before the days of railroads, in 1853, a Cornishman found lead on the farm of a man named Richardson who was holding the land under squatter's right. Prospectors flocked in to look for the galena. Nuggets by the ton were taken out. Smelting was of the crudest character, the metal in pigs was hauled by ox teams to Boonville and shipped down the river to St. Louis. The Granby company was organized in St. Louis. The Blows, the Kennetts, John S. McCune, James B. Eads, perhaps others, went into it. They built a smelter. They systematized the methods of production. They acquired 7,000 acres of land. Before 1861, there were four thousand miners digging ore in and about Granby and bringing it to the smelter of the company. The profits of the Granby company reached the enormous sum of $500,000 a year.

As the miners raised lead ore from the shallow shafts at Granby they brought up with it a black crystalline mineral which none of them recognized as of any value. They called the stuff "black jack." Miners who went out to Granby from the lead diggings in southeast Missouri recognized the black jack as the same worthless mineral they had been throwing out of the mines at Potosi and elsewhere, though not in such enormous quantities. Around the shafts of Granby black jack in thousands of tons was heaped and left.

A man named Hasselmeyer manufactured and sold candy in St. Louis. He had a laboratory and gave his leisure hours to chemical experiments. He dabbled in mineralogy. Specimens of black jack brought to St. Louis, along with nuggets of galena, aroused the interest of Hasselmeyer. The candy maker took the specimens to his laboratory. He came out with the announcement that they were zinc ore. Hasselmeyer sold his candy business, went down to Potosi, acquired a lot of supposed refuse, built a smelter and turned out the first slab of zinc ever manufactured in that region. That was a great day for black jack. Potosi celebrated. Judge George D. Reynolds of St. Louis, then a young lawyer, made a speech predicting alluring possibilities for the new industry. But neither the orator nor hearers realized the consequences. Hasselmeyer moved his zinc smelter to Carondelet, where it in time became the Glendale. The black jack which had been accumulating on dumps throughout southeast Missouri for generations was bought up and shipped to St. Louis for reduction. Down at Granby there was an industrial revolution. There the black jack lay already mined in small mountains. The company transformed it into dividends and began to dig for more. Lead ore was the by-product. The zinc field spread. Joplin became the center.

In 1818 the Missouri Gazette announced that "in despite of the savages, Indian and British, this country is progressing in improvements. A red and white lead manufactory has been established by a citizen of Philadelphia by the name of Hertzog. This enterprising citizen has caused extensive works to be erected, to which he has added a handsome brick house in our principal street for retailing merchandise. We understand that his agents have already sent several thousand dollars' worth of manufactured lead to the Atlantic States."

HENRY T. BLOW

JAMES HARRISON

COLLIER WHITE LEAD WORKS, ABOUT 1855

In 1810 there was one white lead factory in the United States. It made 369 tons that year. The infant industry was one of the results of the acquisition of Louisiana. Tench Coxe reported to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, that "establishments to make pigments were erected in one season sufficient, with the shot factories, to utilize all the product which was likely to reach Atlantic ports. Red and white lead and patent yellows are now made in considerable quantities." Secretary Gallatin sent the report to Congress.

Seventy years the industry of white lead production has been growing in St. Louis. Twenty years ago it reached an output of from 18,000 to 20,000 tons annually. The manufacture of sheet lead and of pipe has been a St. Louis industry, owing its prosperity to the tributary lead region. There was a time when the shot towers of St. Louis turned out 40 percent. of the shot manufactured in the United States.

Not much market for white lead west of the Mississippi was found in the pioneer days. A good stiff clay to chink the logs was more to be desired than a keg of paint. William Glasgow, Jr., built works to turn Missouri lead into white lead. He had as superintendent Isaac Gregg of Pittsburg. This establishment was operated five years and then burned. At the same time Bacon & Hyde built a small white lead factory. But the real father of white lead manufacture, the man who made it one of the great industries of St. Louis, was Henry T. Blow. Dr. Silas Reed began experiments in white lead making, and Henry T. Blow took them up, developing the Collier works. Blow was followed by Thomas Richeson.

St. Louis proved to be the best place in the United States for the manufacture of white lead. It had advantages other than nearness to the pig lead supply. Oil was cheaper here. The oak timber to make the kegs came into this market. In the early days Henry T. Blow brought castor beans and made free distribution of them to farmers around St. Louis in order to encourage production. One of Mr. Blow's purchases of castor beans was brought up the river on a steamboat which was conveying immigrants to St. Louis. A bag of beans on the lower deck bursted and wrought havoc among the unfortunate people who cooked and ate the beans.

There was romance in the lead industry. William H. Pulsifer of St. Louis, having some financial concern in lead production, was asked to prepare an historical paper upon the subject. He became greatly interested as he investigated. The result was a volume of nearly 400 pages. Very modestly Mr. Pulsifer called his book "Notes for a History of Lead." He spoke of it as a compilation. He asked to have it considered "an amplification of the article prepared as an after-dinner paper for a paint club." The book was published twenty years ago, and is today a standard work on lead, and on the manufacture of white lead. The historical research was the more notable because the author was interested in the industry only as a side investment. Mr. Pulsifer found among

other interesting things about lead and its derivatives this account of an ancient household argument against the use of face paint:

Isomachus had a beautiful young wife, who followed the prevailing fashion and rouged and powdered her lovely face, and moreover wore highheeled shoes to add height to her figure. "Tell me, my dear wife," said Isomachus to her one day, "in which case would you consider me the more worthy of your affection and esteem, if I truly informed you of my estate, or if I pretended to possess more than I really owned, and concealed some things from you; if I gave you false silver, a wooden chain plated with gold, and purple raiment which would not retain its hue." "Oh! don't speak so," interrupted his wife, "you could not do such a thing. If you were like that I could not love you." "Then," said Isomachus, "have we not a partnership in our bodies as well as in our possessions?" "Yes," she replied, "it is so considered." "Then," said Isomachus, "would I treat you with the most loving consideration if I smeared my body with minium, and painted under my eyes in order to deceive you; or if I so cared for my body that it should be healthy and strong, and thereby be in truth and by nature painted. Would you prefer, when you pressed your lips to my cheek, to touch my own natural and healthy skin, or a plaster of ceruse and minium?" "Ah," she cried, "it would be much more pleasant to touch your skin and to see you as you really are, and not with powder on your cheeks and paint under your eyes." "Believe me," said Isomachus, "I like not ceruse or minium on your dear face."

He then explained to her that such arts might possibly deceive a stranger, but could not her husband, as the bath and her tears would soon remove the cosmetic coating. The young wife was quickly persuaded that as every creature in his own natural condition best pleases himself, so man considers the unadorned beauty of woman the most adorned.

The white lead industry was seemingly about to be revolutionized in 1870-80. There were taken out thirty-five patents in that decade to improve on the old method of white lead manufacture. St. Louis had become a great center of white lead production. Local capital was invested in the new processes; plants were erected here and in several other cities. The new processes failed and were abandoned after some costly experimenting. Many centuries ago "Theophilus, a humble monk and priest," as he described himself, "wrote in his Book of Various Arts, how to make white lead and paints. So little is known of Theophilus, that historians dispute whether he lived in the seventh or the thirteenth century. To this day the monk's directions guide the St. Louis makers of paints. On Clark avenue, between Ninth and Eleventh streets, the principles upon which Theophilus, at least nine hundred years ago, based his rules for corroding lead are still followed. The inventors now confine themselves to improvements of minor details. They have ceased to invent new processes. Very few establishments for manufacturing white lead have been started in the past twenty years. The old concerns have enlarged their capacities and have reduced the cost of production. They have so completely occupied the field that encouraging opportunities for new enterprises do not exist.

William H. Gregg came into the white lead industry in 1867. He and his associates organized the Southern White Lead company. For twenty-two years Mr. Gregg was the president. Under his management this concern grew until it was turning out one-sixth of all of the white lead manufactured in the United States. Mr. Gregg was a New Yorker, from Palmyra; descended from

Captain James Gregg, who came out with a Scotch colony to found the town of Londonderry, New Hampshire, nearly sixty years before the American Revolution. He had twenty years successful experience in St. Louis mercantile life before he became a manufacturer of white lead. He became identified with the white lead industry at a time when pig lead was hauled to St. Louis in farm wagons from Franklin and Washington counties, ten and twenty pigs at a load. The time came when the Collier, the St. Louis and the Southern were manufacturing here over thirty per cent of the entire white lead product of the United States.

In the evolution of the white lead industry the product under the St. Louis trademark became known and used in every state and territory of the Union. So valuable was the reputation of white lead manufactured in St. Louis that manufacturers in other cities adopted forms of labels for their kegs which, while not precisely like those put upon the packages from the St. Louis factories, were so similar as to be mistaken for them at a casual glance. The St. Louis companies found that in remote parts of the country white lead under misleading labels was being purchased for the St. Louis product. They went into the United States court at Chicago and on the showing of the superiority of the St. Louis product obtained injunctions restraining outside manufacturers from using the imitation labels. They obtained judicial support of their contention that "the name St. Louis, on a package of white lead, is of itself a recommendation or guarantee." This was nearly a quarter of a century ago. William H. Gregg, William H. Pulsifer, Fletcher W. Rockwell, Henry S. Platt and Alexander Euston were among the St. Louisans who obtained this remarkable judicial tribute to the character of a St. Louis industry.

Natural was the evolution from pig lead and white lead to paint, with twenty-five St. Louis manufacturers turning out annually over seven million dollars in paints and varnishes. The ten million dollars worth of pig lead which the mines of Missouri now annually send to St. Louis is the base of a pyramid of industries. From twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of this lead remains here. It is the raw material which enters into various forms of manufacturing. The industries which this pig lead thus encourages add over twenty-five million dollars to the productive trade of the city. They are sustained by millions of dollars invested capital. They give employment to an army of salaried and wage people.

Lead furnished St. Louis the inspiration of a variety of industries. After Silas Reed and Henry T. Blow developed and perfected the manufacture of white lead, what was more natural than for St. Louis to become the seat of linseed oil manufactures. Quite as a matter of course followed the making of other oils. Near St. Louis were found deposits which made profitable the production of mineral paint. The evolution of these industries encouraged the making of chemicals and kindred products until this city became known the world over for these lines of manufacturing.

About 1852 the manufacture of sheet lead and lead pipe began. Within two years the entire Mississippi valley was supplied from St. Louis with lead

pipe. The product in twelve months was two million pounds. It was shipped out on large reels or coiled in casks. The manufacture of sheet lead quickly reached one million two hundred thousand pounds a year. With the raw material close at hand, St. Louis demonstrated the ability to manufacture at prices with which other points could not compete. At that time the St. Louis shot tower was manufacturing nearly twenty-five thousand pounds of shot daily. In five months of 1854 the shot tower turned out one million nine hundred and ninety-four thousand pounds of shot and four hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds of bar lead, according to Captain Simonds' books. Blatchford & Collins were early manufacturers of sheet and pipe lead. William H. Thompson went into this industry and laid the foundation of the fortune which grew with the National Bank of Commerce. Chadbourne developed the manufacture of shot on a scale which made St. Louis one of the chief centers of this industry.

In the siege of Pensacola a Spaniard named Antonio was captured. He bragged to the French about the mining he had done in Mexico. The company sent Antonio to the Missouri lead country. The Spaniard dug down to the ore, broke off some pieces and treated them. Announcement was made that the result was several drachms of silver. Encouraged by this alleged prospect, a mining company under La Renandiere took charge of the work. With a costly outfit this organization made an utter failure. It not only got no silver, but couldn't produce lead. Then came Renault, of whom Charlevoix wrote:

"In the month of June last Renault found a bed of lead two feet in thickness, running to a great length over a chain of mountains, where he has set his people to work. He flatters himself that there is silver below the lead. Everybody is not of his opinion, but time will discover the truth."

Inspiring and encouraging this early seeking for silver in southeast Missouri was John Law's Mississippi scheme. The bubble collapsed while Renault was still seeking for silver. To encourage the banker-miner, the French commandant at Fort Chartres granted him a tract of land extending northward to the Meramec. In those days this river was called the Merameg, which was Indian for catfish.

Renault was a banker in Paris. He studied mineralogy. Forty-three years before the settlement of St. Louis a company was formed to mine for silver in the Mississippi Valley. Renault headed the enterprise. He came up the river bringing several hundred negro slaves from San Domingo. Lead was found, but not the silver. Renault continued his prospecting for years, most of the time in Missouri. His route to the lead country was up the Meramec, south of St. Louis to the Big river, and then up the Big river, or Grande river, as he called it. Renault had two theories: One was that silver veins would be found in the lead country. The other was that the lead ore itself carried a percentage of silver. The explorer worked twelve or fifteen years. He mined considerable lead. He was never able to find silver veins. He could not extract from the lead the silver he supposed was there. After working the Missouri field, searching along the Mississippi to its source, and making a side trip up the

Illinois, Renault went down the river in 1744, leaving most of the San Domingo slaves in the vicinity of Fort Chartres. Some of these slaves were brought to St. Louis by the first settlers.

Previous to Renault's ambitious efforts, the West India Company sent Sieur de Lochon. That was in 1719. The purpose was to mine for silver, not lead. Lochon dug up some ore and worked over it four days. He showed two drachms of silver, claiming to have smelted it out of a pound of lead ore. Charlevoix, who came down the Mississippi later, heard of this. He also noted the suspicion that Lochon first put in the silver which he took out. Lochon tried on a larger scale. He smelted two or three thousand pounds of ore and got no silver. The product was "fourteen pounds of very bad lead." Lochon went back to France.

Renault's workings were not far from what is now Potosi. They remained abandoned for many years. This Spanish theory of silver in connection with lead of southeast Missouri was not without some foundation. Toward the southern limit of the lead field the proportion is largest, but even there it is too small to pay the cost of extraction. More than a century after the failure of the hopes which had set France wild, St. Louis capitalists put money into one of these "Missouri silver mines" and left it there. In 1804 Moses Austin wrote to Captain Stoddard at St. Louis that "the lead ore obtained from Mine La Motte contains fifty ounces of silver to the ton."

As late as 1810 the lead miners in the district near St. Louis held to the theory that silver would be found. Brackenridge, who visited the mining field at that time, wrote:

> The ore contains a considerable proportion of sulphur, arsenic and it is believed, of silver; though in respect to the last it has not been sufficiently tested by experiments to know whether the proportion would repay the trouble and expenses of separating. It is highly probable that the ore of some of these mines may yield it sufficiently. The ore of the Merameg, which I am informed has been partially assayed, gave the most flattering result. Above the rock the ore is found in enormous masses in strata, apparently horizontal, and often two feet thick, and several of these are passed before the rock arrests the progress of the miner, I have seen pits ten or twelve feet deep where the strata of ore had been only dug through, the digger intending to strike the rock before he attempted to undermine; perhaps gratifying his vanity with the pleasing contemplation of the shining mineral, his riches. In the rock there appear to be no regular veins; the ore occupies the accidental fissures as is the case generally in lead mines.

Some of the Americans who settled in St. Louis clung to the theory of silver deposits in Southeast Missouri just as the Spaniards and the French had done. They expended considerable money in seeking for veins. In 1859 a German named Hoeninger found silver in Madison county and sunk a shaft. After a century and more of tradition there was found a well defined vein of silver bearing galena, but the percentage was not profitable.

"The favored child of the mighty valley of the Mississippi, the city of the Iron Crown," Charles P. Johnson called St. Louis in his address to the state immigration convention, April, 1880. The words were not extravagant. At

that time it was confidently believed St. Louis was adjacent to a region "where they have enough ore to run one hundred furnaces for one thousand years."

In 1847 Pilot Knob was considered one of the greatest deposits of iron ore in the country, but it was forty-seven miles from the Mississippi, and the building of a railroad from St. Louis to Iron Mountain had not begun. Lewis V. Bogy purchased an interest in Pilot Knob. The other stockholders became discouraged at the long delay in securing transportation. They offered their shares for sale and Colonel Bogy bought them. The colonel presided over the Pilot Knob Company for some years and gave his attention to the development of the mineral resources. He became president of the Iron Mountain Railroad.

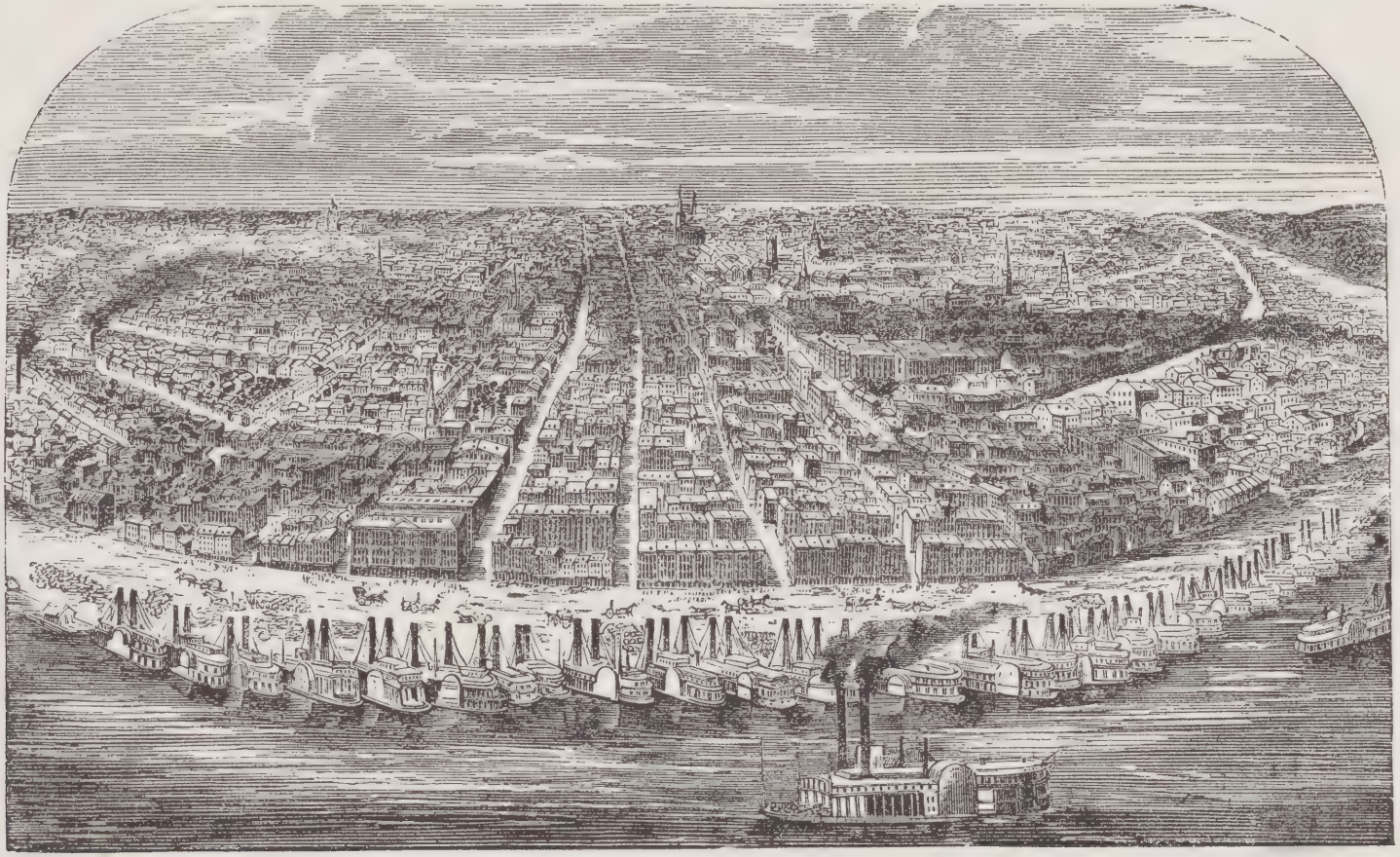
The greatest of St. Louis' expectations, in 1854, was manufacture of iron. At the gates of the city was the coal. Near by and in forms for working almost without parallel in facility were ore bodies thought to be practically inexhaustible. Why should not St. Louis become another Workshop of the World? The fur trade was losing its glamor. There were forebodings that the lead deposits of counties contiguous to St. Louis were being worked out. To the field of iron manufacture the Chouteaus and the Valles and the Harrisons and the Garrisons and the other captains of St. Louis industry turned their attention. They planned for generations. Science encouraged them. Business acumen justified the undertakings.

In the third county south of St. Louis was an Iron Mountain, "one of the most wonderful metalliferous formations in the world." Such was the description in 1854. The practical possibilities for St. Louis were pointed out at that time in this glowing language:

> The ore of the Iron Mountain covers an area of some 500 acres. It rises to a height of some 260 feet above the general level of the country and is estimated to contain above the surface over two hundred million tons of ore. Here is an object for laborers that is capable of supplying the demands, even of English furnaces for generations without going below the general surface of the country. The ore is found in lumps from the size of pebbles of a few ounces to those of 200 or 300 pounds in weight and is gathered from the surface from base to summit to the extent of thousands of tons without any difficulty.

Quality as well as quantity of the ore encouraged the belief that St. Louis "should have the most extensive iron manufactures in the United States." Of the ores of Iron Mountain and of contiguous mines it was said they—

> Usually yield some 68 to 70 per cent of pure iron, and it is so free from injurious substances as to present no obstacle to working it into blooms. The metal is so excellent that much of it and also that from the Pilot Knob is now used by the manufacturers on the Ohio river for mixing with the ores found there, and is especially esteemed for making nails. Combinations of the ores from Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, it is said, will form the best iron in the world for railroad car wheels, and all other purposes requiring great strength and tenacity; and no doubt rails for roads, made from our own mines, would be stronger, consequently safer, wear longer, and for these reasons be cheaper than any other rails that can be made. The ore from the Shepard mountain, in the same vicinity, is different. It is analogous to the Swedes' iron and possibly may be



A VIEW OF ST. LOUIS IN 1860

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

even better than that for the manufacture of steel. It has been tried for this purpose and found excellent. The farmers in the vicinity now lay their plows with it, while it is used for making cold chisels. The agent of Jessup & Sons of Sheffield, England, has ordered ten tons of this particular iron shipped to England for experiment. They make large quantities of steel.

With perfect confidence the St. Louisan before the war spoke of the iron deposits near by as "inexhaustible." At Iron Mountain a shaft had been sunk one hundred and forty-four feet. It gave "fifteen feet of clay and ore, thirty feet of white sand, thirty-three feet of blue porphyry and fifty-three feet of pure iron ore in which they are still at work." This was at the base of the mountain. These explorations were thought to justify the conclusion that "no other country in the world of the same extent has so abundant and accessible supply of iron as Missouri."

Economy of production seemed to be greatly in favor of St. Louis iron manufacturers. It was pointed out that "at the Tennessee works and at the Pennsylvania works it costs from two dollars to five dollars a ton to get the ore to the furnaces. On the Cumberland river, after getting out the ore at the mines and boating it in many instances for miles to the furnaces, it has there to be burned and considerable expense incurred to get it into the furnaces. But at the Knob, the cost of quarrying and hauling, all preparations for smelting the ore, is only from forty to fifty cents per ton, while at the Iron Mountain it is even less."

Two companies in St. Louis were making iron, Chouteau, Harrison and Valle, at Iron Mountain, and the Madison Company, in which Lewis V. Bogy was a leading spirit, at Pilot Knob and Shepard Mountain. All of the iron they could turn out was taken by the foundries and machine shops in St. Louis.

John Magwire was a national authority on iron production in 1872. Eight years before he had made an exhaustive examination of the advantages and adaptability of St. Louis as a manufacturing city for all things manufactured in other parts of the United States. Upon the subject of iron production Mr. Magwire had reached conclusions which influenced the investment of considerable St. Louis capital. In November, 1872, he announced:

> Everybody now knows that owing to the richness and fusibility of Missouri ores, furnaces using those ores and raw Illinois coal mixed with coke, yield from 25 to 35 per cent more iron per day than furnaces of the same dimensions in any other locality of this country, or in Europe, and that the quality of the iron is excellent; that enough good iron can be produced from Missouri ores and Illinois coal to supply the wants of the country; and the fact is now also well known that good pig iron can be produced in Missouri and Illinois at a cost of labor varying not far from that required in Wales, which is the most favorable country of Europe for making iron. There are greater facilities for obtaining ore and coal in Wales than any other country of Europe, but neither in Wales nor upon any other part of the earth's surface, so far as my information goes, are ore and coal so accessible as in Missouri and Illinois.

Mr. Magwire pointed out that in Wales it required equivalent of the labor of thirteen men one day to produce a ton of pig iron, while in Missouri the re-

quirement was eight men one day. But he added that the Missouri ton would make rail which would last three times as long as the Welsh rail.

Perfect confidence was felt in the purifying process which was to make good coke out of Illinois coal. The Illinois Patent Coke Company, of which Theodore Meier was president and in which St. Louis capital was invested, used what was called the Osterspeys process. The plant was elaborate. With the minimum of hand labor, three men only being required to convey the coal from the cars through the crushing and washing to the ovens, it was to produce two thousand five hundred bushels of coke daily.

About 1849 two St. Louisans of scientific attainments prospected Franklin county for copper. They were Archibald Gamble and Edward Bredell. They employed a practical smelter man and built a furnace near the location of Stanton's gunpowder industry. The plan of operation was to have the farmers mine the ore from the scattered ledges, haul it to the furnace and sell it for a stipulated price per ton, following the custom of early lead mining in adjacent counties. Mr. Gamble and Mr. Bredell satisfied themselves that there was much ore in the southern part of Franklin county. At the first trial the furnace chilled and the practical smelter man accounted for it by the change of the wind to the north. Other St. Louisans went into copper mining in Franklin county. The Stanton mine was opened, a furnace was built, a pump was put in. Copper to the value of thirty thousand dollars was produced and hauled by wagon to St. Louis.

Great hopes were entertained for several years about copper deposits in the vicinity of St. Louis. The St. Louisans, exploiting the Stanton mine, were sanguine. Copper produced from this mine was put on exhibition at the real estate office of Leffingwell and Elliot in 1854. This optimistic announcement was made:

> The proprietors regard it as a lode of great power, and believe that their explorations warrant the conclusion that the copper region of Missouri will reward capital, skill and labor better than the Lake Superior region. The furnace of the Stanton company converts their ore at one process into copper wanting only from three to five per cent of absolute purity. So that by this process, pig copper is produced at one heating in Missouri equal to that produced by five processes in the great Swansea works in Wales, or in the Baltimore smelting establishments. Our citizens can at any time examine, if they will, at the office of Leffingwell and Elliott the copper produced at the Stanton mine. It is said to command in the eastern markets the very highest price of pig copper, nor can they supply even a moiety of the demand. In the same county of Franklin and in Washington there are other equally valuable mines known to exist, and many other places on the Southwestern railroad, where the indications are just as good, where the land can now be purchased for two and one-half dollars an acre. There is a mine belonging to Andrew Park which promises to be very rich. This mine was first discovered in 1846, by some persons who, having heard a tradition that early Spanish miners had found silver in that region, determined to sink a shaft in quest of that metal, and in doing so discovered red oxide of copper of very rich quality. By the removal of a few inches of surface earth, some 7,000 pounds was taken out, pronounced to be a combination of sulphuret, red oxide, gray copper and malachite. This ore was shipped to Baltimore and smelted there with very satisfactory results.

Dr. Silas Reed was given the credit of starting in St. Louis the interest in this near-by copper mining. St. Louisans were told that "ores of copper in many localities have been found associated with the ores of iron and very often in the same vicinage have been found extensive deposits of lead; and it is believed that many of the iron mines containing massive ore are the surface gossan of copper mines. All of the practical miners from Cornwall and Cuban mines who have visited and examined the copper mines opened in Missouri, recognize the gossan as the unfailing sign of lodes of copper at the depth of from one hundred to three hundred feet."

Predictions were made that the Southwest Branch, now the Frisco, would derive a great deal of revenue from the copper mining along its line within one hundred miles of St. Louis. A shipment of fifteen or twenty tons was made over the road while it was being built through Franklin county. Discoveries were made also along Current river. New York as well as St. Louis capital was interested in these copper prospects.

Three of the St. Louisans who became interested in Franklin county copper mining discovered across the line in Jefferson county an old farmer named John de Roques who thought he was heir to a three million francs estate in Paris. They examined the papers and capitalized the claim. One of the three was Henry W. Williams, the authority for two generations on St. Louis land titles. The others were Hiram W. Leffiingwell and Richard Smith Elliott. The claim looked so favorable that Mr. Williams went to France and investigated it. He discovered that there was one collateral branch of the family nearer to the estate than the Jefferson county de Roques.

Few St. Louis fortunes have vindicated popular estimation of them when they passed from the hands of the makers to the last analysis of the executor. The estate of John J. Roe was one of the exceptions. It exceeded by fifty per cent the public expectation. A genius for business, Mr. Roe had connections everywhere in the west. He invested in mining. His share in the profits was shipped to him periodically in the form of gold bricks. One day James A. Waterworth, who had business relations with Mr. Roe, went into his counting room. A bar of dull, yellow metal lay on the floor. In a casual tone the great captain of industry said:

"Won't you put that on the desk here?"

Mr. Waterworth stooped to pick up the bar, tugged and then straightened with a look of amazement. Mr. Roe laughed. A dividend from his mine had just arrived; it was a mass of gold too heavy for ordinary strength to lift.

In 1874 St. Louis possessed a Mining Exchange at Fourth and Elm streets with a creditable display of mineral specimens arranged in cases. In the building were the offices of individuals and firms dealing in mineral lands. The Exchange was made entertaining for visitors by exhibits of Indian relics and curiosities. A collection of war relics presented by General John B. Gray was a feature.

When the St. Louis Mining and Stock Exchange was established in 1880 on Third street, between Olive and Locust, its officers and directors included James Baker, Thomas Richeson, G. W. Chadbourne, Charles F. Orthwein, J. W. Paramore, John W. Noble, David R. Francis and W. R. Allen. Investment in mining shares was epidemic between 1885 and 1890. St. Louisans were never laggard in the development of any industry of the West. They went into the discovery, prospecting and operation of silver and gold mines with the same spirit of enterprise which had moved them in the fur trade, the lead mining and the iron smelting. Silver bullion was selling above a dollar an ounce when St. Louis became thoroughly aroused to the possibilities of bonanza exploitation. In every mining camp from British Columbia to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, St. Louis had interests before the decline set in. Granite Mountain suggested to the sanguine minds the possibility of repetition.

In 1888 there were specimens of ore in hundreds of counting rooms. St. Louis had organized mining companies by the score. Dealing in mining shares became general. The business drew a multitude of investors to the local habitation on Third street. The officers of the exchange were J. D. Abeles, president; Joseph G. Mullally, vice president; and Albert Singer, secretary. Business grew to such magnitude that morning and afternoon sessions were held. Over fifty mines were listed. The sales of stocks on the exchange amounted to from fifty thousand dollars to one hundred thousand dollars a day. There were times of extraordinary excitement when reports of rich strikes came in. Brokers and customers remained on Third street until late in the evening buying and selling stocks, while they waited for confirmation or denial of the earlier news.

Some mines paid. The business was not entirely speculation. For several years St. Louis investors received from $2,500,000 to $4,000,000 a year in dividends from their mining stocks. But the mines which made returns were the exceptions. These began to fail when silver dropped to not much more than half of the price commanded when St. Louisans started the exchange. In 1893 came the collapse of the speculation as far as the general public was concerned. It left in the possession of thousands of people in this city beautifully printed but practically worthless mining stock certificates.

Granite Mountain was not a chance investment for St. Louisans. Back of that most brilliant enterprise in mining industry was the experience and careful study of mineralogical conditions by men who had gone years before to Montana to follow the business of mining. When the Civil war was in progress St. Louis brains and St. Louis capital were developing the mineral wealth of Montana. As early as 1866, the Hope was a silver mine, one of the earliest in the territory. It was controlled by St. Louisans. The location was about a mile from Phillipsburg. Among those who had put money into the Hope and had operated the mine with varying success several years were Sam Gaty, the foundryman; A. F. Shapleigh, the pioneer hardware merchant; Captain John C. Swon, the steamboatman; Charles Taussig, Edwin Harrison, Louis Duestrow, D. A. January, Judge Samuel Treat, Charles McLaran, Luther M. Kennett.

There came a period when the Hope belied its name. It ceased to be profitable. Charles Clark worked out a plan of treatment of the tailings, which cleaned up over $75,000, and paid the debts of the company.

During his connection with the Hope, Mr. Clark studied the neighboring territory. He learned of a valuable silver prospect known as the Granite Mountain, located a few miles from the Hope. The prospect was for sale. It had developed no body of ore. Mr. Clark talked about this prospect with Mr. C. D. McLure, who was the superintendent of the Hope mill. Having the true mining man's interest in all indications, Mr. Clark went with Mr. Bennett, an English metallurgical expert, to look at Granite Mountain. One of the owners accompanied them. Mr. Clark and Mr. Bennett looked over the prospect, took some samples of ore and returned. They discussed the property. The Englishman's conclusion was not to recommend the property to the people he represented. That was the winter of 1879-80. Mr. Clark and Mr. McLure made further investigation with the result that Mr. McLure obtained an option on the property. Mr. Clark came to St. Louis and laid the proposition before the Hope company. The St. Louisans talked it over. Some of them thought they had had enough of silver mining in Montana and concluded to stop. The others decided to go on, after hearing Mr. Clark, and to secure Granite Mountain property. The price was $40,000. Charles Clark and L. M. Rumsey undertook the organization of the syndicate. The subscriptions in the syndicate were made by John R. Lionberger, Charles Taussig, Louis Duestrow, A. F. Shapleigh, Edwin Harrison, L. M. and Moses Rumsey, O. D. Filley, Jesse January, Mrs. Charles Clark and others. The amount raised by the syndicate for the purchase reached $52,000. Granite Mountain was bought. Clark and McLure devoted themselves to the development of the property. The syndicate raised $100,000 for development work. When $98,000 had been spent the mine was known to be a success.

Then the Granite Mountain Mining company was organized with $1,000,000 capital stock, divided into 400,000 shares of the par value of $25 each. To the original investors were distributed 300,000 shares, the remaining 100,000 shares being set apart in the treasury to reimburse the subscribers who had formed the syndicate and advanced the funds for development as required.

The richness of the mine was developed so rapidly that the stock almost immediately went up to $3 a share. The management of the property in the earliest stages was excellent. The best machinery was bought and a twenty-stamp mill was erected. Mining proceeded in a legitimate, business-like way. In 1881-2 the bonanza strike was made. In 1884 the stock was worth $3 a share and in December, 1885, it went to $20. From that time it advanced until about 1887 sales were made at $67 a share. The mine then was considered worth over $26,000,000. Dividends began in 1885 at ten cents a share, monthly. They increased until they reached seventy-five cents a share. That rate was paid two months. Most of the time the dividend was fifty cents a month. When

the suspension came there had been paid to stockholders in dividends over $30 a share. The net profits of the Granite Mountain were $12,120,000. The mine produced over $22,000,000.

Some of the early investors sold when they felt the price justified, but most of those who had gone into the enterprise in the beginning remained with it. An adjacent property, the Bimetallic, owned in part by Granite Mountain stockholders, produced in profits $3,880,000. The principal owners of the Bimetallic were Charles Clark, C. D. McLure and James M. Merrill.

Granite Mountain excitement was at its height in St. Louis three years. Fortunes to the number of fifteen or twenty were created or largely increased by this mining enterprise. They were, for the most part, wisely invested in betterments of St. Louis. Granite Mountain money went into the Merchants' bridge, into trust companies and banks, into real estate and office buildings, and into the development of suburban properties. Two causes contributed to the decline—the high grade ore bodies gave out and the price of silver went down. Those who knew most about Granite Mountain maintained that more thorough development work might have revealed other bonanzas in the properties owned by the company.

CHAPTER IX.

BANKERS AND BANKS.

To the Public: The undersigned, knowing and relying upon the ample ability of the following banking houses of the City of St. Louis, and with a view of quieting the public mind in regard to the safety of deposts made with them, hereby pledge themselves and offer as a guarantee their property to make good all deposits with either of said banking houses.—The Act of Financial Honor, February, 1855.

When Maxent, Laclede and Company began business in St. Louis deerskins were currency. Jean Baptiste came over from Cahos to trade. He wanted a capote for himself, a skirt for madame and a headkerchief for Angelique. Auguste Chouteau took the bundle of deerskins which Jean Baptiste laid down, weighed it and entered in his book, very plainly and neatly, the value in livres. The bundle was tossed into the stone warehouse, out of the way. Jean Baptiste had credit for the amount which Auguste Chouteau had entered on the book. He could trade against it. That was banking in St. Louis in 1764.

On the books, credits and debits were in livres. In fact a livre was seldom seen in St. Louis in those days. It was a silver coin of France which represented eighteen and one-half cents. In Laclede's settlement the livre was simply an arithmetical unit of value.

St. Louis did a business of $70,000 a year. It traded a thousand miles and more up the Missouri river and its tributaries. It handled this business of about 360,000 livres on the books without a livre in sight. A pound of shaved deerskins was worth two livres—thirty-seven cents. A pound of beaver was worth more. Bear, buffalo, wolf, lynx, otter, raccoon,—all of these skins were valued by the pound and the valuation was expressed in livres. The banking business was simple but it had its forms. It wasn't the barter of the pioneer colonists of the Atlantic coast. All accounts were kept in money terms. Jean Baptiste didn't trade deerskins for goods. He sold his deerskins by the pound, received credit for the value expressed in livres and then bought his goods according to the prices expressed in livres. Six years the business of St. Louis went on in this way. Real estate as well as merchandise was bought and sold for money but the money was not cash; it was the valuation in furs. Deerskins were the most numerous of the pelts in that period. They had an unvarying value by the pound. Unshaved deerskins were worth thirty cents a pound.

After the Spanish set up colonial government in 1770, St. Louis saw some cash in circulation. To distinguish the new kind of money from the currency which had prevailed, the silver was called "hard money." But the principal circulating medium for years continued to be the "fur money." When hard money changed hands the receiver hid it and kept it as long as

he could. The habitant who died leaving a will which disposed of "hard money" was the plutocrat of those days. One will of this kind disposed of "four hundred hard dollars." It was town talk for weeks.

On the basis of fur money St. Louis developed a financial system. The exclusive privilege of Maxent, Laclede & Co. expired. Other merchants established themselves and offered goods for pelts. There were furs and furs. Some trappers and traders were not so painstaking with the preparation of their stocks as others were. The time came when this "asset currency" needed regulation. So long as the furs furnished the only medium of exchange, contracts which called for livres were settled with furs. But as actual money slowly came into circulation disputes arose as to what was meant when contracts or agreements mentioned amounts without describing the character of money to be paid. Custom at length decreed that when a contract did not expressly stipulate "hard dollars" the obligation might be met with pelts at the prevailing prices. The largest denomination of the fur money was the "pack." This was a bundle of skins making up a definite weight and having a fixed value. With "a pack," one could establish good credit at any store in St. Louis.

One of the first problems of government with which Cruzat, the Spanish lieutenant-governor had to deal was the financial policy. Etienne Barre brought up from New Orleans on his boat for Benito Basquez, the St. Louis merchant, six barrels of rum and some dry goods. The freight was twenty-five dollars a barrel. This rate was not disputed. But what happened is set forth in the well written appeal to Cruzat:

> The undersigned, having delivered to Basquez the above articles, said Basquez proposed to pay him his freight in peltries, which was not according to agreement. He refused, demanding his freight in dollars as per agreement, he being obliged to pay his outfit and expenses in dollars. After repeated demands, he is compelled to have recourse to your justice to compel said Basquez to pay him as per agreement; and in default of same to sell such portion of the goods as may be necessary to pay him the one hundred and fifty dollars.

Basquez was notified to appear next day and present his side of the controversy. The records fail to show how Cruzat settled the dispute. They do show that about the same time a reform was instituted in financial methods. It may not be proper to describe this united action of the merchants of St. Louis as the initial clearing house movement, but it is certain that the first regulations to improve the financial system of St. Louis were then put into effect. The livre was the coin with which the business would have been done if the actual money had been in circulation. But for twelve years after Laclede founded St. Louis few of these silver pieces found their way to the settlement. A livre, worth eighteen and one-half cents, had been the unit of value in France for centuries. The franc subsequently took its place. St. Louisans reckoned by livres. Having no livres they gave a fixed value to furs by weight. That value was estimated in livres or fractions of livres. The furs passed current at these fixed values. Instead of issuing paper bearing the stamp "one livre," St. Louis merchants weighed as much fur as it had been determined should be valued at one livre and that fur passed from

hand to hand as one livre. The system at first very simple, now graded furs into the finest, the medium and the inferior. Here was afforded the means of making change with the fur currency. The prices fixed were forty cents per pound weight for the finest, thirty cents a pound for the medium and twenty cents a pound for the inferior furs. But the system which Laclede put into effect with the founding of St. Louis developed complications. It had been in operation a dozen years when Cruzat came. Abuses had crept in. Traders were bringing furs in bad condition. The merchants joined in a memorial to Cruzat. They wrote:

To the Lieutenant-Governor of the Illinois:

Sir: We, the undersigned, merchants of this village, with due respect, have the honor to present to your consideration, that for some time back, the custom has grown up between the merchants and traders and hunters of settling the accounts between them with furs and peltries, at certain prices, which vary according to the kind, quality and condition.

Then followed a detailed statement of the abuses. The neglect of the traders to properly care for their furs before delivery was described. The want of coin to do the business was emphasized. The need of government regulations which should apply to the fur currency was made impressive. The address on reform of the financial system, the first movement of its kind in the history of St. Louis, was signed by Martin Duralde, Benito Basquez, J. M. Papin, Sarpy, Ante. Berard, J. F. Perrault, Joseph Motard.

Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat, "after examination and consideration of the memorial of the merchants of St. Louis and the forcible reasons with which it is supported" issued the following:

Decreed that from this time in future, no skin shall be weighed before it is thoroughly examined and has passed inspection as sound; but in order that no merchant can hold back from this reform, nor delay on frivolous pretexts the time of examination, after the refuse is separated, the skins that are to be warranted shall be exposed to dry in the sun. And it is further ordered that it is the merchant's business to examine and discriminate his own skins, soon after the trader has delivered them to him, and shall have them weighed immediately, so that by this method no injury or detriment will be done the trader.

Done in the government hall, March 5, 1776.

FRANCO CRUZAT.

Beginning without money, St. Louis early became a center of capital. The furs shipped out more than paid for the goods shipped in. A decade after the founding the balance of trade was considerably in favor of the settlement. It continued to be so. The accumulation of wealth was gradual and moderate. It was continuous. The cartwheel Spanish or Mexican dollars rolled into St. Louis and remained. Merchants put this dollar on a block of wood, gave the head of a chisel a smart tap and produced halves and quarters. Thus was the earliest fractional currency manufactured here. The merchants even cut the quarters in two and made "bits." The bit was twelve and one-half cents. For a long time the bit was the lowest denomination of money in St. Louis. If a customer bought something for less than a bit he received the change in pins or needles or a few sheets of paper to make up the bit's worth. French habitants were not slow to master the mysteries of the bit. They learned to say "seex beets" for a load of wood.

Banking with bundles of furs for deposits went even beyond the handling of this kind of currency. When the trapper or trader came in with his season's collection of pelts, the merchant gave him a receipt for so many livres worth of furs. When the merchant turned over the furs to the government officials or to the supply house in New Orleans or forwarded to Montreal, or later to the Ohio, he took his receipts for so much weight of furs valued in money. These receipts passed from hand to hand in business. They represented fixed values. They were used in settlement of accounts. They were credits. They corresponded to drafts. The common name for these receipts given on deposits of bales of furs was "bons." They were good for so many dollars' worth of furs on demand. They were signed by the one with whom the furs had been deposited. They were often indorsed as they passed from person to person.

As business houses became firmly established in St. Louis and well known in other centers of trade, they formed connections. A shipment of furs was made to the correspondent in New Orleans, or in Montreal. The value was put to the credit of the shipper. Against that credit the St. Louis merchant bought his stock of goods. Bills of exchange passed between the St. Louis merchant and his correspondent. This was banking in a restricted form but it served its purpose and rendered unnecessary the transfer from and to St. Louis of large sums of money.

After 1804 St. Louis came into the use of another form of paper for money. The United States government was represented in its new territory by many civil officers. St. Louis became the most important military post in the west. To pay salaries and to meet a variety of obligations the government sent to St. Louis bills drawn at New Orleans on the United States Treasury. These bills were circulaed in payments of all kinds at St. Louis. They passed into general use by business men who wished exchange to send east or south. In these and other makeshift ways St. Louis managed to get along and do a great deal of business without banks until the population reached about 2,000. The number of people, however, was no indication of the financial importance of the community. Here was the money center of a great section of country into which immigration was pouring,—a human flood.

The first bank note issued in St. Louis had on it the picture of a beaver caught in a beaver trap. The vignette was emblematic of the fur trade upon which the community had prospered. The wording of the bank-note was:

> The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of St. Louis promise to pay Five Dollars to Fowler or Bearer on Demand, St. Louis, Missouri Territory, June 18, 1817.
> S. Hammond, President. John B. Smith, Cashier.

The first bank was an experiment. It lasted three years. The original list of stockholders included most of the business men of St. Louis. The capital stock was $100,000. For a year the institution was immensely popular. The beaver bank bills stimulated business. The directors disagreed. One faction endeavored to change the management. On the 11th of February, after the board had transacted the routine business, a member, Mr.

Pilcher, offered a resolution to remove the cashier, John B. Smith. The resolution carried by a narrow majority. The board proceeded to elect another cashier. After several ballots, another member of the Smith family, Theophilus W., was chosen. Three directors, dissatisfied with the result, immediately resigned. Their resignations were accepted. Then followed one of the most remarkable proceedings in the history of banking. The directors who had resigned were joined by Thomas H. Benton, and two army officers, Colonel Daniel Bissell and Lieutenant James McGunnegle, and several citizens. This impromptu gathering adopted a resolution to take possession of the bank. The leaders directed the clerks to leave the building and locked the doors. Proceeding to the counting room of Mr. Pilcher, those in opposition to the board of directors organized and demanded the keys of the safe. The demand was refused. The meeting next chose a committee of five to have the custody of the banking house and to deny admittance to the directors. The bank remained closed several days. The controversy was taken into court. A conclusion was announced on the 12th of March to the effect that "the public mind having become tranquillized, the Bank of St. Louis opened for business on Tuesday last, redeemed its paper in specie, and the public are hereby notified that it will continue to redeem its paper in specie on presentation."

The troubles among the stockholders continued to affect the business of the bank. On the 12th of July, 1819, the doors were finally closed. The directors distributed assets so as to cause creditors as little inconvenience as possible. Considerable loss was shared among the stockholders. The institution passed into history as "the old Bank of St. Louis."

While the first bank was in its first auspicious year, conditions seemed so encouraging that a second bank was organized. This was the Bank of Missouri. It began business February 1, 1817. The capital stock was fixed at $250,000. Charles Gratiot headed the commission which received subscriptions. Auguste Chouteau, the stepson of Laclede, was made president and Lilburn W. Boggs, who was afterward governor, was chosen the first cashier. Notes were issued. They were adorned with a bust portrait of Thomas Jefferson, a liberty cap, a group of four ships in a harbor and a sunrise scene in the mountains. The wording of the notes was:—

> The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Missouri promise to pay One Dollar on Demand at their Office of Deposit and Discount, Ste. Genevieve to William Shannon, President thereof, or to Bearer, St. Louis, October 14, 1818.
>
> Auguste Chouteau, President. John Dales, Cashier.

The Bank of Missouri was intended to supply banking facilities for the Territory, with branches wherever needed. The St. Louis office of the concern was in Auguste Chouteau's mansion. It went out of business with considerable loss to stockholders. St. Louis was doing a business of $1,000,000 when these earliest banks were established. But in 1820 came hard times in the west with scarcity of specie, depreciation in land values and general discouragement. The two banks in St. Louis were wound up but without

the widespread disasters and suffering which attended the bank failures at that time in Kentucky and Ohio.

The case of Justus Post illustrated the mistakes a man makes in going into the banking business without natural qualifications for it. Colonel Post was a West Pointer by education. He was an engineer of high order. He served in the War of 1812 with great credit to himself. Coming to St. Louis to engage in civil pursuits, this ex-officer of the army brought with him a fortune of $100,000. Investing in real estate, he built a fine home a short distance from the city and started a mill. His fellow citizens found the colonel a man of wide range of information. They ranked him among the foremost in intelligence. When the time came to choose directors for the Bank of Missouri, organized in 1817, Colonel Post seemed an ideal man for the board. He was elected and served. But when complications arose, he became impatient. He resigned his position. In his disgust he sold his property at a sacrifice and left the city. The Illinois State government was investigating the subject of a canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois river. Colonel Post offered his services as engineer and was accepted. After that he remained in Illinois and engaged in milling. St. Louis lost one of the most promising of the new citizens of that period.

Congress chartered the United States bank at Philadelphia in 1816. The St. Louis branch was not established until 1829. John O'Fallon was the president throughout the existence of the branch. Between the liquidation of the earliest banks and the starting of the branch St. Louis felt the need of banking facilities. Alexander Scott and William K. Rule were merchants. They desired to make a remittance to Philadelphia. The amount was $4,000. The bank notes were obtained and given to a clerk to wrap up for transmission. William H. Jones, a dry goods merchant of St. Louis, was going east. As a matter of accommodation he consented to carry the package of bills and received if from Scott & Rule. When he reached Philadelphia, Mr. Jones delivered the package in accordance with the directions. He went about his own business which was to buy goods for his store. He had purchased $60,000 worth of stock and ordered it shipped to St. Louis when he was notified that something was wrong with the supposed package of money he had brought. The package was stoutly tied with twine. When it was opened, it was found to be made up of slips of paper cut in the size of bank bills. Jones was shown the opened package. He could only affirm his innocence. The package had not been out of his possession during the journey. Overcome by the discovery, he went to his hotel and killed himself. No suspicion attached to Mr. Jones in St. Louis. Those who knew him held him guiltless. The mystery of the missing money was never solved.

St. Louis had many kinds of money in circulation when the Branch bank opened. Coins had taken the place of the fur currency. They were as cosmopolitan as the population in 1829. More than half of these coins current in the city were of foreign minting. The silver pieces of France, of Italy, of Germany, and of England mingled with the United States money brought from the eastern States. Immigrants and travelers carried with them

the specie most familiar to them and had no difficulty in getting rid of it in St. Louis. The Mexican peso was as popular as the American dollar. Almost any kind of coin was taken in trade in St. Louis stores. The Branch bank introduced notes and half dollars which gradually took the place of the foreign money. St. Louisans did not take kindly to the paper currency until the wise management of the Branch bank had won local confidence. Mexican dollars long maintained their hold on popularity in St. Louis.

John Mullanphy was one of the directors of the St. Louis Branch bank. One day a note for $500 was offered for discount. The directors with the exception of Mr. Mullanphy, voted no. As the note was turned down Mr. Mullanphy asked what was the matter. He was told that the man was a mechanic; that personally the maker could not be made responsible for the paper. Mr. Mullanphy asked the director sitting next to him to move a reconsideration. This was done. Mr. Mullanphy put his name on the back of the note. The note was accepted by the votes of all of the directors with the exception of Mr. Mullanphy, who under the rule, could not vote on paper which bore his name. Such a policy tended to make the bank well liked. Yet it was a policy not abused. Liberal treatment was bestowed with such discrimination that few losses were incurred.

Spencer Pettis was the Member of Congress from St. Louis when the United States bank controversy was most critical. He was a candidate for re-election. His campaign was made upon the Jackson platform of hostility toward the United States bank. In his speeches Pettis assailed the management of the bank. Living in St. Louis was Major Thomas Biddle, a brother of Nicholas Biddle, president of the United States bank at Philadelphia. Major Biddle resented the criticisms of Pettis, especially in so far as they reflected upon his brother. He did so in a newspaper article. He called Pettis "a dish of skimmed milk." Pettis replied in the paper. Early one morning Biddle went to the hotel where the Congressman lived. He found him in bed, pulled away the cover and used a whip on him until citizens interfered. Under the code of honor of the period there could be but one sequence. The campaign proceeded. Pettis was elected. The month following the election, Pettis devoted to putting his affairs in order. Toward the end of August the challenge was sent. Biddle was shortsighted. He named a distance so close that the pistols almost touched. One account alleged that the two men were not six feet apart and that the weapons lapped. The time was five o'clock in the afternoon of August 27. The place was the sandy shore on the Illinois side opposite the city and within view from the Missouri side. There was no concealment of the preparations. Everybody knew when and where the meeting was to take place. People flocked to the river front. They filled the windows and covered the house tops. At the first fire both men fell mortally wounded. When the surgeons told them they could not live, Pettis and Biddle expressed to each other forgiveness. They were brought back to St. Louis. Pettis died the next day. Biddle lingered until Tuesday. "Bloody Island" that strip of sand had been named because of previous encounters. "Bloody Island" it continued to be for fifty years

after the Pettis-Biddle tragedy. The bar paid tribute to the memory of Pettis. The fellow officers of Biddle at the Barracks adopted a memorial to him. The political controversy over the bank question went on but there was no more dueling for years afterwards. Biddle had married a daughter of John Mullanphy not a great while before his death. Twenty years the widow survived and lived a life of beautiful charity. In the yard of the institution she founded at Tenth and Biddle street, for widows and orphans, was placed a memorial with the touching appeal:

"Pray for the souls of Thomas and Ann Biddle."

The newspaper account of the duel, which was sent out and was published generally throughout the country, was written by Thomas H. Benton. A movement was started to erect a monument to Pettis. When the stone was ready, popular feeling had subsided. The stone was sold to pay the bill of the man who furnished it. Some time afterwards friends of Pettis got through the legislature an act naming for him the county in which Sedalia is situated. Pettis was a young man. He came from Culpepper, Virgina, about five years before the fatal duel. The governor of Missouri had the power to appoint the secretary as well as other executive officers. When Governor Miller was elected in 1825, to fill out the term of Frederick Bates who had died, he gave Pettis the appointment of secretary, although the young Virginian had resided in St. Louis only about two years. Pettis made out and forwarded commissions to justices, county judges and some other officials. When he sent a commission he wrote a letter in which he said, "Please say that I am a candidate for Congress." This canvass by letter was effective. In 1828 Pettis ran as a democrat and was elected, defeating Edward Bates.

Peter Lindell was one of the directors of the Branch bank. A customer had a note for $5,000 falling due. He held paper for several times that amount but had been unable to realize through collections the money to make good the debt. He had abundant assets but they were slow. Under the careful policy pursued by the board this borrower could not apply the paper to meet his own obligation. In distress he went to a friend for advice. The friend looked over the paper, picked out the best of it and took it to Peter Lindell. He explained the situation. Mr. Lindell glanced at the paper and wrote his personal check for $5,000 in favor of the borrower. The friend supposed that this meant a heavy discount on the paper tendered. He made inquiry. "Only the regular per cent on borrowed money," replied Mr. Lindell. "I shall accept no more." This is illustrative of the men who managed successfully the banking business of those early days in St. Louis. As directors they insisted upon rules which they regarded as essential to absolutely safe banking. As indivudals they were ready to go farther in accommodation than they would go as directors. They risked their own money when they would not venture the capital of the bank. They were trustees of the money of others. The trust imposed responsibilities which were not shirked.

The 24th of July, 1832 was a day of note in St. Louis. Andrew Jackson

LOUIS A. BENOIST

SENATOR LEWIS V. BOGY,
At the Age of 45

BANK OF ST. LOUIS AND POSTOFFICE
Third and Olive Streets in 1858

had smashed the United States bank with his veto. In the afternoon of that day, the friends of the bank met at the town hall. William Carr Lane presided. The resolutions were brought in by Edward Bates, Pierre Chouteau Jr., George Collier, Thornton Grimsley, Henry S. Geyer and Nathan Ranney. They expressed "deep mortification and regret" for the veto. They declared that the bank had been "highly beneficial to the nation at large and indispensably necessary to the commercial prosperity and individual comfort of the western people." They revealed apprehension that the consequences of the President's course would be that "one universal scene of distress and ruin will prevade the whole western country."

The sentiment of St. Louis was not one-sided upon the United States bank issue. In the evening of the same day that the supporters of the bank acted, the Andrew Jackson side was heard. A second meeting of citizens was held in the town hall. Dr. Samuel Merry presided. Dr. Merry and Dr. Lane had been partners in the practice of their profession. Now they headed the opposing political parties. Lane had held the office of mayor of St. Louis six years, retiring in 1829. Dr. Merry was to be a candidate for mayor at the coming city election. He was receiver of public moneys under President Jackson. It was quite natural that he should head the movement to indorse the Jackson veto.

If the resolutions adopted at the afternoon meeting were strong, those which the Jackson people put forth were even more sweeping. The committee was composed of E. Dobyns, John Shade, James C. Lynch, L. Brown, B. W. Ayres, J. H. Baldwin and P. Taylor.

While the first meeting viewed the veto "with deep mortification and regret" the second body of citizens viewed "all banks and banking institutions possessing exclusive privileges and powers of monopoly as of dangerous tendency in a government of the people, calculated in their nature to draw distinctions in society and to build up family nobilities." The meeting furthermore viewed "the stand which General Jackson has taken against the monied powers of Europe and America as a mark of firmness and patriotism not surpassed by any patriot or statesman since the light of liberty first dawned upon our country."

The bank question overshowed all other issues in St. Louis for some years after this. Senator Thomas H. Benton committed the Democrats to specie. He advocated a monetary system in which there should be no money other than the precious metals. Thereby he obtained the name of "Old Bullion." The Senator denounced the opposition. But strong as Benton was, the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, predecessor of the Merchants' Exchange, sent to Congress a petition "for the establishment of a national bank." That was in the summer of 1837. The petition bore the signature of nearly every prominent business man in St. Louis. The truth of history is that St. Louis had had an exceptional experience with the United States bank. The St. Louis branch of that institution was under the management of John O'Fallon throughout the period of its existence. And John O'Fallon was a born banker. The other efforts to establish and to conduct banks in St. Louis

had been diasterous to stockholders. John O'Fallon managed the St. Louis branch of the Bank of the United States in such manner as to afford the banking facilities which the business of St. Louis so much needed. At the same time he protected the interests of the bank. When President Jackson destroyed the United States bank there followed considerable losses in all of the cities except St. Louis where branches had been established. John O'Fallon wound up the business of the St. Louis branch with a loss of $125. In that period, when the banking business of this country was passing through its crude and elementary stage, the conduct of the St. Louis branch of the United States bank laid the foundation of the financial repute of St. Louis. It taught that successful bank management calls for more than fine business qualifications. Temperament had its part in the make-up. In that measure men are born to be bankers. Ability to read human nature, to know character, is no small asset in the capital the bank manager puts into the business. It counts for far more than the stock he may hold in his own name. The lesson of John O'Fallon does not teach that the bank manager must be cold-blooded. It does prove that an extraordinary talent of discrimination is indispensable.

When all of the affairs of the St. Louis branch were settled and it was known that the loss had been only $125, the sentiment in favor of a bank recognized by government was very strong. If the United States would not charter then the State should. Thus sentiment crystalized. St. Louis had become a city of 6,000 population, with far-reaching business connections. Lines of steamboats carried the trade north and south, east and west. Confronted with the possibility of entire loss of banking facilities, the business men welcomed temporarily a branch of what was known as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Mr. O'Fallon turned over such banking business as could be transferred. The government made the agency its depository. Fair service was given by the Cincinnati people. The situation which was in a way to become desperate was partially relieved by the agency. Very soon the St. Louis business men realized that the agency was making much money for Cincinnati capital. The movement for a home institution gained headway. When the Legislature met in 1837 the first bill introduced was to charter the Union Bank of Missouri. The name was changed by amendment to The Bank of the State of Missouri. So great was the popular demand that within thirty days the bill became law.

In those days the establishment of a bank was attended with much formality. A bank was a semi-public institution. Subscriptions were received by commissioners. Everybody was interested. The management of the branch was still a pleasing reminiscence. Upon the commission was placed the man who had made the branch so successful, John O'Fallon. With him were associated Hugh O'Neill, Henry Walton, John B. Sarpy and George K. McGunnegle. The quickness of the responses proved the strength of sentiment behind the movement. The commissioners who took the subscriptions to the old Bank of St. Louis in 1815 and 1816 were two years or more in getting the capital together. John O'Fallon and his associates were

but a few days beyond two months. The "State bank," as it became known familiarly, opened for business the middle of April, 1837. Recognizing the force of public sentiment the Cincinnati Commercial agency turned over the St. Louis business to the new bank and withdrew from the State. Public interest in the Bank of Missouri was more than sentimental. The State held one-third of the stock. There were provisions for branches and eight of them were established. Two members of the board of directors were appointed by the governor. The limit on the capital stock was $5,000,000. John Brady Smith was made president. The location was on the west side of Main street in what was then the business center of the city.

The Legislature which chartered the Bank of Missouri, manifested a disposition to keep out of Missouri such institutions as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Sentiment of the legislators was against foreign capital doing banking in the State. The House passed a bill to expel foreign banking agencies. In December, 1836, the business men of St. Louis were called together in town meeting. Dr. Hardage Lane was chosen chairman and Charles D. Drake was made secretary. John F. Darby talked. Ex-Mayor William Carr Lane offered the resolution expressive of the sense of the meeting and it was adopted:

> That in the opinion of this meeting it will be highly inexpedient in the General Assembly to remove or lessen the banking facilities now possessed by the manufacturing and commercial community by removing the bank agencies located amongst us, and that we deprecate any presentation in the General Assembly on the subject as tending inevitably to the great injury of every class of our citizens.

In policy and in practice, the Bank of Missouri preserved the traditions of the management of the branch bank. John O'Fallon was a member of the board. Edward Walsh was another director. These two men, with John Brady Smith, the president, taught St. Louis safe banking. For twenty years the Bank of Missouri was the only bank of issue in S. Louis. Its notes circulated as far to the southwest as Chihuahua. They were better than gold and so esteemed. They were as good as gold in value and easier to carry. Times of inflation came when the management of the Bank of Missouri was counter to public sentiment. Regulations were adopted against which the business community protested strenuously. At one period, after a meeting of business men had so advised, many leading depositors withdrew their accounts from the Bank of Missouri and put their money with insurance companies and with the St. Louis Gaslight company which was doing a banking business. This was in 1840. Between that time and 1843 the country passed through a period of depression which wiped out $600,000,000 in debts through actual bankruptcy proceedings, and in which the decline of values was estimated at $2,000,000,000. The Bank of Missouri pursued its policy of safety and weathered the storm.

In that period St. Louis was flooded with paper currency from other States. The name of "shinplaster" for such currency was born of the conditions. These bills, as they depreciated in value, were contemptuously known as "white dog," "blue dog," "blue pup," according to the color. The

conflict between the business men and the Bank of Missouri started with the refusal to accept the paper currency of certain outside banks in settlement of loans. On the 12th of November, 1839, the directors of the Bank of Missouri resolved "that the bank will in future receive from and pay only to individuals her own notes and specie, or the notes of specie paying banks."

This was prompted by the suspension of specie payments on the part of many eastern, southern and western banks. Thousands of dollars in bills of banks which had suspended specie payments were in the hands of St. Louis business men. The action of the Bank of Missouri caused great indignation. The Missouri Republican reported the conditions:

> The bank excitement continued very high yesterday. In fact, it is the only subject matter of conversation or consideration. The merchants, it might literally be said, have forsaken their counting rooms, and the mechanics their shops. Wherever two or three met, the action of the bank was the theme of conversation, and in every circle that we have fallen in with, whatever might be the politics of those composing it, the resolution of the directors was condemned without measure or reserve. In truth, there never has been in this community so universal and unanimous a condemnation of any measure as this. Execrations loud and deep are freely uttered in every quarter and by men of all parties.

The panic of 1837 followed a period of wild speculation in city and town real-estate. A great firm in New Orleans failed on account of the decline of cotton. In New York, house after house with southern connections failed. Banks in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore suspended. St. Louis suffered in paralysis of business. Two years of depression and of futile attempts to get back to specie basis in the east followed. The action of the Bank of Missouri was one of self-preservation but at the same time business men of the city felt bitterly about it. In November, 1839, a meeting was held at the courthouse. Edward Tracy was president. The meeting resolved that "as the sense of this meeting, it will be no discredit to any individual having paper maturing this day at the Bank of Missouri to allow said paper to go to protest if a tender is made at bank, or to the notary, of currency hitherto bankable and is refused."

The merchants appealed to the bank to accept payment on the discounted paper then in hand as in the past and to make the rule apply only on future business. This the bank declined, as it did also a proposition offering a bond of wealthy citizens against loss on the bank notes which it might receive if the specie rule was modified. Efforts of business men and bank to get together failed. The Bank of Missouri preserved its soundness but it lost a great deal of business. To merchants who were utterly unable to meet obligations in specie at the bank some concessions were made. But the result of the clash was to give impetus to the establishment of private banks. The Bank of Missouri kept on in the even tenor of its way teaching St. Louis the lesson of absolute security.

A fact that is clear in the history of banking in St. Louis is that the city suffered from but did not contribute to the panic of 1837. If there was error in the banking methods of St. Louis it was error on the side of conservatism. Money was lost through depression in business. No money was

lost by depreciation of currency put out by St. Louis. All of the confusion and trouble through which this community passed was forced upon it from the outside.

Up the Missouri to Wayne and Westport landings, thence over the Santa Fe Trail, even beyond the city of the Holy Faith into Chihuahua, merchants of St. Louis sent goods to supply the needs and luxurious desires of the wealthy owners of ranches and haciendas. This was long before the railroads. When days of settlement came, back over the trail and down the river was brought to St. Louis the actual cash. Exchange in that trade was not known. Paper money was often of uncertain reputation. The money to pay for goods to be bought or already received on credit was sent to St. Louis in the form of silver dollars. The "cartwheels" were put up in stout wooden boxes. Sometimes the Mexican came with his remittance. Occasionally he reinforced the ordinary protection with a guard of his own. The shipments of coin ran from $10,000 to $100,000. A single remittance of $50,000 to the St. Louis merchant or banker was not unusual in the buying season. When the boat reached the St. Louis wharf a dray was called. The heavy boxes beside which the Mexican guard had watched and slept all of the way down the Missouri were rolled over the gang plank and up the end of the dray. The dray was driven through the business streets, the Mexicans, with their queer, old-fashioned, wide-muzzled muskets on their shoulders, marching on either side of the dray. If the shipment was of unusual amount, the Mexican merchant, with his rifle in hand might accompany the dray. Sometimes as many as six of the guards came the long journey to insure safe delivery. When the dray, with its precious load drew up in front of the store or bank where delivery was to be made there was most courteous reception accorded. The Mexican or Spanish merchant became an honored guest. His escort was taken care of. The deposit of silver dollars of Mexican minting was placed to the merchant's credit. In the traditions of trade this commerce with the Santa Fe and Chihuahua country is remembered as of great profit to St. Louis. These buyers from the northern Mexico territory were men of excellent business traits, reliable and honorable in their settlements.

From 1840 to 1860 was the period of private banking in St. Louis. Among the firms engaging in financial business were:—Lucas, Turner & Co., John J. Anderson & Co., Darby, Barksdale & Co., Bogy, Miltenberger & Co., B. M. Runyan & Co., Tesson & Danjen, Loker & Renick, E. W. Clark & Co., Allen, Copp & Nesbit and Page, Bacon & Co. Members of these firms were, for the most part, men of large private fortunes. They represented extensive business interests. Conditions were extraordinary. St. Louis was entering upon a period of rapid growth of population. The famine in Ireland and the revolution in Germany in 1848 sent multitudes of immigrants. Railroads were building westward from the Alleghanies. The Mexican War made St. Louis a great supply depot. Government disbursements here were very large. In 1849 came the gold excitment in California. The business of St. Louis expanded enormously. The Bank of Missouri pursued its conser-

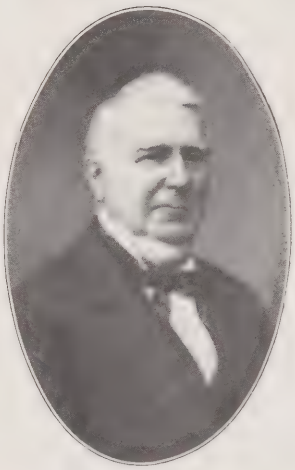
vative course, limiting its issues of notes and its lines of credit to keep always on the safe side. There wasn't currency to do the business which offered. The banking facilities offered by the chartered institution did not permit the merchants to take advantage of what appeared to them great opportunities. And so the private banks, one after another, came into the field. To meet the demands for a sufficient volume of money with which to do the business of the city these private banks handled paper money freely. When the gold placers of California began to yield, St. Louis was almost the first trade center to realize the benefits. Overland freighting grew into large proportions. Purchases in the St. Louis stores and markets were on an unprecedented scale. Profits were fascinating. The flow of wealth into the city encouraged great enterprises.

In 1852 a committee of the Legislature examined the condition of the Bank of Missouri, at St. Louis, and the branches out in the State. The committee found the assets of the parent bank in St. Louis to be $3,983,131. The circulation issued and outstanding was $1,461,090. The net profits from May 8, 1837, to June 30, 1852 were $1,227,659. The profits were not excessive but the bank was sound and its notes were everywhere as good as gold. The "Old State Bank" had a good name as far as St. Louis was known. Two years after it began business the bank sustained a serious loss the mystery of which was never solved. Coin to the amount of $120,000 disappeared from the valuts. The money was not recovered.

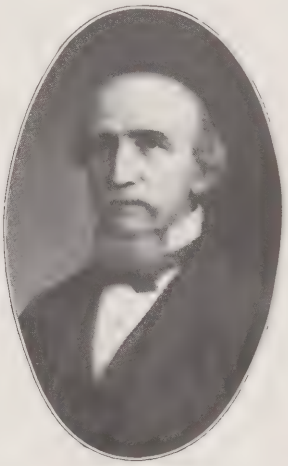
The crucial test of the private banks came with the beginning of 1855. These institutions had performed no small part in the building of St. Louis. They had supplied the facilities which a period of expanding trade demanded. They stood close to the business interests. It is difficult to see how St. Louis could have gone through the fifteen years before 1860 without these private banks. Sole dependence upon the one great chartered Bank of the State would have dwarfed the city's legitimate commerce, would have handicapped enterprise. The bankers of St. Louis in 1855 carried long in vivid memory the 13th of January. The day of the week was Saturday. Page & Bacon did not open. Down and up Main and Second and Third streets the news spread. It paralyzed business everywhere but in the banking houses. Groups collected in front of the tellers' windows. Lucas & Simonds cashed checks amounting to $260,000. Louis A. Benoist & Co. paid out over $100,000. The Boatmen's Savings disbursed over $100,000. J. J. Anderson & Co. and E. W. Clark & Brothers paid out large sums. All day, for in those years banking business did not close at noon on Saturdays, the houses honored the checks as fast as presented. When evening came the vaults of the banks of St. Louis contained $800,000 less than in the morning. Monday morning brought restoration of confidence. The run stopped. A superb act of financial honor did it. Ten citizens whose private fortunes amounted to over $8,000,000 pledged every dollar they possessed in support of the credit of the banks. They issued this notice bearing their signatures.

To the Public: The undersigned, knowing and relying on the ample ability of the following banking-houses in the city of St. Louis, and with a view of quieting the public

THE BOATMEN'S BANK
One of the first bank buildings

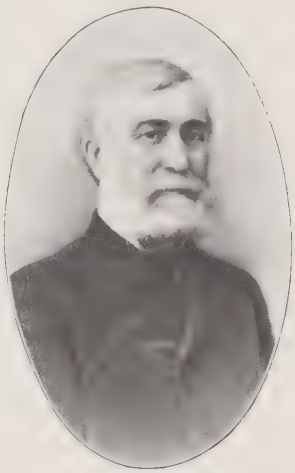


ROBERT A. BARNES

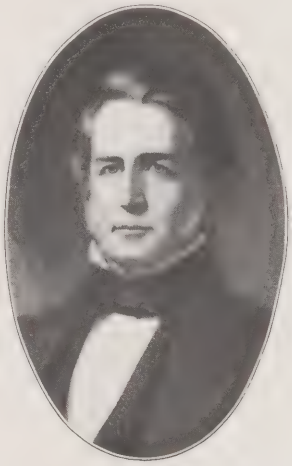


CHARLES PARSONS

EDWARD WALSH



JOHN R. LIONBERGER



JOSEPH CHARLESS, JR.

THE FINANCIERS OF SEVERAL GENERATIONS

mind in regard to the safety of deposits made with them, hereby pledge themselves, and offer as a guarantee their property to make good all deposits with either of said banking houses, to wit: Messrs. Lucas & Simonds, Bogy, Miltenberger & Co., Tesson & Danjen, L. A. Benoist & Co., John J. Anderson & Co., Darby & Barksdale, and Boatmen's Savings Institution.

John O'Fallon,	D. A. January,
Ed. Walsh,	John How,
Louis A. LaBeaume,	James Harrison,
J. H. Brant,	Andrew Christy,
L. M. Kennett,	Charles P. Chouteau.

The banks opened at the accustomed hour, prepared to meet all demands. The excitement subsided as quickly as it had arisen. There was some scarcity of money for a week, but no panic.

Page & Bacon remained closed but took up the drafts which had gone to protest, paying interest and cost of protest as rapidly as they could realize. On the 17th of February the house announced that business would be resumed on the 19th. The bank opened again and continued in operation uptil April 4th when, a branch in San Francisco having closed, the house in St. Louis went into liquidation.

This brief panic of 1855 in St. Louis was another case of trouble starting outside. In Wall street a crisis occurred in 1854. Over speculation in lands and railroads following the California boom disturbed things on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Money became tight as the result of the crisis in New York. St. Louis did an enormous business in 1854. Page & Bacon that year showed the largest volume of transactions of any bank in the Mississippi Valley. The firm's exchanges in the twelve months, it was reported, were $80,000,000. Henry D. Bacon was a Massachusetts man. He came to St. Louis in 1835, after some commercial experience in Hartford, Conn. Here he engaged in the dry goods trade and afterwards in the iron trade. In 1844 he married Miss Julia Page, the daughter of Daniel D. Page. Mr. Page was from Maine. He had settled in St. Louis in 1818, had been chosen the second mayor of St. Louis, had accumulated a fortune as a merchant and miller. In 1848 the banking house of Page & Bacon was established, the son-in-law being the active head of the institution.

In the seven years of the house of Page & Bacon, St. Louis was the gainer largely through the liberal management. Money in large sums was advanced to the city and county of St. Louis to meet bonds. The sum needed to complete the Ohio & Mississippi through Illinois to the east bank of the river was obtained from Page & Bacon in 1853. The help given by this house built the Belleville & St. Louis railroad and brought cheap coal to the city. A subscription of $35,000 was made to the Missouri Pacific when ground was broken. Later, advances of over $100,000 were made that the work might not stop. Mr. Bacon personally gave $40,000 toward the building and furnishing of the Union Methodist church. He supported various philanthropies with much liberality. The great influx of immigrants created a demand for homes. Page & Bacon built and sold on small cash payments hundreds of houses. The Belcher sugar refinery was an industry

in which St. Louis felt great interest. Page & Bacon extended financial aid which made the industry the largest of its kind in the country.

The house felt the New York crisis in 1854. Trade began to languish. Real estate values sagged. Money was becoming scarce. Mr. Bacon was too shrewd not to recognize the dangers. He prepared, as he thought, amply. New York correspondents of Page & Bacon were Duncan, Sherman & Co. The St. Louis connection had been very lucrative for the New Yorkers. During the Mexican War Page & Bacon had handled a great deal of government money, as heavy disbursements were made in St. Louis in the course of military operations. There seemed to be every reason why the New York house, after having enjoyed the profitable relations with the St. Louis institution for seven years should stand by in bad weather. Toward the close of 1854, Mr. Bacon went to New York and, as he thought, arrived at a thorough understanding with Duncan, Sherman & Co. Conferences were held during three days. The situation was carefully canvassed. At the end of the third day, in Mr. Bacon's room at the hotel, assurance was given that the New York house would extend credit to the St. Louis house to the amount of $250,000. This was to be on the real estate securities which Mr. Bacon carried with him to New York. Mr. Bacon came back to St. Louis satisfied that with this help the house would withstand and stringency. In a few days he received a telegram from Duncan, Sherman & Co. that it would be impossible to extend the credit as that house must protect itself. Mr. Bacon appealed by wire: "For God's sake, do not desert us, if you do we are ruined and half of St. Louis with us." The appeal was fruitless. Duncan, Sherman & Co. answered that a banking house had no right to risk its money in real estate. It refused to do anything for Page & Bacon. The shutters went up. Perhaps no other bank failure in the history of St. Louis was attended with so general public sympathy for the heads of the institution. Daniel D. Page and Henry D. Bacon had served the city of their adoption well.

No over-speculation, no failure, no dishonest methods at home ever have precipitated panic in this city. There have been local bank failures but they were not of such importance as to shake general confidence in the financial institutions of the city. There has been individual dishonesty but so rare and so exceptional as not to disturb faith in the honesty of the bankers of St. Louis. No wild wave of speculation ever swept over the city. Financial straits have had their beginning elsewhere and St. Louis has shared in them through sympathy or through circumstances beyond her control. So it was in 1855.

There were no wildcat banks in St. Louis but a flood of wildcat currency flowed into the city from the outside. From the east side of the river, whence had come population and civilization, came also the notes of banks established under laws with the minimum of restrictions. They operated under law which permitted the issue of bank notes on State bonds, on county bonds, on city bonds, on township bonds, on canal bonds, on railroad bonds. These notes came to St. Louis, a veritable deluge of currency. They passed into trade. They paid for goods, for machinery, for food supplies. They passed

from par quickly to discount, dropping three, five, ten and more per cent until they were worth not over fifty cents on the dollar.

Financial conditions were erratic after 1855. Following the crisis which attended the closing of Page & Bacon, the private banks had between two and three years of good times. The manner in which the men of large fortunes had supported the credit of these banks in 1855, the fact that but one of the banks, Page & Bacon, had been forced into liquidation made a strong impression on the rest of the country. St. Louis had come through this latest of panics with such showing of financial integrity that other cities marveled and admired.

In 1857, just at the time when the transition from private banking to the organization of banks under the new State law was on, the next crisis came. The trouble started away from St. Louis. An institution very popular throughout the Mississippi Valley, the Ohio Life and Trust company of Cincinnati, failed. Its liabilities were $7,000,000. The announcement came on the 24th of August. St. Louis bankers recognized what was coming. They began to reduce their loans in New York. In sixty days half of the credit in New York had been withdrawn. Many failures occured in the east. About the middle of September banks in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington suspended. Stocks declined forty per cent. Industrial establishments closed down. About the middle of October banks in New York, with one exception, suspended payments and the New England banks followed. On the 28th of September St. Louis bankers began to feel seriously the stringency. That day depositors wanted specie. The St. Louis banks opened and paid out to all comers. At ten o'clock in the morning Darby & Barksdale stopped paying checks with specie. A little later J. J. Anderson & Co. suspended payments. The heaviest run of the day was on James H. Lucas & Co. This house at the time was doing the largest banking business in the west. Actuated by public spirit and hoping to stop the run which they believed was unwarranted, eighteen men of wealth, without request or suggestion from the banking house, came together that day and signed a guarantee to protect depositors with J. H. Lucas & Co. The eighteen were James E. Yeatman, James Harrison, John How, R. J. Lockwood, Edward J. Gay & Co., Ed. Walsh, John O'Fallon, John H. Gay, M. Brotherton, W. Renshaw, Jr., J. S. McCune, D. A. January & Co., D. H. Armstrong, Charles K. Dickson, Thomas T. Gantt, William M. McPherson, James B. Eads, Charles Tillman. The paper which these men signed was as follows:

> The undersigned, believing that there is nothing in the condition of affairs to justify a want of confidence on the part of the community in the several banking houses of St. Louis, do hereby, in order to allay the apprehensions of depositors and to prevent the inconveniences which might result from a run on their depositories (without intending by their action to intimate a distrust of any other house), guarantee and assure to all persons having accounts with the banking house of James H. Lucas & Co. the safety of their respective deposits.

Fourteen men of large means signed a similar guarantee for depositors with Renick & Peterson. This house and that of J. H. Lucas & Co. were

sustaining the most serious withdrawals of deposits. Renick & Peterson had been obliged to suspend for a few weeks in 1855, at the time the Page & Bacon suspension occurred. It is to be borne in mind that suspension of payments by the St. Louis banking houses of those days did not mean failure. Unanticipated withdrawals exhausted specie on hand even when the house might have on hand large amounts of paper money. Under such circumstances the house stopped paying out specie until it could replenish the supply in the safe and then resumed. The citizens who guaranteed the deposits with Renick & Peterson were Samuel Gaty, Robert Campbell, Edward Walsh, John How, Charles K. Dickson, Thomas T. Gantt, J. J. Murdock, O. D. Filley, G. F. Filley, J. B. Sickles, Livermore, Cooley & Co., W. Renshaw, Jr., W. H. Benton, and H. Crittenden.

The guarantees had marked local effect. Some of the banking houses sustained small runs on the following day. Undoubtedly the Lucas institution would have remained open if the drain had been limited to St. Louis depositors. But the house had a large out of town business. It had established a branch bank in San Francisco. Major Henry S. Turner had given up the position of assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis in 1852 to engage in the banking business with his relative, James H. Lucas. At Major Turner's instance, Captain William Tecumseh Sherman left the army at that time to join him in the banking business. The two went to San Francisco and conducted the branch of the J. H. Lucas & Co. house. In 1855 San Francisco passed through a panic and the Lucas branch sustained a severe run but lived through it. In 1857, the San Francisco branch was closed on the recommendation of Captain Sherman who had remained in charge after the return of Major Turner to St. Louis in 1855.

The drain on J. H. Lucas & Co. continued from out of the city. There was plenty of "currency" in St. Louis. There was not enough specie. Many obligations were payable in specie. The bank bills were useless to such debtors. Several large establishments were compelled to close business temporarily. On the 4th of October the banking-house of E. W. Clark & Brothers stopped paying cash on checks, the suspension being temporary. On the 5th of October J. H. Lucas & Co. suspended and went into liquidation. It had paid out over $1,000,000 in coin. The manner in which the business was liquidated is one of many incidents which honor the history of banking in St. Louis. James H. Lucas assumed, personally, all of the obligations of the bank. He gave notes to the creditors for the full amounts. He paid those notes with ten per cent interest. From the debtors to the banking house he accepted what they were able to pay, without suit. This honorable treatment of creditors and merciful policy toward debtors cost Mr. Lucas over $500,000.

Very strongly, throughout the history of banking in St. Louis, is impressed the obligation to the depositor. It was a vital principle of the banking of early times that the St. Louis banker risked his own money where he would not venture his depositor's. Banking capital might become impaired. Reorganization might be found necessary. But always the money of the

depositor must be protected. A theory of public trust entered into the business. Possibly this idea had its beginning in the inflexible, scrupulous supervision which John O'Fallon maintained over the Branch bank of the United States. Doubtless the high sense of honor which the pioneers in business in St. Louis preserved prompted the unwritten code which regulated banking in St. Louis. Certain it is that generation after generation of bankers stood ready to sacrifice their own fortunes, if need be, rather than that the people who had trusted their money to them should be losers.

The day after the closing of the Lucas banking-house the Boatmen's Savings sustained a run. All day long the withdrawals continued. Some of the other institutions sent offers of specie. The trustees declined with thanks. In the afternoon the Boatmen's Savings posted this notice, signed by the president, Sullivan Blood:

> Whereas, there are rumors injurious to this institution, that a portion of its cash funds is on deposit in other institutions of this city, the board deem it proper to state that all the cash funds belonging to it are in its own vaults.

Sullivan Blood had the sense of responsibility for other people's money which made him an ideal bank president. He was a man of nerve. He was of Vermont birth. Left an orphan, he made his way westward when he was under age. Working his way down the Ohio on a flatboat, he came to St. Louis in 1817. The town, it was then, was beginning to put on city airs. Watchmen were deemed necessary to preserve the peace and protect citizens. Sullivan Blood became a watchman and later was promoted to be captain of the watch. He held this place ten years. He was chosen an alderman. The river appealed to him. His boats became very popular because of the confidence Captain Sullivan Blood's personality inspired with all who became acquainted with him. This quality he possessed in extraordinary degree. It was inborn. It showed itself in his service as captain of the watch. When the time came to reorganize the Boatmen's under a new charter, Captain Blood, by common consent of those interested, was picked as the man for president. He held the office twenty-three years. The tribute the public paid to Sullivan Blood's character was shown in an incident of the bank's early history. In 1854 a robber got into the safe before the opening hour and carried away $18,000 in paper money and $1,000 in gold. Page & Bacon, Lucas & Simonds, Loker, Renick & Co., E. W. Clark & Brothers, and J. J. Anderson & Co. offered to advance money, anticipating that the robbery might start a run. The business of the bank went on as if nothing had happened. The help was not needed. The robber was not caught.

The year 1857 saw the regeneration of banking in St. Louis. Then came into existence, with beginnings almost infantile compared with present strength, the great financial institutions of St. Louis' present. Back to 1857 the Mechanics-American, the Merchants-Laclede, the National Bank of Commerce and the Third National look for their birthdays. It is a record of fifty-two years. Ten years earlier the St. Louis Boatmen's Savings Institution, in 1847, had been established. It was without capital. It was to be a bank

"where boatmen and other industrious classes can safely deposit at interest their earnings." Profits were to be divided among the depositors who deposited $100 or more within the first six months and allowed the money to remain. The institution was managed by trustees. In 1856 the institution took a new charter and with a capital of $400,000 entered the regular banking field.

The regeneration of the banking business in 1857 came about through a general banking law passed by the Legislature that year. This law provided for the organization of banks. It authorized the issue of two dollars in paper for each dollar of paid up capital. Banks were made subject to inspection by a State commissioner. Six banks were started in St. Louis under this law. Three of the six are today among the strongest institutions of the city. The Merchants then is the Merchants-Laclede today. The Mechanics of 1857 is the Mechanics-American now. The Southern of that year took a national bank charter when the national banking law was enacted and is today the Third National.

The other three of the six banks organized under this State law of 1857 were the Exchange, Union and St. Louis. Two years before this banking law was passed, the State Savings Association, in 1855, was given a charter as a savings bank and went into operation. It became the State National.

The same year that the six banks started, the National Bank of Commerce had its beginning under the name of the St. Louis Building and Savings Association. It was organized under a charter which gave it banking privileges and was a bank from the beginning. In 1869 the name of Bank of Commerce was taken. Still later the St. Louis National Bank was absorbed by the Bank of Commerce, so that this institution may be said to have started in 1857 from two roots. The German Savings had its beginning in 1853. Its capital was $25,000.

The first president of the St. Louis Building and Savings Association, now the National Bank of Commerce, was Marshall Brotherton. Two brothers came from Pennsylvania in the early days. One became sheriff of St. Louis. His brother, Marshall, was his deputy. Afterwards Marshall Brotherton became sheriff and served so acceptably that he was reelected several times. For his reputation of integrity and devotion to duty he was chosen president of the St. Louis Building and Savings. Afterwards he served as president of the Bremen Savings.

The notice to the public with which the Boatmen's began business was in this unusual form:

> The Boatmen's Savings Institution will henceforward be opened daily from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m., and on Saturdays till 6 p. m. until further ordered. On Fridays no males will be admitted, this day being expressly set apart by the trustees for the female community. The institution for the present is located at No. 16 Locust street, one door west of Main, and those who become its patrons are respectfully requested to circulate among their friends and neighbors its charter and by-laws.

Seven banks of St. Louis have had continuous existence of over fifty

years. Their dates of first organization ranged from 1847 to 1857. The official statements of these seven banks in 1908 showed:

Capital	$ 20,300,000
Surplus	19,600,000
Deposits	150,000,000

The run of October 6, 1857, compelled the Mutual Savings Institution under the Planter's on Fourth and Pine streets, to suspend payments. At the Bank of Missouri, the Gibraltar of the banking business in St. Louis, specie was called for all day. The German Savings and the Franklin Savings stood an all day run without closing. Tesson & Danjen, Benoist & Co., Franciscus & Co., Renick & Peterson and the other private banking houses went through that October day without being forced to close. But the experience was enough to prompt a meeting of business men that afternoon. A committee appointed at a previous meeting "to advise on the currency question," made a report. The business men took important action along two lines. One was the memorializing of the Legislature "not to issue any State bonds, except such as previous legislation makes imperative to be issued, and to pass such a revenue law as will give to the world the most perfect assurance that, under any and all circumstances, Missouri will pay her interest and protect her obligations."

The reason for this action was that Missouri had been prodigal in the issue of bonds to railroads and the inflation was working disastrous conditions for the banks and business of St. Louis.

The other act of the merchants' meeting was the adoption of a resolution "that the business men of St. Louis will continue to receive for the present the good currency (meaning Illinois bank-notes which were thought to be better secured than any other) afloat in the country in all transactions at par." Probably this was not so wise as was the memorial, from the banking point of view. The merchants felt that they could not turn away the flow of money from the Illinois trade, even though it was bringing danger to the specie in the banks.

On the 19th of October, Tesson & Danjen reached the danger line and stopped payment. Five days later the State Bank was compelled to suspend business for two days. The Merchants, one of the new banks under the State law, stopped payments of specie on the morning of October 26. The Southern stopped an hour after opening. The Mechanics met the demand all day but was compelled to follow the others and to refuse to pay out specie for a short time. This temporary suspension of specie payments in St. Louis was only the echo of what was going on in the rest of the country. The panic of 1857 was attended by 5,123 bankruptcies in the United States and Canada with $299,800,000 liabilities. Cotton dropped from sixteen cents to eight and one-half cents a pound. Fourteen railroads stopped paying interest on $189,000,000 bonds.

In St. Louis the six new banks took over most of the business from the private banking-houses. The close of 1857 brought resumption. Banking

was carried on safely and sanely until the war cloud grew dark in November, 1860.

George K. Budd brought with him from Philadelphia a genius for financial initiative. He established the private banking house of Budd & Park in 1839 or 1840. Later he made of the Intelligencer a financial paper which commanded public respect as well as interest. He was one of the founders of the Boatmen's bank, which was organized on a plan entirely novel for those times. Later, Mr. Budd drafted the charter for the Real Estate Savings and became the president of that bank. He had some of the ideas which have made the trust companies so popular and profitable in the St. Louis field, but he was ahead of the time for such institutions. St. Louis was then passing through the savings bank stage. George K. Budd thought he could see the wisdom and profit of a combination of banking and real estate within the limitations of trusteeship. He was right and time has proved it. His faith in the future of St. Louis realty led to large investments of outside money.

Lincoln was elected in November, 1860. On the 26th of the month St. Louis banks, with the exception of the Exchange, temporarily suspended payment. They resumed but the winter was full of financial uncertainty. Southern states were holding conventions and adopting ordinances of secession. In April war was seen to be inevitable. On the 24th of the month the officers of the banks of St. Louis united on a conservative line of action which averted a threatened panic. October of 1861, with the war in progress, was a crucial test of banking in St. Louis. The bank presidents held meetings and endeavored to prevent misunderstandings. On several days in that month there was confusion caused by one St. Louis institution refusing to accept the notes of another. Before the end of the month an agreement was reached whereby the notes of the State, Mechanics, Merchants and Southern banks were accepted by any of these banks. The notes of these four banks constituted about all of the good money in circulation in St. Louis at the time.

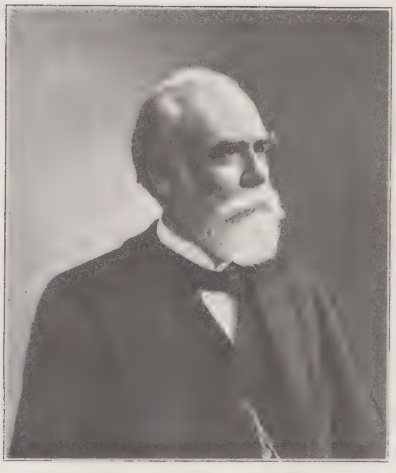
In July, 1861, after the battle of Bull Run, the bankers of St. Louis were beginning to realize what war meant to their business. Besides the general conditions of uncertainty which applied to the entire country, they were confronted by the circumstances peculiar to a community on the border line. Here was division of local sentiment, sharply drawn and personally bitter. Here existed complete paralysis of relations with a large part of natural trade territory. Business in many lines was suspended. In directions stimulated by war conditions it was unnatural, fictitious. Through the war period the banks of St. Louis felt their way.

An army officer on an expedition with a Union force sent up the Missouri found in a bank at Boonville $134,000 belonging to the Bank of St. Louis. He seized the specie and brought it to St. Louis. His superiors did not take the responsibility of returning the money to the bank to which it belonged. Those were days when wholesale confiscation of property of sympathizers with the South was being advocated. The loyalty of the bank offi-

MICHEL D. TESSON

GEORGE E. LEIGHTON

JAMES H. LUCAS



GEORGE S. DRAKE

JOSEPH O'NEIL

ST. LOUIS BANKERS OF SEVERAL GENERATIONS

cers might be called in question. The money remained for some time in the custody of an express company. After conditions in St. Louis became better understood and policies were determined the money was given back to the bank. The incident illustrates only one of many strange occurrences in the banking business of St. Louis in 1861.

The last day of July, 1861, the State commissioner reported under the banking law on the condition of the St. Louis banks. He classified the banks of St. Louis on some basis of relationship to the military authority which was then supreme in St. Louis. In one class the commissioner put the State bank, the Merchants' and the Exchange with circulation outstanding to the amount of $3,411,595. The banks put in another class were the St. Louis, Mechanics', Southern and Union. These four banks had outstanding, St. Louis, $472,110; Mechanics', $832,625; Southern, $715,070; Union, $1,067,510. In the savings institutions the commissioner found $3,000,000. The circulation of the seven banks was practically the money on which business was being done in St. Louis. The effect of the classification, or, if not the effect, the inference from the classification was that about half of the circulation was in a measure discredited until the attitude of the government toward the four banks was determined.

In this situation, with everybody looking askant at his neighbor and loyalty waiting upon definition and application, the bank presidents of St. Louis worked out their financial salvation. One day the notes of one bank were not accepted by another. Within a week, perhaps, the ruling was reversed. The presidents held meeting after meeting. Bank notes fluctuated in value. The discount was greater on the paper bills of the bank or banks shut out from the acceptance by the other banks. It is easy to see to what these meetings of the bankers of St. Louis in 1861 were leading. The evolution of the clearing house system was in progress.

No small part the banking institutions of St. Louis performed in the exciting events of 1861. Gold and silver disappeared from general circulation. Military operations in and about the city required money. The United States sub-treasury, under charge of Isaac H. Sturgeon, could not take care of all of the sudden demand on the part of the government. Loans or credit, at St. Louis banks were found to be indispensable if the Union cause was to be assured here. Some of that credit was extended in, perhaps, not very good grace. But voluntarily or involuntarily the banks and private banks of this city became the creditors of the United States to what were large amounts in those days. When the government settled down to steady prosecution of the war, and the business of fighting became somewhat systematized late in 1861, the examination of accounts showed the amounts due the banks and bankers of St. Louis. In some cases the money had been taken with so little ceremony that it amounted almost to seizure. But the emergencies were great. The conditions were without precedent. As soon as its accounting officers could get to them the government acknowledged the obligations. The amounts found to be due banks and bankers in St.

Louis are given. Nearly all of this money was advanced in the first six months of 1861:

Boatmen's Saving Institution	$154,300
Building and Savings Association	127,613
Mechanics' Bank	36,000
Merchants' Bank	75,000
German Savings Institution	10,000
Robert S. Hays	42,000
Webb & Kaime	5,000
Southern Bank	10,000
Belchers' Sugar Refining Co., assignee	10,000
Partridge & Co.	5,000
Reed & Co.	4,500
McMechan & Ballentine	2,500
People's Savings Association	10,000
George D. Hall, assignee	10,000
Bank of Missouri	291,103
State Savings Association	37,255
Exchange Bank	141,337
Union Bank	68,877

These amounts the officers of the government found to be due the several banks and bankers. The debts were paid. Where specie had been taken in these loans, forced or voluntary, the government allowed ten per cent interest.

Business in St. Louis was done with the bank-notes of these State banks until the United States paper money made its appearance. Postage stamps were used a great deal for small change. In 1862 a government tax of ten per cent was put upon State bank-notes, rapidly driving them out of existence. One bank after another in St. Louis took advantage of the national banking act and "nationalized" as they called it then. In the summer of 1862 the hardships of the war began to tell upon the families of the volunteers. The Western Sanitary Commission was doing a great deal but the needs were beyond the responses. A movement to help volunteers enlisting and their families was started among the banks of St. Louis. The list of contributions shows how liberal and general was the answer in a period when the bankers were having troubles of their own.

State Savings Institution	$2,500
Bank of the State of Missouri	5,000
Merchants' Bank	2,000
Boatmen's Savings Institution	4,000
Southern Bank	500
Bank of St. Louis	600
Franklin Savings	500
Mechanics' Bank	2,000
L. A. Benoist & Co.	500
Exchange Bank	2,000
Tesson & Danjen	100
Allen, Copp & Nesbit	100
Union Bank	500
St. Louis Gaslight Co.	1,000

A banker by natural bent of mind was Louis A. Benoist. He was markedly an illustration of what an important part adaptability performs in this vocation. Choice of the business was no accident with Mr. Benoist. A large fortune did not tempt him into the life of a financier. Mr. Benoist's father was a fur trader who came to St. Louis from Canada when a young man, long before American occupation of St. Louis. His ancestors were of an illustrious French family. Away back in the line one of them was chamberlain in the reign of Charles VII. Possibly the traits which developed so notably in Louis A. Benoist came down through the generations from that controller of a royal treasury. On his mother's side Mr. Benoist was a Sanguinet, strong French stock of early St. Louis.

Louis A. Benoist was born in St. Louis the year before the American flag was raised. He had the best educational advantages of the day. He was tutored by Judge Tompkins, a man of much culture, who afterwards was on the supreme bench of the State. In his youth he attended St. Thomas College in Kentucky. He studied medicine two years with Dr. Trudeau and read law later in the office of Horatio Cozzens. These studies he pursued, not with the idea of practice, but for general education.

The death of his grandfather took Mr. Benoist to France to settle the estate. When he returned he began to lay the foundation for the business of a banker. In 1832 he established a regular banking business in St. Louis and six years later put in operation a branch at New Orleans. With a foresight which was the marvel of the banking profession of St. Louis for many years, Mr. Benoist conducted the business successfully through panics and depressions. Only once was he seriously embarrassed. In 1842, the conditions compelled temporary suspension. Mr. Benoist reopened his banking-house and paid all depositors with ten per cent. interest for the time their money had not been available to them. L. A. Benoist & Co. passed through the troublous times of 1857. At his death Mr. Benoist left an estate of $5,000,000. His knowledge of literature was extensive; his general information was world-wide.

The last two years of the war banking in St. Louis adjusted itself to new conditions. It entered upon a prosperous period which was not broken until 1873. The old haunting trouble of specie runs in the forties and fifties was past. All money was paper and all money was as good as the government. Old banks took out national charters. New banks were organized. In 1865 the International was started with $100,000 capital and William C. Lange, president; in 1867, the Franklin, first called the Franklin Avenue German Savings, with $60,000 capital and G. W. Garrels, cashier; in 1868 the Bremen Savings, with $100,000 capital; in 1872, the German American, with $150,000 capital; in 1873, the Northwestern Savings. These five banks still live and prosper with over a third of century of continued usefulness and success. They are to be taken into account with the seven heretofore mentioned as having passed the half century mark. The history of the banking business of no other city in the country presents such a showing as this.

The longevity of the leading banks of St. Louis has been remarkable.

More significant, perhaps are the long periods of service of many of the bankers. The Boatmen's has had three presidents in its sixty-odd years of activity,—A. D. Mills, seven years; Sullivan Blood, seventeen years; Rufus J. Lackland, thirty-nine years. This bank has had three cashiers,—Alton R. Easton, Charles Hodgman, and William H. Thomson. George S. Drake, who came from Hartford, Connecticut, was for twenty-four years the vice president. Mr. Thomson has the distinction of having been connected with the Boatmen's fifty-two years, during thirty-nine of which he has been cashier.

The hold of confidence which a long-lived bank gains on the community was illustrated when a citizen went into the Boatmen's at a time of stringency and offered $140,000 in currency to be used if wanted to meet withdrawals. The offer was declined with thanks. The bank had all of the ready money it needed and did not care to lock up a surplus. In 1847 Captain Thomas Dennis deposited $100 in the Boatmen's. He went to California in 1849 and did not return. In 1874, a Californian, James M. Lane, who had married a daughter of Captain Dennis, came with the proper authority, bringing the original deposit book, and received $2,565, the original deposit and its accummulations.

The State National has had five presidents,—R. M. Henning, John How, John J. Roe, Charles Parsons and John H. McCluney. Mr. Parsons was a life-long banker. He conducted banking business in Keokuk, Iowa, before he came to St. Louis. He filled the office of cashier before he became president of the State National, or State Savings, in 1870. His connection with this bank covered more than forty years. When John H. McCluney, in 1907, advanced from vice president to president of the State National he had been connected with that institution continuously for fifty years. A native of West Virginia, or Virginia as it was before the Civil war, Mr. McCluney had lived his life from childhood in St. Louis.

It was said of Eugene Karst that in twelve years as a bank teller no person presenting to him a check ever was required to be identified twice. Among banking officials by whom the details of the business were carried to perfection, Mr. Karst was a recognized phenomenon for memory of names and faces. He was a native of France. His mother was a Miltenberger. The family came to St. Louis in in 1838. In his early manhood, Mr. Karst entered the banking house of Bogy, Miltenberger & Co. That was in the period of private banking firms. With the St. Louis National and its predecessor Mr. Karst was connected as teller or cashier twenty-two years.

In these days a proposition to seek in New York subscriptions to the capital stock of a St. Louis bank would occasion surprise. Such a quest was undertaken in 1865. The Merchants Bank had been running on a State charter from 1857. At the close of the Civil war it was decided to change to a national bank. The St. Louis financiers who were in the Merchants bank were ambitious to make the capital stock considerably larger. They proposed that the reorganization as a national bank should show a capital of $700,000. That was heavy capitalization for a bank in those days. Sub-

scription books for stock in the Merchants National Bank of St. Louis were opened in New York city. The cashier, Mr. James E. Yeatman, was sent to New York to make personal effort to secure subscriptions. He was notably successful. A considerable portion of the $700,000 stock was subscribed in New York.

With the establishment of national banks, the Legislature of Missouri decided that the time had come for the State to go out of the banking business. In 1866 the State sold its stock in the old State Bank of Missouri. That institution had sood for nineteen years as the financial Gibraltar of St. Louis. It had been anathematized for ultra conservatism at times by the business men. But its management had been sane and safe. The first president was John Brady Smith. Afterwards Mr. Smith was the State and county collector and still later the first surveyor of the port of St. Louis when the city attained that importance in foreign trade. With his strict sense of business honor and stern integrity, John Brady Smith was an ideal president for a bank such as the "old State" was intended to be. His appearance, serious, dignified, sturdy, with coat almost invariably buttoned to his chin, personified the man who could be firm when the question involving trust was presented to him. John Brady Smith came of fine stock. His father, William Smith, was from Culpepper county, Virginia. He came to St. Louis with his family in 1810. At that time, John Brady Smith, who had been born in Lexington, Kentucky, while his father was in business there, was twelve years old. William Smith, the father, was a director in the first bank started in St. Louis. While holding that position and when he was counted one of the foremost citizens of St. Louis, William Smith fell a sacrifice to the intense feeling aroused in the city by the Benton-Lucas duel. On September 28, 1817, the day following the duel, a group of business men stood in front of the Washington Hotel, on Main and Pine streets, discussing the event of the previous day. William Thorp became angry at an expression of opinion by William Smith, drew his pistol and killed him.

The State's stock in the Bank of Missouri was purchased by a syndicate of capitalists headed by James B. Eads. The bank was made national. Through investments in enterprises like the bridge the capital of the bank became impaired. In 1876 the capital stock was reduced from $3,410,300 to $2,500,000. The next election of directors brought new blood into the board. A committee made an examination of the assets which had suffered in the general shrinkage of securities throughout the country. Upon the committee's report the directors decided to ask the comptroller of the currency for a receiver and to liquidate. The "old State Bank," which had weathered financial stress after stress, which had supplied paper money more highly esteemed than gold, passed out of existence.

Between 1864 and 1873 many banks were started. The close of the war brought back to business life men of ability who were seeking openings. Banking looked easy in the flush times of 1865-70. The city was expanding. The national banking law was encouraging. The State banking law did not safeguard as it does now. A few thousand dollars was capital. Na-

tional banks, savings banks and neighborhood banks multiplied in St. Louis. Paid up capital was not required. The number of banks of all kinds in St. Louis exceeded sixty. Savings banks paid six per cent on deposits. It is to be remembered that the population of the city at that time was about 300,000, but St. Louis was recovering the trade lost during the war and was extending its commercial influence in new directions. Undoubtedly the banks found business profitable until 1873. Then came the panic in the east. St. Louis banks apparently came through the crisis with less trouble than the banks in any other city. Not a bank closed. Clearing house certificates were resorted to for a short time. And then ordinary methods were resumed. But a period of stagnation followed. The strong and older institutions had carried the weaker through the crisis. The clearing house, then five years old, had been of great help to the situation. The four years that followed 1873 were trying. Twenty-five St. Louis banks went out of business. Twenty of them made good their depositors and transferred their business or consolidated. Most of these liquidating banks were of less than $150,000 capital. Some of them were under $75,000. In the summer of 1877 five banks closed in two weeks. They were small institutions, with one exception. Their exit from existence was not even a nine days' wonder. Five out of the twenty-five liquidating banks failed to pay depositors in full. In two cases, both outlying and small banks, criminal mismanagement was revealed. The losses incurred through these five banks were almost insignificant in comparison with the banking business of the city but they fell upon a large number of small depositors—working people and small tradesmen. The effects of these failures were altogether out of proportion to the actual money losses. One of them was the speedy enactment of State banking laws which drove into liquidation several more weak banks and which made impossible the organization of banks of the class that had been so numerous. Missouri, under the influence of this situation in St. Louis. pioneered the way for other States in bank laws. Another effect was the adoption of rules by the St. Louis clearing house which made it impossible for banks of weak capital to do business here. But a third and a far reaching effect was the discouragement which the failures gave to the savings class of depositors. For fifteen years this influence was felt. It gave great impetus to building associations. With wider distribution of wealth in proportion to population than ony other American city, St. Louis came to have a surprisingly small number of savings depositors. The thrift of the community showed itself in many small holdings of real estate instead of in savings bank accounts.

Between 1873 and 1877 St. Louis had thirty savings banks in operation. A thrifty population created an encouraging field. Unfortunately these institutions were started under a law which was too liberal. They began on a nominal capital ranging from $100,000 to $200,000. From ten to fifty per cent was paid in, so that some of these banks opened for business with from $10,000 to $50,000 paid in. In eighteen months of the stringency which followed 1873, seven of these savings banks went into liquidation. It is greatly

HENRY D. BACON

ISAAC H. STURGEON,
At the age of 45

JOHN J. ANDERSON

THE FINANCIERS OF SEVERAL GENERATIONS

to the credit of the majority of the men who put money into stock of these banks on mistaken ideas of the business that they saw to it depositors recovered their savings, although stockholders lost.

From between sixty and seventy the number of banks in St. Louis dropped in number to fifty. Even then nineteen of the fifty were savings banks. Nine of the nineteen had full paid capital. Liquidation continued. But while it progressed there were banks in St. Louis that continued to pay dividends, and the stock of which was away above par. In the decade between 1870 and 1880, St. Louis learned the lesson that a smaller number of strong banks is better for a community than many banks of less capital.

The St. Louis Clearing House is forty years old. It began operations the day before Christmas, 1868. The membership numbered thirty-four. The membership at the last annual meeting was sixteen. The evolution has been from many banks of moderate capital to fewer and stronger institutons. It is shown, in striking manner, by the changes as well as by reduction in membership.

Membership, 1868.

Accommodation Bank.
Bartholow, Lewis & Co.
Boatmen's Savings Institution.
Butchers' and Drovers' Bank.
Central Savings Bank.
Commercial Bank.
Exchange Bank.
First National Bank.
Fourth National Bank.
Fourth Street Bank.
Franklin Avenue German Savings Institution.
Franklin Savings Institution.
German Bank.
German Savings Institution.
Haskell & Co.
International Bank.
G. H. Loker & Brother.
Mechanics' Bank.
Merchants' National Bank.
National Bank State of Missouri.
National Loan Bank.
North St. Louis Savings Association.
Peoples' Savings Institution.
Provident Savings Institutions.
St. Louis National Bank.
St. Louis Building and Savings Association.
Second National Bank.
State Savings Association.
Third National Bank.
Traders' Bank.
Union National Bank.
United States Savings Institution.
Clark Brothers & Co.
Western Savings Bank.

Membership, 1909.

Boatmen's Bank.
Central National Bank.
Commonwealth Trust Co.
Franklin Bank.
German-American Bank.
German Savings Institution.
St. Louis Union Trust Co.
International Bank.
Merchants-Laclede National Bank.
Mercantile Trust Co.
Mississippi Valley Trust Co.
National Bank of Commerce.
South Side Bank.
State National Bank.
Third National Bank.
Mechanics-American National Bank.

Edward Chase, of Massachusetts birth and an inheritance of steady habits, came to St. Louis in 1847 to take charge of the branch house of Clark, Dodge & Co., then on Main and Olive streets. He was for twenty-six years manager of the St. Louis clearing house and became the recognized authority on what, perhaps, might be called the technique of banking. It was said of him that he never took a vacation and for twenty years did not miss

a day from the clearing house duties. Mr. Chase's recreation was found in music. Thomas A. Stoddart, a Pennsylvanian of Revolutionary stock, after many years of proven capability in the position of cashier of the Third National, succeeded Mr. Chase as manager of the clearing house and was followed by William M. Hoxton, of thorough financial training and of literary attainments.

Some of the most forceful men in the business community were quick to appreciate the beneficial tendency toward the reduction in the number of banks. George E. Leighton, a man of strong character and of wide experience, surprised the stockholders of the Mercantile bank by advising liquidation. Such was the respect for his judgment that the vote was largely in the affirmative. The depositors' accounts were turned over to the State Savings without loss. The business of the Mercantile was wound up with handsome return to the stockholders. Other consolidations prompted by the same movement to economize in management took place. They progressed without regard to the hard times of 1873 but in accordance with a natural evolution which was wholly in the interest of better financial conditions. Thus the City Savings bank was turned over to the Bank of North America. The Bank of North America liquidated through the Bank of St. Louis. The last mentioned institution reorganized with an honorable history from 1857 as the St. Louis National bank. In due course the St. Louis National was absorbed by the National Bank of Commerce, originally started in 1857 as the St. Louis Building and Savings Association. Charles G. Warner as a bank director and vice president won high repute in the banking and business community, although most widely known as an authority in railroad auditing and financing.

Joseph O'Neil, an Irish boy of twelve, came to this country with his widowed mother and several brothers and sisters. The family reached St. Louis in 1839. Joseph O'Neil had learned the carpenter's trade. He built houses. When the State Savings Association was organized in 1857 he had accumulated a little money which he invested in the bank, becoming a director. That was the beginning of his career as a banker. Archbishop Kenrick had acquired a great deal of church property but much of it was unproductive and in need of attention. Mr. O'Neil was chosen to take charge of the property. He succeeded so well that he was encouraged by the archbishop to organize a bank. The Central Savings was the result. After a time Mr. O'Neil differed with the other directors on the management. He opposed certain policies which he believed to be unwise. Withdrawing from the Central he founded the Citizens' Savings. His judgment was vindicated when the Central went into the hands of an assignee by reason of bad investments. The Citizens outlived nearly all of the other savings banks. Mr. O'Neil conducted it until 1891, when he retired from active business. Subsequently the bank went into liquidation and paid every dollar of deposits. Mr. O'Neil was a man of extraordinary sentiment. He was an admirer of Burns, and Moore and Mrs. Hemans to such an ex-

tent that he could recite poem after poem, by the hour. A nephew of Joseph O'Neil was Frank R. O'Neil, the newspaper man.

The banker's temperament was possessed in marked degree by James M. Franciscus. Sixty-two years in financial business, over forty years of that time in St. Louis, Mr. Franciscus went through panics, civil war and flush periods with exceptional success. He was of Maryland birth and had a trial of his chosen vocation as a broker in that excellent training school, Baltimore, before he came west. His career as a banker in St. Louis began in 1840. With his brother, John T. Franciscus, he conducted the banking house of Franciscus & Co. In the latter part of the decade of 1840-50 Mr. Franciscus conducted a brokerage business in New Orleans. He returned to St. Louis in 1851 to become a partner in the banking house of Gray & Co. In 1852 the house of Haskell & Co. was started with Mr. Franciscus as one of the principal partners. This developed into the Haskell bank, where Thomas E. Tutt and Mr. Franciscus became associated. Mr. Tutt had been a very successful business man and at one time a director in the State Bank. Mr. Tutt was president, and Mr. Franciscus, vice president of the Haskell bank. This bank was conducted without loss and with such success that its good will was purchased by the Lucas bank, in which both Mr. Tutt and Mr. Franciscus became directors, the latter being chosen president. After the panic of 1873, and when prudence prompted a reduction in the excessive number of banks in St. Louis, Mr. Franciscus recommended liquidation. He so conducted the winding up of the business that not only were depositors paid in full but stockholders after enjoying dividends of six and eight per cent. annually, received back all they had paid in and twenty per cent premium.

In 1877 Mr. Tutt became president of the Third National and three years later Mr. Franciscus, much against his wishes, for he desired to retire from active business, became vice president of that bank. In the management of three banks these two men were associated, one or the other being president. With the Third National they came into association with a third bank manager who ranks among the successful men in the banking history of St. Louis. John R. Lionberger was a Virginian, like Mr. Tutt, from Luray, Virginia. Mr. Lionberger's mother was a Miss Tutt. The stock was Scotch-Irish out of which have come some of the most notable business men of St. Louis. Mr. Lionberger was one of the organizers of the Southern Bank, one of the six banks formed under a general State banking law in 1857. The Southern became the Third National in 1864 and three years later Mr. Lionberger was made the president. He was among the founders of the St. Louis clearing-house and a strong figure in the trying period from 1873 to 1875. In 1876 Mr. Lionberger resigned the presidency of the Third National to go abroad. When he returned he was elected vice president. These three men were genial, public spirited, generous in their personal relations but of scrupulous integrity in the handling of bank business. An extraordinary association was that of these three bankers. Mr. Tutt was a student of finance. In his busy life as a merchant he had read

and thought much on monetary theories. He wrote forcibly upon financial topics. Mr. Franciscus' bent was in the direction of practical details of banking. He was masterly. He never forgot that periods of depression and stagnation were inevitable in the financial world. Mr. Lionberger had strong inclination toward public and semi-public enterprises. He gave freely of his time and energy to matters for the common good. He was a moving spirit in the Board of Trade of St. Louis, before the time of the Business Men's League and represented the local organization in the National Board of Trade. He participated in the early railroad enterprises. He made the remarkable record of financial relationship with eighty corporations in most of which he served as a director.

In one block on Third street, in 1873, there were five banks. Four years later there was only one of the five remaining in business. Third and Second were the financial streets of that period. They lost that distinction in the decade of liquidation and consolidation. The Clerks' Savings was one of the institutions started with considerable enthusiasm. It organized with a capital of $1,000,000, of which twenty per cent was paid up. Afterwards this capital was reduced to $200,000. The name was changed to the Security and the bank was conducted for some time on Fifth and Olive streets. The business was turned over to the Manufacturers'. Depositors lost nothing and stockholders got back a considerable portion of what they had paid in. The Union National closed up depositors' accounts on its liquidation. The Traders' went out of business in a respectable way. The West St. Louis paid its depositors in full. When the Hibernia closed the patriotic Irishmen who had started it promptly prepared to pay depositors in full, taking the chances of any loss there might be in the liquidation of slow assets. The Hibernia took care of the deposit accounts of the Guardian Savings.

Some of the banks which passed out of existence, either by absorption or liquidation were: The Real Estate Savings, the Home Savings, the Provident Savings, the First Ward Savings, the Mullanphy Savings, the City, the Central, the Mutual, the Accommodation, the Butchers and Drovers, the Broadway, and the German.

The United States Savings turned over its business to the Mechanics' in 1879. The First National became the Empire and the Empire turned its accounts over to the Lafayette which survived and prospered. The history of the Lafayette has proven what there is in management. Founded in 1876, in the period when the tendency was so strong toward consolidation, the Lafayette not only outlived the banks in its vicinity but grew to be one of the strongest of the institutions not located in the heart of the city. The predecessor of the Lafayette bank was the Lafayette Savings. One of the directors in the original institution was Fred Arendes. Some of the successful bankers of St. Louis have come through other professions and with liberal education. Others have come from the trades and with the memory of long hours and strictest- economy. There has been no royal road to the banking that has endured in St. Louis. Fred Arendes came to St.

Louis in 1849 and worked as a journeyman tailor. The first fifty dollars he was able to save he sent to Germany to bring his mother to this country. He was the first president of the Lafayette bank and held the position twenty-two years, until his death. Standing beside the body of Fred Arendes. one who had known him most of his lifetime in St. Louis said: "I never heard him speak a profane word. No poor person asked help of him and was refused."

In 1875 the clearing house took action intended to encourage consolidation of banks without sufficient capital. This rule was adopted:

> No member shall be added to this association unless such member shall have a paid up capital of $150,000. No member having a less amount of paid up capital than $150,000 shall be allowed to make exchanges through the clearing house for any non-member except under such contracts as are now existing.

The rule could not, of course, be made retroactive. It did express the conviction of the members that the time had come in St. Louis banking to insist upon sufficient capital. The Legislature acted. Bills were passed providing for the publication of bank statements periodically. Banks were compelled to stop doing business when the capital was impaired to the extent of more than twenty-five per cent. At least half of the subscribed capital must be paid up. Dividends were forbidden when capital had been impaired. These and other wholesome provisions went into effect the summer of 1877. Stringent penalties for mismanagement were imposed. Influential in promoting this legislation was the assignee of one of the banks in liquidation. This assignee was M. H. Phelan, a state senator at the time. The bank of which Mr. Phelan was assignee was the Central Savings.

Incidents of the early banking in St. Louis would be impossibilities under present methods and conditions. About 1850 a loss of $80,000 to the Bank of Missouri occurred. That difference between the cash account on the books and the specie in the vaults was discovered. When and how the abstraction of this large amount of money took place remained a mystery. An arrest was made and prosecution followed. The result was acquittal. So wanting was foundation for suspicion, as shown by the evidence, that the person charged was given a government position. The theory of the bank management was that the money was taken long before the discovery. A practice of the board was to appoint at frequent intervals a committee to count all of the money in the vaults. This should have detected the loss quickly. It appeared, however, that this counting had taken place under such conditions that the deficit might have existed years without being shown by the report of the counting committee of directors. This counting was a work of some hours. The committee entered the vaults in the morning and counted steadily until noon. Then the vaults were closed and the committee went out to lunch. It was the theory of the board that, during the temporary absence of the committee, the vaults were entered by some one connected with the bank and that enough money was shifted back to the uncounted portion to cover the deficit. The report of the committee was thus made to agree with the books. How long this had gone on, if indeed

it was the case, the board never learned. All explanations rested solely on theory. After the discovery of the loss, some member of the counting committee remained in the vaults at lunch time.

One important lesson which the panic of 1873 taught the bankers of St. Louis was the wisdom of united harmonious action. All through the spring and summer of that year stringency was shown in the money market of New York. The signs of distress were freely exhibited. Jay Cooke & Co. failed about the middle of September. The New York Stock Exchange closed for some days. About the end of September, the 25th, the St. Louis clearing house adopted the plan of settling balances with clearing house certificates and agreed to the following to hold good until the first of November:

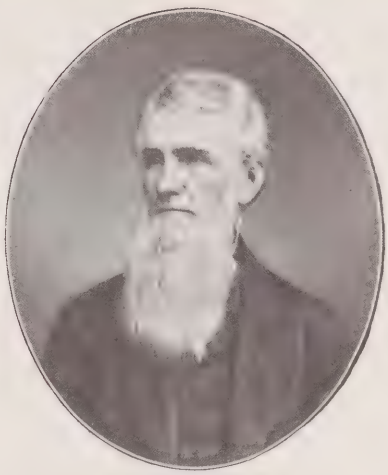
"We will not pay out money, except for small amounts to be optional."

In the emergency of a shortage of cash the city resorted to a temporary issue of scrip called "brownbacks." These notes were used to pay city salaries. Being receivable for taxes, licenses and other municipal dues, they helped to relieve the situation so far as the city employes and those dependent on them were concerned.

The shrinkage in values in the country were estimated to be $300,000,000 in four weeks. Nevertheless St. Louis with the excessive number of banks, between sixty and seventy, passed through the crisis without a single bank failure. The reduction in the number of banks which came later was in obedience to a general sentiment that the business was overdone and that the banking business and the city as well would be better off with fewer and stronger institutions.

One of the best managed of the savings banks was the Union Savings. This bank was organized in 1864 with Thomas S. Rutherford as president. It went through the trying times of the seventies and became the foundation on which was built up the American Exchange. The Mechanics' Bank had for presidents during the greater part of its existence, from organization in 1857, Oliver Garrison and David K. Ferguson. Consolidation of the Mechanics and the American Exchange created the Mechanics-American National. When Robert Randolph Hutchinson came back to St. Louis from four years of hard service in the Confederate army, the Drake test oath barred the way of return to his profession. Born in Virginia, his father of Connecticut stock, his mother of the historic Carter family, Mr. Hutchinson was educated at the University of Virginia and at Berlin. The law was his profession. He became connected with the Lucas bank and later with the Mechanics. Of the latter he was cashier and following the retirement of Mr. Ferguson became president. He was also president of the clearing house. The change from law to banking turned out to be to his liking and Mr. Hutchinson was for thirty years in active and successful banking life. In 1908 the head of one of the largest banks of St. Louis attained his majority in the local profession. That is to say, he began his banking career in St. Louis in 1887. Before that he had been teller or cashier of banks in Richmond,—the Planters and the City, for sixteen years. Walker

D. K. FERGUSON



GEORGE K. BUDD

RICHARD HOSPES

THOMAS E. TUTT

R. M. FUNKHOUSER

C. HODGMAN

ST. LOUIS BANKERS

Hill's connection with the business in St. Louis began as cashier of the American Exchange. After the consolidation, forming the Mechanics'-American National, Mr. Hill was made president. The theory of once a banker always a banker has had its practice contributing not a little to the personal character and material success of the banking of St. Louis. This has found illustration in such men as G. W. Garrels, Tom Randolph, W. P. Kennett, J. A. Lewis, Edward Hidden, N. A. McMillan, Richard Hospes, L. A .Battaile, George E. Hoffman, George W. Wilson, George W. Galbreath, James E. Brock, Frederick Vierling, William Moffitt. Some men seem born to the vocation of banking, get into early and live their lives in it with a fitness the community recognizes.

Edward Walsh participated in the organization and early conduct of the Bank of Missouri and later of the Merchants' bank. The genius that was his by nature for safe management of financial affairs descended to his son Julius S. Walsh. The latter was identified as director with the Merchants', the Laclede and the Third National. In 1890 he was the leading spirit in the organization of the Mississippi Valley Trust company, of which he became president. He held the presidency a number of years until he became chairman of the board, relinquishing the executive duties of the presidency to Breckinridge Jones. The characteristics of the Walshes, father and son, have had as much influence as that of any two men upon the development of banking in St. Louis. These financiers combined enterprise and conservatism in the proportions which take into account the varying conditions of business. Through alternate prosperity and panic, from 1837 to 1909, the influence of Edward Walsh and of Julius S. Walsh had been of vital value in the institutions to which it was given.

With some of the successful bankers of St. Louis inclination toward financial business seems to have been inherited. Breckinridge Jones, of an old Kentucky family tracing lineage back to Wales, was educated for the law. From almost the beginning of his practice in St. Louis, as a young man, Mr. Jones, gave his attention to financial organization. He participated in the founding of the Mississippi Valley Trust company, became the secretary, then counsel, second vice president, first vice president, and president. The genius of Mr. Jones in what might be termed, perhaps, law-finance, was shown in the preliminary movement for the World's Fair. The plan and the form of financing the Exposition were drawn by Mr. Jones. They were followed without alteration by the finance committee of which William H. Thompson was chairman. They not only worked out successfully in practical detail but stood the test of perfect legality in court after court. This plan, devised by Mr. Jones, has since been accepted as a model in later exposition movements. It has been copied and carried into effect by other cities.

A marble counter, tellers in solitary confinement, vaults full of currency, these alone do not constitute a bank. The architectural scheme has become one of the essentials. A building suitable for occupancy by a bank must have a dignified expression. The interior must make concessions in

space and in other respects to appearances that the character of the institution may be sustained. This means more than simply the room in which to transact the business of the bank. To put the argument, or the theory, somewhat differently, bank atmosphere must be created by the architecture from the first impression given to the vision by the outer facade. It must be strengthened by the passage through a spacious, effective but not too ornate portal. It must find fullest realization in the grand corridor flanked by great columns and the artistic fronts of the many departments of the business.

Thus the architect reasons but with better and more elaborate explanation of his theory when he comes before the directors of a bank about to build new or modernize old quarters. If these ideas are to be ignored, if the suggestion of architectural dignity means nothing, if the atmosphere of a bank need not be created in its surroundings, then a warehouse, or any old kind of a building, will do for a financial institution. The hardest headed, most thrifty banker of these times knows that appearances count. Banking in the Twentieth Century means more than the calculation of per cent. There may have been a time within the banker's memory when standing room for customers, counting room for cashier and teller and desk room for the excutive heads met the requirements of location in which to do banking business and when the architecture cut no figure. That time has passed. The architect has come into his own in bank designing and construction for St. Louis.

The earliest business experience of Charles H. Huttig was in a bank at Muscatine, Iowa, where he was born. Three years Mr. Huttig studied the details of banking in the house of Cook, Musser & Co. When he became connected with the Third National of St. Louis, as a member of the board of directors, he was equipped with practical knowledge of the business. Mr. Huttig was for some time vice-president of the Third National before he became president in 1897. When, in 1906, the American Bankers' Association selected representatives from the principal money centers of the country to draft a plan of currency reform to be laid before the government, Mr. Huttig and Mr. Festus J. Wade were chosen to represent the banks and trust companies of St. Louis and the southwest.

Somebody asked Festus J. Wade one day to define his theory of banking. His answer was: "To get in every dollar I can and make it earn as much as it will, with perfect security."

The answer was characteristic of the man's straightforward, clean-cut ways of managing the business. The faculty of going about anything in the quickest and easiest way, which Festus J. Wade possesses to a marked degree was illustrated when the East St. Louis Trust and Savings bank was opened. Mr. Wade had been one of the managing spirits in that organization. The day had been set for the opening. The capital had been deposited with the National Bank of Commerce while the subscriptions were being collected. Mr. Wade went to the bank, drew out the capital, $250,000, for the new institution in large bills. He placed the bills in the

inside pockets of his coat and left the bank. Entirely alone, he walked to the Eads bridge and got a street car. When he reached the Illinois side, he walked several blocks to the location of the new bank and handed the money to the cashier. It never seemed to occur to him that there was anything unusual in carrying a quarter of a million dollars in his coat pockets through the streets and across the bridge without escort or weapon.

At the age of fifty, Festus J. Wade presided over a trust company and a national bank. He looked through the plate glass window into the street where thirty-two years ago he drove the mule in front of a bobtail street car for two of the strong men in his present boards of directors—John Scullin and James Campbell. He was then eighteen years old but he had led a business life seven years. His career to help himself began in 1870 when he went into the dry goods store of D. Crawford & Co. as a cash boy. From the time he was eleven he was seeking his level by a series of upward steps. When he was twenty years old he discovered that the education a boy receives in the public school before he is eleven is not sufficient to capitalize him for all that life holds out for him if he is energetic and ambitious. At the age of twenty, therefore, he began to go to school again. Now it was a business college. Four years, until he was twenty-four, the young man faithfully and industriously followed the courses of the college, taking his nights to make good the loss of the boyhood years. His life has been one of continuous, persistent efforts but it is doubtful if any other part of it has called for the degree of application which attended the nearly four years of all-day office work and half-night study.

Three men from the same part of Virginia had much to do with the development of banking in St. Louis. John D. Perry of Scotch-Irish ancestry, a strain of which has been virile and beneficial to the profession, was one of the founders of the Exchange bank in 1857. This bank won the distinction of redeeming in specie all of the notes issued under the banking law of the state. No matter when the Exchange bank-note came to the counter, in time of depression or war, the hard money was there to be paid out in redemption. One other bank in the country made the like record,—the Chemical of New York. Mr. Perry was president of the Exchange bank several years. A loan was made to John C. Fremont who at that time, just before the war, was engaged in building a railroad in Missouri. Fremont got the money and pledged rails as collateral. The Exchange bank made the loan at the rate of $100 a ton, about four times what the same weight in rails would be worth in these days. But the market value of the rails at that time was $140 a ton. The present generation wonders why railroad building in Missouri was so costly in the pioneer period. Fremont had been a famous explorer when he was in the army. He had headed the Republican presidential ticket in 1856. He was a "Pathfinder" in a new country and in politics but he was not a business man. The Exchange bank had to take the rails for the loan.

Soon after the war, John D. Perry, Thomas J. Bartholow and William J. Lewis formed the banking house of Bartholow, Lewis & Co. Mr. Perry

and Mr. Lewis were brothers-in-law. They married sisters, daughters of Talton Turner of Howard County. Mr. Perry and General Bartholow were cousins. Mr. Perry's mother was a Bartholow. Though the influence of Mr. Perry, General Bartholow came to Missouri some years before the war. At the breaking out of hostilities General Bartholow joined the Union army and served with distinction, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. He took active charge of the banking firm. Mr. Lewis, in 1866, had participated in the formation of the Commercial bank. He became the second president of it serving ten years and refusing salary. Bartholow, Lewis & Co. was a partnership in the beginning. In 1872 the firm was incorporated. General Bartholow was president until 1878. Mr. Perry became president that year. In 1881, Bartholow, Lewis & Co. became the Laclede bank with John D. Perry as president. In 1885 the Valley National united its fortunes with the Laclede the consolidation forming the Laclede National with Samuel E. Hoffman as president. Mr. Hoffman was president until 1895, in which year the Laclede National united with the Merchants' National, forming the Merchants-Laclede National with a board composed of the directors of the two institutions and with William H. Lee as president.

David R. Francis was the largest stockholder of the Laclede National when the consolidation with the Merchants National took place. He began buying stock in Bartholow, Lewis & Co., investing his first savings from his grain business when he was a young man. It was one of the traditions of the banking business that Mr. Francis never sold a share of his stock in the institution and its successors from the day of his first investment. He became vice-president of the Laclede before it was a national bank, and held the position through the changes except for two short intervals one of which was when he became a member of the cabinet of Mr. Cleveland. The John D. Perry estate remained in trust, the interest in the successive institutions being held intact for the heirs by the trustees.

William Nichols was an Indiana farmer boy. He came to St. Louis in 1867 and entered the Commercial bank. He became cashier and when William J. Lewis died, Mr. Nichols was made president. He held the position until the Commercial was taken over by the State National. Lewis C. Nelson was a Missouri born banker. He came from Boonville, graduated at Yale and took up banking from a natural taste for the profession. After managing a national bank in Fort Scott, Kansas, several years, Mr. Nelson came to St. Louis in 1877 and was for more than twenty years actively connected with the banks of this city. He was cashier of the Valley National and afterwards president of the St. Louis National. John Nickerson, of Revolutionary stock in New York state, began his banking career in St. Louis in 1867 as teller in the old State bank. After that he was cashier of the St. Louis National. At the time the St. Louis National was consolidated with the National Bank of Commerce Mr. Nickerson was president of the former. He became vice-president of the National Bank of Commerce.

When Chief Justice Ninian Edwards of Kentucky was selecting the name for a son born at Lexington in 1812, he had in mind admiration for the

then Secretary of the Treasury, the greatest financier in the United States of that period. He had no thought that he was founding a family destined to be a strong factor in the financial development of the southwest two generations later. Chief Justice Edwards was successively territorial governor, governor and United States Senator of Illinois. His son, Albert Gallatin Edwards was sent to West Point. Ten years after graduation he followed the life of an army officer, waiving a furlough in order to participate in the Blackhawk war. Leaving the army after the campaigns with the Indians, General Edwards entered commercial life in St. Louis. At the beginning of the Civil war he volunteered and was made a brigadier general. He became bank examiner under Governor Gamble. He was made assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis by President Lincoln and because of his excellent administration of the trust was continued term after term until President Cleveland came into office. With his sons, General Edwards founded the banking and brokerage house of A. G. Edwards & Co. Three sons followed in the footsteps of the father. Benjamin F. Edwards advanced step by step to the presidency of the National Bank of Commerce. George L. Edwards took charge of the business of A. G. Edwards & Co. and Albert G. Edwards, the second, became one of the controling managers and president of the Commonwealth Trust company.

Jacob C. Van Blarcom, of New Jersey parentage, with sturdy Holland ancestry behind him, came to St.Louis, a youth from Rutgers' college, in 1867. The cholera had made gaps in commercial ranks. Help was needed. Mr. Van Blarcom, at the age of eighteen years, became a traveling salesman. Three years later, in 1870, his connection with banking began, as head accountant in the Bank of Commerce. He developed an extraordinary capacity for improving on the banking-house routine of the period, introducing method after method which simplified the business and at the same time insured greaty safety. At the age of twenty-eight, Mr. Van Blarcom was cashier. Upon the death of William H. Thompson Mr. Van Blarcom was made president.

T. B. Edgar was one of the organizers of the Dollar Savings institution. The business of the Dollar Savings was turned over to the Exchange in 1857. Mr. Edgar was also prominent in the organization of the Second National which represented Jay Cooke & Co., placing several issues of government bonds. Mr. Edgar served as president of the Second National in the early period of its existence. Some time after the panic of 1873 the Second National paid its depositors and went into liquidation. The Continental was organized in 1866, taking over the business of the National Loan bank. Mr. Edgar became the president of the Continental and served until 1880 when he retired from active business life. George A. Baker succeeded to the presidency of the Continental. The capital of the bank was increased from $100,000 to $1,000,000 with a surplus of $250,000 under Mr. Baker's management. The deposits grew from $350,000 to $7,500,000. Mr. Baker continued at the head of the Continental until his death. He was succeeded by F. E. Marshall. The Continental was taken over by the National Bank

of Commerce, Mr. Marshall becoming one of the vice-presidents of the latter. In 1907 the Fourth National was consolidated with the National Bank of Commerce. The same year the Central National was established. W. S. Foreman was president until 1909 when he gave place to H. P. Hilliard, one of a little group of strong bankers drawn to St. Louis from Texas cities.

The experience of 1873-80 turned out greatly to the advantage of the banks of St. Louis. In 1882 there were twenty-four banks with $13,492,964 capital and surplus, and with $41,729,011 deposits. In 1898 there were twenty-one banks with $23,398,482 capital and surplus and with $92,683,370 deposits. In sixteen years capital had increased seventy-six per cent. and deposits over one hundred per cent. Moreover the banks had passed through another panic and period of depression,—1893. The experience of 1873 enabled the banks of St. Louis to pass through the panic of 1893 with the minimum of embarrassment. The two lessons well learned prepared the banks of St. Louis to control the situation in 1907 with less inconvenience and loss to themselves and the city than, perhaps, was experienced in any other money center, capital and population considered. When William H. Lee, the president of the clearing house, was asked for the secret of the happy escape of financial St. Louis from serious damage in the storm of 1907 he replied: "There is no secret. We came through without failures. That is the whole story." In February, 1909, the capital of the banks and trust companies of St. Louis was $39,350,000. The surplus and undivided profits were $43,297,018. The deposits were $295,786,016. The shares of stock issued were 392,000. They were distributed among 7,751 stockholders. The book value of the stock was $82,300,260, and the market value was $101,891,000.

CHAPTER X.

STEAMBOAT DAYS.

I will say that the captains of western river steamboats, as a class, may have been sometimes a little rough in their expressions, but were generous to a fault. I think, for exemplary conduct and manners, Captain J. C. Swon, of the Alex. Scott, stood at the head. For a model pilot, I think Captain Sellers, whose tomb in Bellefontaine is adorned by a helmsman in marble standing at the wheel, stood at the head of the profession, always a gentleman, ever the same. All played their part, and nearly all have passed on to join the great majority. They have rung the last bell, blown the last whistle, made the last landing; have stood the last watch. Others will take their places but the glory of steamboating on the Mississippi is past. No longer will the darkey crew stand on the forecastle and sing of "the bully boat and the bully crew and the bully captain, too," as the boat gracefully, though loaded to the guards, glides out into the stream, perhaps to make a successful voyage; perhaps to be torn to atoms by the treacherous stream, or to lay her bones with many a hundred others in the bottom of the river. Such was life among steamboatmen of the olden time.—Captain Joseph Brown, before Missouri Historical Society.

In the early fall of 1787, a youth rode down to the river bank, opposite St. Louis. As was the custom at crossings where the streams could not be forded, he shouted the long drawn out: "O-o-o-ver!" He waited for some sign of activity at the foot of the rocky bluff on the other side. Five minutes passed and again came the lusty halloo: "O-o-o-ver!" An hour and more passed before a flat-bottomed boat rowed by two men put out. By this haphazard means the traveler from the east side reached St. Louis in the year that the United States had adopted a constitution.

The youth was Danny Boone. The son of the great hunter had come to St. Louis to seek his fortune in the field service of the fur traders. Kentucky was becoming too crowded. The youth had received from old Daniel a horse, a rifle, a compass, a bag of corn and a parental blessing. When he landed in St. Louis, Danny Boone was given a warm welcome before he began his twelve years hunting and trapping in Missouri. But his waiting experience on the Illinois shore was that of most other travelers who sought St. Louis in the thirty years preceding 1797. Captain James Piggott, who had "fit" in the Revolution, came to settle in the American Bottom as early as 1783. He built a fortification to protect his family and the other members of the little colony that followed him. "Piggott's Fort" was the name given. The location was some little distance south of East St. Louis. Prompted by the increasing travel to St. Louis, Captain Piggott established a stopping place on the present site of East St. Louis. In 1797 he obtained from the Spanish governor, Trudeau, a permit to run a ferry regularly between St. Louis and the Illinois side and went into business. When the captain died, his widow rented the boat and the privilege. In 1805, the year after the American occupation, competition set in. John Campbell got a license to run a ferry in his own name. He had been conducting the Piggott ferry. Byrd and Charles Lockhard established a rival ferry in 1813. Two years later the majority interest of the Piggott heirs in the original ferry passed to McKnight and Brady.

In 1817 St. Louis had attained the degree of importance which demanded two ferry landings. Boats continued to bring travelers from the east side to the place where Auguste Chouteau had made the first landing near the foot of Market street. But another line ran to the other depression in the rocky front near the foot of Morgan street. The service, under competition, became regular; it continued to be primitive. Two kinds of boats were used. The slow moving flat bottomed craft without covering was employed to convey horses and wagons. A keel boat with four oars made quicker passage for people afoot. Ferry transportation at St. Louis became progressive when John Day fixed up a boat with a stern wheel which was turned by a horse in a treadmill. As the patient animal climbed, the paddle wheel went round and the ferry churned its way across the Mississippi. In those days, when rivalry did not lead to cut rates, the tolls for ferriage were twenty-five cents for a human being; fifty cents a head for cattle and horses; fifty cents for a wagon or other vehicle; twelve and one-half cents a hundred for lumber or other heavy freight.

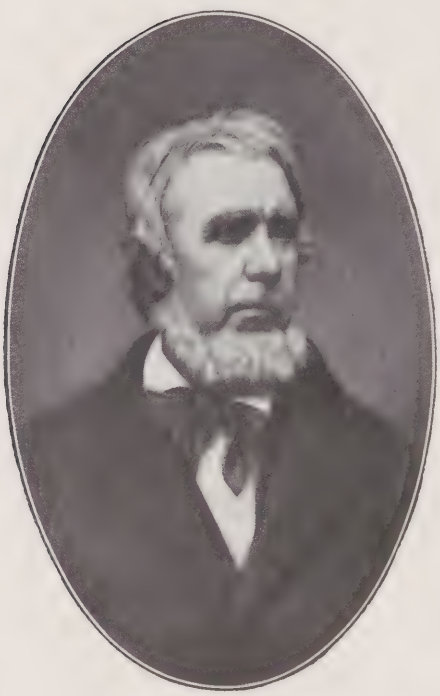
With 1818 came a new era in ferrying. Samuel Wiggins with his family arrived from South Carolina. He had some means. He connected himself with the ferry business. He bought John Day's horse power sternwheeler. He acquired the interest of the Piggott heirs in another line. Gradually he consolidated and improved the service. He did not come too soon. In 1816 one of these frail ferry boats was upset, by bad handling, in the middle of the river. Dubay, the ferryman, two assistants and two passengers were drowned. As soon as steamboat navigation demonstrated its value, Captain Wiggins put into service a steam ferry. Other boats were added as the business grew. "The Wiggins ferry" became an institution of the city. It met public needs. If the ferry had not been so well conducted, St. Louis would not have waited until 1874 for the first bridge. Just one hundred years after Piggott obtained the first ferry privilege at St. Louis, the Wiggins ferry boats carried in the 62,000 trips they made during the twelve months 673,275 passengers, 364,000 vehicles, 51,400 head of horses, cattle and sheep, 123,011 railroad cars. The amount of freight transported across the river by the Wiggins ferry in its centennial year, counting from its origin by Captain Piggott, was more than 2,500,000 tons. St. Louis had two bridges and three other ferries. Nearly one-third of the freight transported across the river at St. Louis was carried on the Wiggins ferry.

Edwin Draper, who crossed to St. Louis by the ferry in 1815, gave this account of the experience:

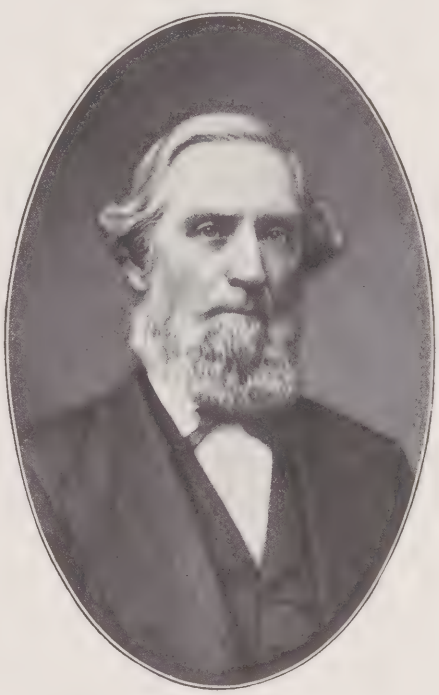
> The ferry-boat in which we crossed was a small keel-boat, without upper deck or cabin, and was propelled by four oars by hand. The wagons, then the only means of land travel, were run by hand on to the boat, across which were placed broad planks transversely, resting on the gunwales of the boat, while the tongue of the wagon projected beyond the side of the boat; and as the latter swayed gracefully to the motion of the waves the tongue-chains would dip politely into the water, as if acknowledging the power of the mighty monarch they were daring to stride. The horses, wagon and saddle, family, slaves, and dogs were stowed in the bottom of the boat between the wagons, and thus we triumphantly entered Missouri. Our crossing, with many other families was detained several days by high winds and waves preventing the safe crossing of the boat.

CAPTAIN DANIEL G. TAYLOR

CAPTAIN JOHN N. BOTINGER



CAPTAIN WILLIAM W. GREENE



CAPTAIN JAMES DOZIER

Mr. Draper maintained in after years that the Mississippi was not so large as when he first saw it:

The statement I make is this, that at the time I first crossed the stream, in 1815, it was fully a quarter of a mile wider at St. Louis than it is at the present time. I do not state the exact number of feet and inches it has diminished, but about the above distance. How this wonderful change in the width of the river at your great city was brought about it is not my business or purpose to explain.

Forty years before St. Louis was founded by Laclede, high tribute was paid by Charlevoix, the traveler, to the junction of the great rivers:

I believe this is the finest confluence in the world. The two rivers are much of the same breadth, each about half a league, but the Missouri is by far the most rapid, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror, through which it carries its white waves to the opposite shore without mixing them. Afterward it gives its color to the Mississippi, which it never loses again, but carries quite down to the sea.

Governor William Clark and Thomas H. Benton, in the days before steamboats, undertook to estimate what they called "the boatable waters" of the Mississippi and tributaries. They made the navigable distances 50,000 miles—30,000 above and 20,000 below St. Louis.

"Of course," wrote Mr. Benton, long afterwards, "we counted all the infant streams on which a flat, a keel or a bateau could be floated."

They agreed that of this immense system of navigable water, St. Louis was the central point with a great destiny before it. The pirogue was the freight-boat on the Mississippi before steam. It was built like the barge of a later period. The length varied from thirty-five to sixty feet; the depth from twelve to fifteen feet. One of these craft could carry thirty to forty tons of freight. The pirogue was poled in shallow water. It was towed by a long line like a canal boat. Three months was the time required to make the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis. The freight rate on most articles was a cent a pound.

Henry M. Brackenridge, staff correspondent of the Missouri Gazette in 1810 and author of Views of Louisiana, described the Mississippi river transportation before the steamboats:

There is a surprising difference in the navigation of this truly noble river, in the ordinary stages of the water and during the continuance of the floods. There have been instances of persons descending from St. Louis to New Orleans, in ten days; the distance, however, is much shortened by being able to cut off points, and to go through channels impracticable in low water. The usual time in low water is from four to six weeks. In ascending; fifty days to the mouth of the Ohio is considered a good voyage, but two months is the most usual time; oars and poles are always used for the purpose of navigating the boats, but the cordelle and sails are also of great importance. In the course of a voyage it is rare that there are not six or eight days of sailing, which is a great relief to the hands as the boat is then propelled against the current without their assistance, sometimes thirty miles a day. In very light winds the sails are hoisted and, although not sufficient alone to cause the boat to ascend, yet afford considerable help. The boats usually employed are from ten to thirty tons burthen; as high as Natchez, schooners of fifty tons often ascend. There are besides boats of peculiar construction, much in use, carrying often eight or ten tons; they appear to be formed of a single tree, but in reality out of three of the largest size; two are hollowed in such a manner as to form the sides, and a third for the bottom; they are then joined together so as to make a very durable and strong boat, easily managed, and the most safe against hurricanes and violent winds.

In 1810, Robert Fulton, of steamboat fame, addressed a memorial "To the Honourable Legislature of Upper Louisiana." Associated with Fulton in the proposition was Robert R. Livingston. According to the memorial both Fulton and Livingston were "native citizens of the United States and residing in the State of New York."

The memorial set forth that New York, to encourage the establishment of steamboats on the waters of that state, had granted to them exclusive right to navigate boats, impelled by force of steam, for twenty years for the first boat and five years for each succeeding boat, the whole term not to exceed thirty years. The petitioners explained that they had already constructed two boats, one of which they called the North River steamboat and the other the Car of Neptune. The North River steamboat, they said, had been running voyages of 160 miles between New York and Albany since July, 1807. The Car of Neptune had been making voyages between New York and Albany since September 1809.

The petitioners stated that their associate, Mr. Roosevelt, had made an examination of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in the summer of 1809, examining the depths and velocities of the two rivers. He had reported such conditions as led Mr. Fulton and Mr. Livingston to conclude these rivers might be navigated by steamboats. The petitioners were willing to make the venture provided they could secure what they deemed proper encouragement in the way of exclusive privilege.

The memorial concluded with the following proposition to the legislative body of Upper Louisiana, of which St. Louis was the seat of government:

> For these reasons, and to encourage the immediate establishment of steam boats on the waters of your state, and particularly on the Ohio and Mississippi, your petitioners pray that, after the example of the State of New York, you will grant them the exclusive right to navigate the waters of your state or territory, with boats moved by steam or fire, on the following conditions:
>
> First, that three years from the time of passing the law your petitioners will build a boat on the Ohio or Mississippi river, to move by the force of steam, which shall be capable of carrying seventy tons of merchandise, produce or material, and move at the rate of at least three and one-half miles an hour in still water—if they do not comply with these conditions the law shall be null and void.
>
> Second, that in all cases they will not charge more than three-fourths of the sum which is usually paid for carrying merchandise or materials of any kind on said rivers to any given or equal distance to which the boats now transport them.
>
> Third, that they will perform the voyage in less than three-fourths of the time which is now usually required by the mercantile boats to navigate said rivers to any given point where steam boats can go with safety.
>
> Fourth, that on establishing the first boat, the governor will appoint a committee of three persons to report on the performance of the boat; and if they find that your petitioners have complied with the terms of the contract, the law to be confirmed in favor of said Livingston and Fulton.

The petition, as the memorandum on the back of it indicates, was "presented October 10, 1810."

The disposition is indicated by the following endorsement: "Ordered to lie on the table October 23, 1810. Taken into consideration and postponed until next session."

The legislature sitting at St. Louis did not accept the proposition of Robert

Fulton. Seven years elapsed before the first steamboat reached St. Louis. That was the Zebulon M. Pike. It was a very primitive affair. The hull was built like a barge. The power was a low pressure engine, with a walking beam. The wheels had no wheel houses. The boat had but one smokestack. Where the current was rapid the crew used poles to help out the steam power. The Pike ran only by daylight. The trip from Louisville to St. Louis and return required four weeks. One account of it gives the time as six weeks. The General Pike was such an object of curiosity that Captain Jacob Reed charged the St. Louisans who wished to come on board a dollar apiece. The admission was not prohibitive. Several times the boat became so crowded that the captain stopped receiving and waited for those on the deck to go ashore. The mention of the coming and going of the Pike was made very briefly by the Missouri Gazette.

The year after the coming of the Pike, some Ohio river men built a steamboat they called the St. Louis and sent her around to this port. Captain Hewes invited a number of leading citizens to take a ride up to the mouth of Missouri. The Gazette in its next issue reported that "the company on board was large and genteel and the entertainment very elegant."

One thing that affected the early interest of St. Louisans in steamboating was the general doubt about steam navigation of the Missouri. The Pike had made three and three-quarter miles against the Ohio current. If that was the best the steam engine afloat could do, the motive power would not succeed on the Missouri.

About the first of May, 1819, the Maid of Orleans came into port at St. Louis. She had steamed from Philadelphia to New Orleans and then up the Mississippi to St. Louis. That same month the Independence left St. Louis and went up the Mississippi and the Missouri as far as Franklin, near Boonville. She was thirteen days on the way but she did it and unloaded her cargo of flour, whiskey, sugar, iron castings. Then indeed the town of Laclede sat up and marveled. Colonel Charless acknowledged his scepticism and glorified the new era of steam navigation. He published in the Gazette this congratulation:

> In 1817, less than two years ago, the first steamboat arrived in St. Louis. We hailed it as the day of small things, but the glorious consummation of all our wishes is daily arriving. Who would or could have dared to conjecture that in 1819 we would have witnessed the arrival of a steamboat from Philadelphia or New York. Yet such is the fact. The Mississippi has become familiar to this great American invention and another new avenue is open.

A month later when the Independence had returned from the first navigation of the Missouri by steam the Gazette said:

> This trip forms a proud event in the history of Missouri. The Missouri has hitherto resisted almost effectually all attempts at navigation. She has opposed every obstacle she could to the tide of emigration which was rolling up her banks and dispossessing her dear red children, but her white children, although children by adoption, have become so numerous, and are increasing, so rapidly that she is at last obliged to yield them her favor. The first attempt to ascend her by steam has succeeded, and we anticipate the day as speedy when the Missouri will be as familiar to steamboats as the Mississippi or Ohio. Captain Nelson merits and will receive deserved credit for his enterprise and public spirit in this undertaking.

When Missouri entered the Union there was not a steamboat owned in the state although this improvement in transportation was in use on the Ohio and Lower Mississippi. Above St. Louis the navigation was by barges. A decade after the Pike crept up to the St. Louis bank and half paddled, half floated away St. Louisans looked with conservatism upon steamboating. Along the Ohio nearly one hundred steamboats had been built and put in operation before this city became to the trade anything more than a landing place. Steamboats came up to St. Louis, unloaded, loaded and left. In 1825 the Missouri Republican commented on the surprising fact that the two boats, the Brown and the Magnet, were lying up at this port for repairs: "We believe this is the first instance of a steamboat remaining here through the season of low water."

The primitive conditions of pioneer steamboating were described by Captain Joseph Brown in a paper read before the Missouri Historical Society. Captain Brown wrote of what he had seen and known as boy and man:

> They had but one engine, and no "doctor" or "donkey engine." The boats themselves, and particularly those for the upper rivers, were small, sometimes made like a flatboat, with broad bow and stern, and a stern wheel.
>
> There was nothing above the boiler deck but the pilothouse and the chimneys, or rather one chimney, for they had cylinder boilers; that is, there were no flues in the boilers. Having but one engine, the shaft ran clean across the boat, and when at a landing the engine had to run the pump to supply the boilers with water, the wheels had to be uncoupled to let the engine work. As I said before, the "doctor" engine had not been invented, and I do not doubt that many explosions occurred for the lack of it.
>
> The cabin was a very primitive affair. It was on the lower deck, back of the shaft, in the after part of the boat. There were no staterooms then, but, like a canal boat, there were curtains in front of the berths. It was quite common to see a bowsprit sticking out in front of the boat, such as are used on ships, but, being useless, they were soon dispensed with. Stages had not been invented then. Two or three planks were used, and, if need be, tied together. Whistles were unknown, but bells were rung, and the captains were very proud of a big bell. For a number of years there was no signal for passing or meeting boats, and the result was many collisions.
>
> There were no regular packets then. A boat started from Pittsburg was just as likely to go to St. Paul as anywhere, or up any of the other rivers, and they had no regular hours or even days of starting. I have known boats to have steam up for a week, telling people and shippers the boat was going in an hour, and even have their planks taken in, all but one, and then launch their planks out again. All this was done to decoy people on board. The clanging of bells, the hurrah of agents and the pulling and hauling of cabmen and runners were most confusing, more particularly to unsophisticated emigrants.
>
> There was no fixed price for anything; it was all a matter of bargain, and very often great deception was practiced. The engines being small and very imperfect in those days, the boats were very slow. I have known some of the boats in the case of a sudden rise in the river and consequent strong current, to be unable to stem it at the old waterworks point, which was at the foot of Carr street. They would have to go over to the other side of the river and fight it out there, sometimes for hours, in sight of the city.
>
> The Eagle was one of the first boats to run between here and Alton. She had one engine, was a side-wheeler, about 18 feet beam and 75 feet long. She carried about 50 tons, and it took her about seven hours to go to Alton. She was commanded by that veteran steamboat man, Captain Lamothe.

John C. Swon may be called the father of St. Louis steamboating. He was the son of a Maryland pioneer who had settled in Scott county, Kentucky. His

CAPTAIN JOSEPH H. CONN

CAPTAIN J. G. PRATHER

A TOW OF COAL, THE EQUIVALENT OF FORTY-SIX TRAIN LOADS

father dying, the boy was placed under the guardianship of Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson, whose friends claimed he killed Tecumseh in the Battle of the Thames. When he was sixteen young Swon came to St. Louis and made a trip up the Missouri as far as Council Bluffs. He was enamored of the river life. When he returned to Kentucky he persuaded Colonel Johnson to let him try steamboating. As a clerk, John C. Swon made several trips between Louisville and St. Louis on boats owned by Ohio river people. In 1825,—he was then twenty-two years of age—John C. Swon decided to make St. Louis his permanent home. Here he resided, acquiring and commanding successively some of the most famous boats on the river for twenty years. When the Ohio and Mississippi railroad went into operation Captain Swon was chosen superintendent but declined. History gives him the credit of doing as much as if not more than any other one man to develop the steamboat interests of St. Louis.

St. Louis business men were slow to go into steamboating as a business. Cincinnati and Louisville were far ahead in the tonnage owned or controlled. Not until steamboats had been coming to the St. Louis levee a dozen years did St. Louis capital venture. As late as 1833 not more than two or three boats actually were owned in St. Louis. But when this conservative city awoke to the possibilities of river transportation, other steamboat centers were quickly left behind. In 1850 St. Louis owned or controlled 24,955 tons; Cincinnati, 16,906 tons; Louisville, 14,820 tons. Three years later St. Louis had increased steamboat holdings to 45,441 tons. Cincinnati had decreased to 10,191, and Louisville to 14,166 tons.

Samuel Wiggins and William C. Wiggins came to St. Louis about 1818. Samuel Wiggins was the financier. He established on the east bank of the river what he called Washington consisting of a hotel and three or four houses. He obtained between 800 and 900 acres of land lying along the river, south of what in now the town of Brooklyn. He secured the ferry right from the Illinois Legislature. William C. Wiggins took charge of the ferry and continued in the active management thirty years, long after the Christys and others had bought out Samuel Wiggins. The Christys, Andrew and Samuel C., were natives of Warren county, Ohio, sons of a farmer who moved to Lawrence county, Illinois. They came to St. Louis when quite young, mined lead at Galena with the Jarrot boys, and in 1832 joined a syndicate of St. Louisans who bought out Samuel Wiggins' ferry boats and rights. When Samuel Wiggins ran the ferry boats he gave them taking names. One of the first was the Sea Serpent. Then came the Rhinoceros and the Antelope. These boats were operated by horse-power, one horse to a boat. The paddle wheels were turned by a tread mill.

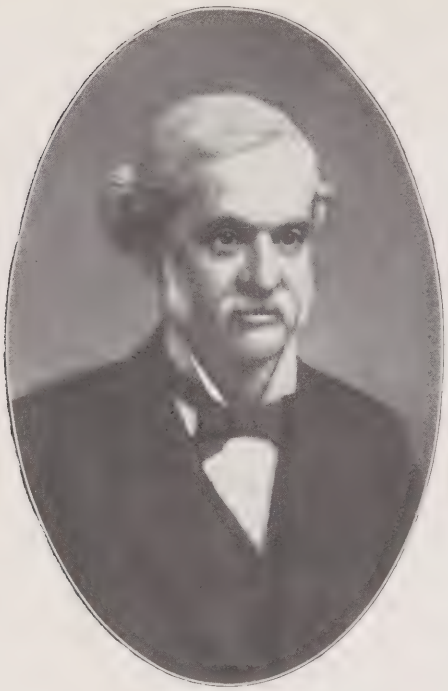
When the first steamboat arrived at St. Louis the commerce of the Mississippi was carried on with twenty barges of 100 tons and 160 keel and flat boats of thirty tons. In 1834 there were 230 steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries, 285 in 1840; two years later, 450; the next year, 672, in 1846, the number of steamboats was 1190. The steamboat arrivals at St. Louis in 1839 were 1,474. The number increased to 1,721 the year following; to 2,105 in 1844.

Not until 1831 did the repairing of steamboats become an important in-

dustry at St. Louis. That year Peter Lindell, John Mullanphy, D. D. Page, J. Clemens, Jr., and John O'Fallon organized the St. Louis Marine Railway company. Ten years later the newspapers had a great deal to say about building St. Louis boats for St. Louis trade. Calvin Case opened a boat yard. In June, 1836, there arrived at St. Louis seventy-six steamboats. In April, 1837, there were at the St. Louis river front in one day thirty-three steamboats. In March of that year the steamboat North St. Louis was turned out by a local boat yard. She was declared by a newspaper to be "a splendid specimen of the enterprise, the genius and the art of our western citizens." She was pronounced "the finest boat that has ever floated upon the Mississippi."

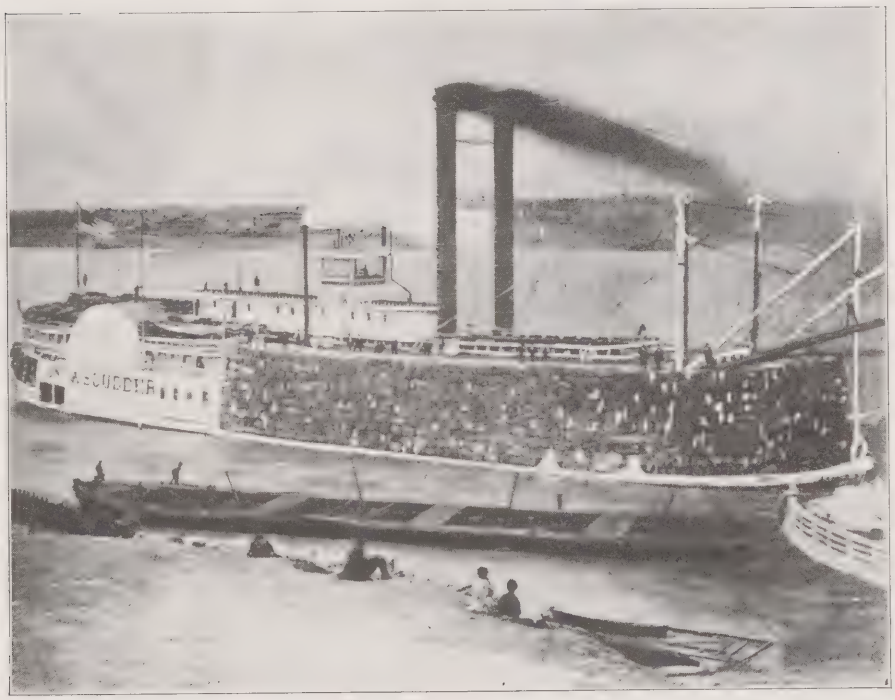
On the 11th of November, 1835, eight steamboats arrived at the wharf of St. Louis. This was considered a matter justifying self-congratulation on the part of the community. The newspapers commented upon it. One of them printed an interesting review of the development of the city's business. It said:

We cannot refrain from drawing the attention of the reader to the number of arrivals of steamboats during the past year, which shows an increase on the former, as does the amount of revenue secured, which is commensurate with the activity and enterprise of our citizens. Every successive year, for the last ten, has shown a like increase. In referring to the statement furnished for 1831, we find that in that year sixty different boats arrived in our harbor, and the number of entries was 532; the aggregate amount of tonnage, 7,769 tons, and the amount of revenue accruing from the same, was $2,167.45. Thus it will be seen, that in this comparatively short period, our commerce has more than doubled. Our advancement has not been stimulated by a feverish excitement, nor can it be said to have increased in the same ratio as many other places, but it has been firm and steady, and nothing is permanent which is not gradual. The prosperity of our city is laid deep and broad. Much as we repudiate the lavish praises which teem from the press, and little as we have heretofore said, we cannot suffer this occasion to pass, without a few remarks on the changes which are going on around us. Whether we turn to the right or to the left, we see workmen busy in laying the foundation, or finishing some costly edifice. The dilapidated and antique structure of the original settler is fast giving way to the spacious and lofty blocks of bricks, or stone. But comparatively a few years ago, even within the remembrance of our young men, our town was confined to one or two streets, running parallel with the river; the "half-moon" fortifications, the bastion, the tower, the rampart were then known as the utmost limits. What was then termed the "hill," now forming the most beautiful part of the town covered with elegant mansions, but a few years ago was overrun with shrubbery. A tract of land was purchased by a gentleman now living, as we have understood, for two barrels of whiskey, which is now worth half a million of dollars. Here and there we meet a few of the early pioneers, men who, like those who possessed the land before them, are fast fading away, and their places are taken by another generation. But we cannot do justice to those "who have gone before us," prolific as the subject is. Our object is to speak of the present. No one who consults the map, can fail to perceive the foresight which induced the selection of the site on which this city is founded. She already commands the trade of a larger section of territory, with a few exceptions, than any other city in the union. With a steamboat navigation more than equal to the whole Atlantic seaboard, with internal improvements, projected and in progress, with thousands of emigrants spreading their habitations over the fertile plains which everywhere meet the eye, who can deny that we are fast verging to the time when it will be admitted that this city is the "Lion of the West." We do not speak from any sectional bias, nor would we knowingly deceive any, but we firmly believe that any one who will candidly weigh the advantages we possess, will admit that our deductions are correct. We have no desire to see our citizens making im-



CAPTAIN JOHN A. SCUDDER

CAPTAIN J. C. SWON



A STEAMBOAT LOAD OF COTTON, THE EQUIVALENT
OF SIX TRAIN LOADS

provements beyond the means they possess. As we have before remarked, nothing is permanent which is not gradual. We take pleasure in bearing testimony to the prudence and foresight which have characterized our citizens. They have avoided, in a commendable manner, the mania which has too fatally prevailed in many places. It has a deleterious influence on the ultimate success of a community.

The improvements which are contemplated in the spring, will have a decided effect of the appearance of the city. Many of the buildings will be of a superior order of architecture. Among the latter will be a theater, a church, and hotel. We fear that the scarcity of competent workmen will deter many of the improvements contemplated, from being completed.

Intimately connected with the prosperity of the city, is the fate of the petition pending in Congress, for the removal of the sand-bar now forming in front of our steamboat landing. It is a source of no inconsiderable importance to every one, and connected as it is with the commerce of the western section of the valley of the Mississippi, we cannot but hope that Congress will give a speedy ear to the petition, and grant an appropriation which will effectually remove this growing obstacle. There can be but one opinion in regard to its justice. Relying, as we do, on the good faith of the government, we cannot harbor the idea that we shall be defeated.

How crude the early theory of Mississippi river improvement was, the first experiment on the bars showed. Several of the wealthy citizens raised by subscription a sum of money. General Bernard Pratte headed the paper. Thomas Fiveash Riddick, who always found time to give thought to public interests, suggested a plan. This was to plow the sand bars when the river was very low. Riddick argued that when the water came over the bars it would carry away the loose sand. Citizens thought the suggestion was worth trying. In 1833 John Goodfellow took charge of the work. He got oxen and the heaviest plow he could find. Up and down the bar, opposite the north end of the city, Goodfellow's oxen were driven, dragging the great plow until they had thoroughly loosened every foot of sand which showed above the water. The citizens turned out to observe the novel spectacle of plowing the Mississippi. When high water came the current showed no tendency to carry away the loosened sand on the bar but continued to eat away the Illinois shore above Bloody Island. The formation of the bar at the lower end of the city began shortly after the coming of the first steamboat, the Pike, in 1817. Then another bar formed at the upper end of the city. About $3,000 was expended on the Goodfellow experiment with oxen.

When John F. Darby was elected mayor in 1835 St. Louis faced the danger of becoming inland. The channel which Pierre Laclede found had moved. From a depth of seventy-five feet the water had shoaled. The bars were showing above the surface. Both were growing and approaching. Boats could no longer land at the foot of Olive street. On the Illinois side, above Bloody Island, the current was cutting eastward into the soft alluvial of the American bottom so rapidly that any flood season might open a channel down the east side of the island. Then the main river would be a mile or more to the eastward of St. Louis. The situation was so serious that real estate values in St. Louis were affected. Every week seemed to make the conditions worse. The prediction was common, that the river would cut through what is now almost the heart of East St. Louis, and leave St. Louis without any channel.

When the city took up the consideration of this problem through the new

municipal administration in the spring of 1835, every alderman had his remedy. General William H. Ashley was the member in Congress from the St. Louis district. He had gone to Washington with the reputation of great achievements as an explorer and fur trader in the Rocky Mountains; he had accumulated what was much wealth for that period. He gave entertainments which were the talk of Washington. Although he was no orator he obtained great influence in the House, through which he was enabled to obtain an appropriation for the improvement of the harbor of St. Louis, the first of the kind. At that time Thomas H. Benton was in the senate but belonged to the democratic party which denounced internal improvements by the Federal government. To be consistent Mr. Benton could not exert himself in behalf of the St. Louis appropriation. Two sessions of earnest work by General Ashley and his friends secured $15,000. There was no telegraphing in those days. When a letter brought the news to Mayor Darby, there was general rejoicing in St. Louis.

General Charles Gratiot was chief of the engineer corps. As a boy born in St. Louis, he witnessed the transfer to the United States. He was one of the four young men of the Louisiana Territory honored by President Jefferson with appointments as cadets to West Point. He served with honor in the war of 1812, received the vote of thanks of Congress, and rose to the highest position in the engineer corps. As soon as the appropriation for the harbor was made, General Gratiot came to St. Louis to see what must be done to save his native city. He was a straightforward, unpretending man, although he had reached the head of the corps. The engineering profession considered him one of its most accomplished members. Coming to St. Louis, General Gratiot spent weeks making a careful examination of conditions. When he went back to Washington he promised to send a competent member of the corps to take charge of the work. Very soon the officer arrived with a letter commending him to Mayor Darby. He was Lieutenant Robert E. Lee, afterwards the Confederate general. From the theories of Gratiot and the practical experiments of Lee came the scientific knowledge upon which the improvement of the Mississippi from that time to this has been based. It is impossible to divide the honor. Gratiot and Lee together mastered the Mississippi. They evolved the plan of dyke and revetment control. They sent the current back to scour the St. Louis front. They made the river itself dig out the bars it had formed and restore the old channel.

The method is old now. It looks simple and easy. Seventy years ago it was a great discovery. The civilian associate with Lieutenant Lee was Henry Kayser, then just of age. The Kaysers, Henry and Alexander, had come up the river on a cholera-stricken boat a few years before. They were German youth, well educated, seeking homes in a new world. Both were to take high rank in widely different professions. Alexander Kayser became a leading lawyer of St. Louis. Henry Kayser was the foremost civil engineer in St. Louis before the Civil war.

The study which the army lieutenant and his young assistant gave to the problem was exhaustive. Far into the nights the two worked over the plans. Lieutenant Lee went daily with Mr. Kayser to the Illinois shore, where the work was being done. He was often there at sunrise. He ate the rations. He slept

on the boat when the construction was at critical stages. Every survey Lieutenant Lee supervised. He watched the driving of piles and laying of stone and brush. Two years the young Virginian applied himself with a devotion which caused those who saw it to marvel. The river was saved to St. Louis. The government appropriation was expended. But before he went back, Lieutenant Lee prepared the plans to complete the improvement of the harbor of St. Louis. Further appeals to Congress for some years went unheeded. At the expense of the city and under the efficient direction of Henry Kayser, St. Louis maintained the control of the channel.

About 1845 the conditions of the harbor of St. Louis became again alarming. The new difficulty was in the lower part of the harbor. The current was setting in toward the southern end of Bloody Island; the water was shoaling off the lower portion of the city. Major Long, of the United States Engineer corps, came from Louisville to make investigation. Congress refused aid, and the city raised money on the sale of bonds. Jettying on an extensive scale was undertaken to stop the current from eating into Bloody Island. The work continued during the administration of Mayor Camden and for several years thereafter.

The possibilities of steamboating in the St. Louis trade brought to the city many strong men. William Wallace Greene, a native of Marietta, Ohio, a descendant of the Rhode Island Greenes of Revolutionary fame, was a successful steamboatman on the Ohio. In partnership with his father-in-law, Captain Joseph H. Conn, of Cincinnati, he built the Cygnet. Captain Conn and Captain Greene brought the Cygnet to St. Louis in 1834 and became residents here, operating several boats and carrying on a commission business as Conn, Sprigg & Greene. Captain Greene was one of a number of St. Louis steamboatmen who were not only strictly moral but earnestly religious. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church.

One of the most benevolent of the men who amassed fortunes in the river trade was Captain Richard J. Lockwood, who came here from Delaware in 1830. He was a resident of St. Louis forty years. One of his acts of benevolence was the contribution of $20,000 for the building of an Episcopal church in 1866.

While Henry D. Bacon was on the river he became famous for his strict observance of the Sabbath. One of the boats he commanded was the Hannibal. Wherever midnight of Saturday found the Hannibal, Captain Bacon went to the bank and tied up until the same hour Sunday night.

A pioneer in the shipbuilding industry at St. Louis was Henry Adkins, who came west with his parents, New Yorkers, in 1836, and learned the trade of ship carpentry on the Ohio river when the queer looking boats were built with the cabin on the lower deck, aft of the side paddle wheels. Fifty years Captain Adkins was identified with shipbuilding and river construction work. One son followed him in his chosen work. Another went into the street railway business and a third became the water commissioner of St. Louis, during whose administration silt and bacteria were banished.

When Edmund Flagg came from Boston to be the editor of a St. Louis paper about 1838 he was much entertained with the firing of a salute:

> As we drew nigh to Alton the fireman of our steamer deemed proper, in testimonial of the dignity of our arrival, to let off a certain rusty old swivel which chanced to be on

board; and to have witnessed the marvelous fashion in which this marvelous manoeuver was executed by our worthies would have pardoned a smile on the visage of Heraclitus himself. One lanky-limbed genius held a huge dipper of gunpowder; another seizing upon the extremity of a hawser and severing a generous fragment, made use thereof for wadding; a third rammed home the charge with that fearful weapon wherewith he poked the furnaces; while a fourth, honest wight, all preparations being complete, advanced with a shovel of glowing coals, which poured upon the touchhole, the old piece was briefly delivered of its charge, and the woods and shore and welkin rang with the roar.

Henry M. Schreve is credited with having been among the first to demonstrate the practicability of Mississippi river navigation by steam, with profit. He was the pioneer in the work of extracting snags and trees from the bottom of the river and clearing the channel. For forty years, from 1811 to 1851, when he died at the house of his son-in-law, Walker R. Carter, Captain Shreve was identified with the river interests of St. Louis. He participated in the war of 1812, commanding one of the guns at the battle of New Orleans. President John Quincy Adams appointed Captain Schreve superintendent of western river improvements, a position which he filled not only through that administration, but through those of Jackson and Van Buren.

The development of steamboat service on the upper Mississippi and the Illinois had its effect on travel to the Atlantic seaboard. In 1839 the Missouri Republican showed that it was possible to go from St. Louis to New York in eight or nine days:

A gentleman and his family left here a few days since in a boat for Peoria. There he took another boat for Peru, and from Peru was carried overland by stages to Chicago, making the whole trip in three days. At Chicago he took a boat the same day for Buffalo. Judging from the speed of the lake boats, he would reach Buffalo in about four or five days from the time he left this place; and if he traveled from Buffalo to New York at the rate stated by a traveler in the late number of the Journal of Commerce he would reach the latter place in three days more, making the whole distance from St. Louis to New York in eight or nine days. The ordinary trip from New York to St. Louis, by the Ohio river, requires between ten and twelve days.

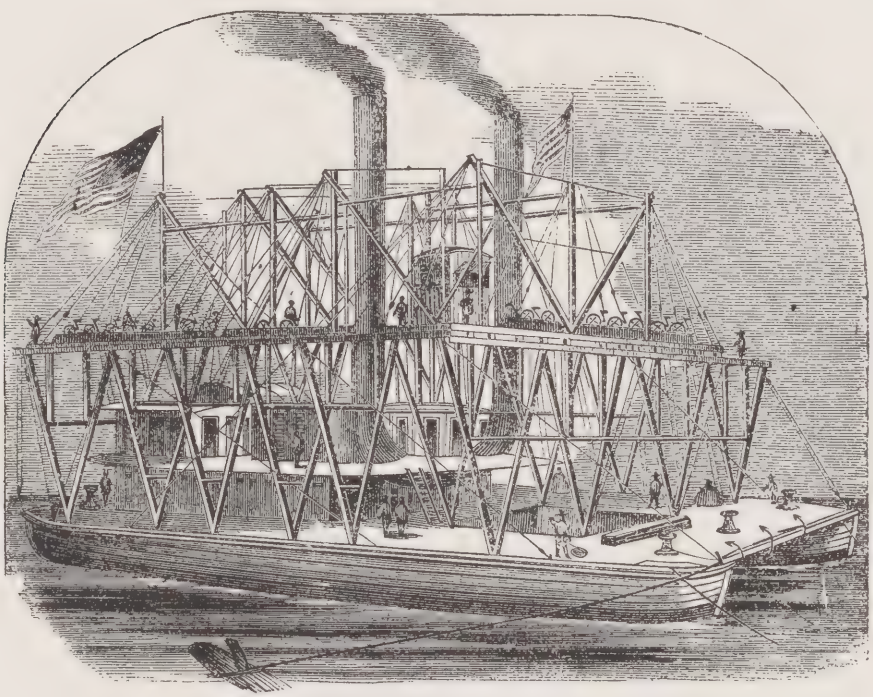
Thomas H. Benton became eloquent about the new era in the west. In the course of a speech he said:

The river navigation of the west is the most wonderful on the globe, and, since the application of steam power to the propulsion of vessels, possesses the essential qualities of open navigation. Speed, distance, cheapness, magnitude of cargoes, are all there, and without the perils of the sea from storms and enemies. The steamboat is the ship of the river, and finds in the Mississippi and its tributaries the simplest theater for the diffusion and display of its power. Wonderful river! Connected with seas by the head and mouth, stretching its arms toward the Atlantic and Pacific, lying in a valley which reaches from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay.

Now, indeed, the spirit of St. Louis was aroused. A steamship line between this city and some Atlantic port was proposed seriously. The business men met in the Merchants' Exchange room. Resolutions were adopted. The first of them declared "that the establishment of a line of steamships from some eastern port or ports to this city is a subject of deep interest to the citizens of St. Louis, and that in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient." Two committees were appointed—one to open correspondence with persons in the East who might be interested; the other to collate information relating to the export and import business of St. Louis, showing the profits and utility of the proposed ocean and river steamship line.

CAPTAIN JOHN SIMONDS

SAMUEL B. WIGGINS



WRECKING BOAT DEVISED BY JAMES B. EADS AND IN USE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR. IT WAS KNOWN AMONG STEAMBOAT MEN AS "THE HARP OF A THOUSAND STRINGS"

Of the conditions which succeeded the pioneer period of steamboating Captain Joseph Brown gave this description:

From 1840 to 1850 emigration was flowing West. Everything was done in a rush, and steamboats multiplied like locusts. They were also greatly improved in the manner of construction, size and speed, so that, in 1837, there were many large boats running. While yet a boy I remember standing on the levee at Alton and seeing a large low-pressure boat, called the Champion, come majestically into the landing. She was the only low-pressure boat on the river, and had been brought from Lake Champlain, to run against the high-pressure boat, Paul Jones, that was then sweeping the river for speed. As they were both coming in together I was looking at the low-pressure boat, the Champion, with her walking beam, and a deckhand with a flag sitting astride the beam. As it moved up and down like a pair of scales of course he went up and down with it, waving the flag to the crowd of people on the levee, while the crowd hurrahed, as the Champion was ahead of the other boat. I thought then that if I could have been in that man's place on that walking beam I would be the biggest man in the country. The Champion was found to draw too much water for the river and was taken back to Lake Champlain, while the Paul Jones sank one foggy night on the chain of rocks at Commerce, and her engines and bones were a menace to navigation many years thereafter.

I could stand on the levee any night and tell almost any boat either by the sound of her escapement or the sound of her bell, long before she reached the landing. Indeed, owing to the peculiar construction of the heaters of the engines, the escapement was such that hardly any two were alike, and many of them could be heard for miles. One in particular, I remember, the Boreas, could be heard scream for twelve or fifteen miles on a clear night, while others had a heavy, deep sound or growl. The Hannibal, a big New Orleans boat, being of the latter kind. The engines of the Boreas, when she was wrecked, were taken out and sent to Chanwan, Mexico, and put into a silver mine to do pumping duty. It was said that it answered a double purpose, as it made such a hideous noise that it frightened all the wild beasts and even the Indians away for many miles around.

In 1849, when the gold fever was at its height, there were fifty-eight fine steamers plying regularly on the Missouri river; on the Upper Mississippi about seventy-five; on the Illinois twenty-eight fine steamers; to New Orleans about one hundred; on the Ohio about one hundred and fifty; on the Tennessee about fifteen.

Owing to the rush of emigration at that time, boats could not be built fast enough. It was said of a certain boat-yard at Freedom, Pennsylvania, that they kept a lot of the straight bodies of boats put up. When a man wanted a boat, they took him down to the yard and asked him how long he wanted her; then just put two ends onto a body and he had a boat. But a really fast and fine boat cost about $100,000 to $150,000 and took about eight months to build.

The average life of a boat was about five years. After that they were either torn up to build a more modern boat, or had sunk or blown up. Need I tell you that in one bend in the river there lie the wrecks of one hundred and three steamboats between St. Louis and Cairo?

About the year 1843 the fastest, J. M. White, was built, and made the time from New Orleans to St. Louis in three days, twenty-three hours and some minutes. This was the fastest time, everything considered, ever made, though in the race in 1870, between the Natchez and the Robert E. Lee, it was claimed the latter made it in less time.

The flood of 1844 again demonstrated the wisdom of Laclede's location of St. Louis. Because there are alluvial bottoms on the Illinois side, opposite the city, and because the Missouri and the Mississippi at their confluence are bordered on the north and west by a low-lying prairie of great fertility divided into numerous farms, St. Louis is a source of flood news. The city proper has never suffered seriously from high water encroaching upon it.

When the snows melt in the mountains and June rains come in the valleys

at the same time, the Missouri, the Mississippi and the Illinois reach flood stages. The water creeps up the levee slowly. Sometimes it reaches the line which was the base of the limestone cliff when Laclede came to found his settlement. More rarely, once in several years, the water comes over the roadway and into the cellars of the warehouses on Front street. At much longer intervals the flood covers the first floors of the business establishment fronting on the levee and necessitates removal of goods. But practically all of the sixty-one square miles of St. Louis area is above the highest water mark.

The flood of 1844 was greater than any that preceded it from the time the first record was made. It began early in June. The Missouri boomed gradually, covering the bottoms all of the way through the State of Missouri. At the same time the Illinois was swollen by rains. The Mississippi spread out into the American bottom. By the 16th the water reached the curbstones on Front street and ran into the cellars. Illinoistown, the part of East St. Louis nearest to St. Louis, was submerged and people moved upstairs in their homes. Steamboats went a mile inland on the Illinois side. On the 18th, reports of losses of lives and property began to reach St. Louis. Citizens flocked to the levee. They crowded the roofs and windows. They stood all day observing the houses and barns, the trees, the fences floating by. Bad news came from the American Bottom. Those who had left the farms and villages early were safe in camps on the bluffs. But others, basing hope on previous floods, had remained on the higher portions of the great prairie surrounded by water which hourly cut down the island areas. These were in great danger if the flood broke records. The 19th of June found boats plying over the prairies and carrying farmers and live stock to the bluffs. The 20th of June the river level was three feet and four inches above the city directrix; it was rising on the first floors of Front street. Every boat from the Missouri came loaded with refugees. The 21st of June brought a higher level and the morning of the 22nd the report was "still rising." Business was almost suspended in St. Louis, although the city itself was in no danger. Measures of relief for the people above and across the river engrossed attention.

The mayor of St. Louis, Bernard Pratte, called on the river captains in port for volunteers. Boat after boat was sent out on relief expeditions. They went inland miles over farms where the grain only a week before had been ripening for harvest. People were taken out of second-story windows of their houses in Brooklyn and Venice and brought over to St. Louis. The new tobacco warehouse, barns, sheds, were used to shelter the hundreds of refugees. The people of St. Louis met at the court house, formed a relief committee and canvassed the city for money and supplies. Boats were tendered free for relief service. Crews of boats gave their time without compensation. Until the water went down and the refugees could return to their homes, the heart of St. Louis sustained them.

On the 22nd of June the upper Missouri was reported falling. On the 24th of June, about noon, the crest of the flood reached St. Louis. It marked seven feet seven inches above city directrix. Never before since St. Louis was founded had there been that height. Never since 1844 has the river touched that mark.

UPPER ROADWAY OF THE EADS BRIDGE

THE FLOOD STAGE AT ST. LOUIS

The unprecedented volume passed slowly. The city directrix, which is the stone monument by which the river levels are measured, had been covered on the 17th of June. It was not uncovered until the 14th of July.

The winter preceding the flood of 1844 was very severe, attended by unusually heavy snowstorms in the northwest. The early spring was characterized by rain storms which were said to be the heaviest known up to that time. At St. Louis in May rains occurred during nine days, the amount of fall, according to a report made by Dr. B. B. Brown, being nine inches. The steamboat Indiana, which went to the relief of Kaskaskia, made fast to the door of Colonel Menard's house and took on board the pupils and the Sisters of the Convent. Water was from ten to twenty feet deep in the streets. The Indiana brought to St. Louis several hundred people. The melting of the unusual snows in the Rocky Mountains, with the continuous rains in the upper Mississippi valley, accounted for the flood of 1844.

There was some controversy as to whether the great flood of 1844 broke all previous records. Mr. Cerre, who at the time of the flood of 1844 was one of the oldest French settlers in St. Louis, said that that inundation was higher by some four or five feet than the one in 1785. According to the best testimony, the flood of 1785 left a dry spot in the town of Kaskaskia, which spot was covered in 1844 with water five feet deep. The steamer Indiana passed along the wagon road from Kaskaskia to St. Louis, finding from six to fifteen feet of water over that road. The American Bottom from Alton to Cairo was submerged, the water covering 700 square miles of the "finest land in the world." According to Spanish and Portuguese historians all of the high ground on the west side of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to the Red river was under water several feet at the time of De Soto's expedition in 1542. In the courthouse of Randolph county, Illinois, there was a document dated 1725, asking for a grant of land for the reason that the great flood of the previous year, 1724, had overflowed Kaskaskia, destroying the houses and driving the inhabitants to the bluff. The bottom lands along the Mississippi from Alton to Cairo average five miles in width. These lands were submerged from bluff to bluff in 1785, 1824 and 1844. The flood at St. Louis attained its greatest height between the 24th and the 27th of June, 1844, and was 38 feet and 7 inches above low water mark.

The fame of Commodore C. K. Garrison rests mainly upon his long identification with the water transportation to California before the Civil war. The commodore, during an earlier period, had his day in St. Louis. Captain Joseph Brown remembered this:

> The hull of the Convoy was built by Captain Garrison, up the Big Muddy river, largely by his own labor, he handling the broadax. She was a large and fine boat for her day. I remember being on her one trip coming up, when there were quite a lot of young, jolly fellows on board. They played a joke on Captain Garrison by getting one of their number to go to the captain just before they reached Memphis and secure the privilege of ringing the bell, as was the custom, before arriving at a town. But the captain, also making a joke of it on his part, told the young fellow that it would cost him five dollars. This the young man, expecting to get even with him, readily paid. When they got within ringing distance of Memphis he commenced to ring the big bell, that weighed over a ton, and kept on until the captain, sitting on the roof of the boat, looked around and said "All

right, that will do." "No," said the young fellow, "I haven't got the worth of my money yet."

"But," said the captain, "you will alarm the town; they will think the boat is on fire."

"I can't help that," was the reply, "I haven't got the worth of my money yet."

"Well," roared the captain, "stop it, and I'll give you back your money."

"No," screamed the youth, "I don't stop until you give me back my money and agree to give the party a champagne supper."

"All right," acquiesced the captain, "I see you have got me."

Commodore Garrison was a brother of Captain Dan and the other Garrisons of St. Louis.

The McCune family came from Pennsylvania originally, migrating first to Bourbon county, Kentucky, and later in 1817 to Missouri. John S. McCune, after doing business some years along the upper Mississippi river, came here in 1841. The impressions he had received from his earlier experience prompted him to organize what became in the palmy days of steamboating one of the most important transportation interests of St. Louis. Long before the railroads, Commodore McCune had in operation the Keokuk Packet Company. Up to that time the steamboatmen had not appreciated the economies and the advantages of operation in companies. A great deal of the river business was done by individual owners of boats or by single firms. Commodore McCune put on the river a fleet of six boats which ran on regular schedules between St. Louis and Keokuk, furnishing facilities for all intermediate cities and towns. The boats were so far superior to most of the steamboats between 1840 and 1855 that conservative river men predicted a collapse. Commodore McCune and those associated with him garnered fortunes on their enterprise. In 1857 the Pilot Knob Iron Company was in danger of going down. To raise money the stockholders proposed to give as collateral to eastern capitalists a very large amount of the stock for a loan of $300,000. Commodore McCune came forward and advanced the money, taking the presidency of the iron company. That was one of the acts which went far to establish at an early date the financial independence of St. Louis.

Two Illinois boys, born in the southernmost county of that state, sons of an Irish father and of a Scotch mother, came to St. Louis to seek fortune. They found it in steamboating. They became river captains of the best type. Barton Able and Daniel Able began as clerks on the Ocean Wave. They were two of the best known men of St. Louis. They were "Bart" Able and "Dan" Able. It was said of Dan Able that in his many years of steamboating not a life was lost on any boat commanded by him. In 1851 he made a trip that is historic, taking the "Anthony Wayne" 160 miles up the St. Peters, now known as the Minnesota river, the first steamboat navigation of that river. He also took the Wayne up the Mississippi above St. Paul to St. Anthony, making another new record.

In the spring of 1853, St. Louis was given a novelty in amusement—a circus on a steamboat. The "floating palace," as it was called, drew 2,500 people to the foot of Poplar street. In had an amphitheatre in which 1,000 people could sit and see the usual circus performance including the bareback riding, the jumping through the paper hoops and all of the other thrills of half a century ago. But the patronage far exceeded the seating capacity. "Permissions" were sold at one dollar. These entitled the holders to stand outside and view from

CAPTAIN C. S. ROGERS

HENRY KAYSER

THE ST. LOUIS LEVEE FROM THE EADS BRIDGE

the windows the performance. The manager was George R. Spalding, father of Charles Spalding, owner of the Olympic theater.

Government reports in 1854 showed St. Louis was the third city of the United States in enrolled steam tonnage. St. Louis had twice the steam tonnage that Philedalphia had, more than Philadelphia and Baltimore together had. The leading ports in enrolled steam tonnage were:

New York	101,487 steam tonnage
New Orleans	57,174 steam tonnage
St. Louis	48,557 steam tonnage

The entire tonnage of the great lakes was 94,326, only about double the steam tonnage of the single port of St. Louis. St. Louis in 1853 owned more steamboat tonnage than Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, New Albany, Nashville and Memphis together. The St. Louis tonnage exceeded the steamboat interests of all of these other cities 3,167 tons. The steamboat arrivals at St. Louis in 1853 were 3,307. That number was 529 more than the arrivals at New Orleans for the preceding year. The steamboat arrivals at St. Louis that year averaged nine a day for every day in the year. The cargoes ranged from 800 to 1,500 tons of freight.

The popular idol of the Mississippi travel was Captain Sellers. In his young manhood he had come to St. Louis from North Carolina about 1825. The business of piloting appealed to him. In it he developed in marvelous degree the sense of locality. During his forty years of steamboating, so the tradition runs, Sellers never sunk a boat of which he was pilot; he never wrecked another boat by collision.

Called suddenly from his state room to the pilot house in the darkest night, he knew precisely where the boat was. The twelve hundred miles between St. Louis and New Orleans he had memorized so minutely that he not only recognized houses, barns, sheds, but the dead trees which were conspicuous enough to be landmarks. He could point out exactly where state lines touched the banks. It is told that Sellers made one hundred and nine consecutive trips on one boat, the Aleck Scott, without so much of an accident as the breaking of a single paddle in the wheel house. The famous pilot kept a room at Barnum's hotel in St. Louis. When his boat arrived at the landing, he went at once to the hotel, dressed himself carefully and appeared on the streets. "Sellers is at the wheel," was the expression used to quiet the nerves of timid travelers. Over the grave of Captain Sellers in Bellefontaine was placed a monument representing the pilot at the wheel steering, with a graven map of the river course at his feet.

Successful pilots of Missouri river boats were looked upon with great respect. Navigation of the clear water, regular channel rivers was considered tame by comparison. It was said that the La Barges, Elisha Fine and navigators of their class knew where the existing sandbars were and where the next sandbars would form and could locate the snags unerringly. A feat of the pilot known as Uncle Davy was to come down stream headed direct for a sandbar, slack up, poke the prow into the bar, swing around and back down stream by the only practicable channel left.

"The big St. Louis" was one of the experiments in steamboat architecture.

This boat was built at St. Louis. Her designers had great confidence in their plans. They constructed a leviathan 360 feet long and 45 feet beam with ten feet hold. The pattern was the flat-iron. The big St. Louis had seven engines. Captain George R. Taylor backed his experience with his money in building this boat. He believed he had a craft which would come from New Orleans to St. Louis in three and one-half days and carry great loads. But when steam was increased, the big St. Louis poked her prow downward instead of upward. Seven days was the best time that could be made. Even the tremendous vocal power of Captain Taylor giving orders, which could be heard half a mile from the hurricane deck, couldn't overcome the structural defect. Captain Joseph Brown tried the big St. Louis as well as other boats. He studied the subject of river transportation facilities with the zeal and the intelligence given by few others. His conclusion late in life was that Mississippi steamboatmen "have never entirely mastered the science of building boats suitable to the trade." He said:

The Mayflower was a three-decker, and there was only one besides her built with three decks—the John Simonds. I built the Mayflower with three decks so as to furnish better accommodations for deck passengers. Her upper cabin was fitted up in elegant style, having an oil painting in each panel of the doors and a large painting of the "Falls of the Colorado" that looked so natural that many thought it was real. The staterooms were large, and yet she had accommodations for 250 cabin and 400 steerage passengers. She was 310 feet long, 50 feet beam and carried 2,500 tons. She had seven boilers, and engines 34 inches in diameter and 12-foot stroke. She had 40-foot wheels and 17-foot buckets. If she had lived she would have made me a fortune during the war, but she was burned when only 7 months old at Memphis by the steamer Geo. Collier, when on fire, coming alongside of her at the wharf at 1 o'clock in the morning. In seven minutes the whole broadside was on fire and in 15 minutes what cost $220,000 was a smoldering wreck that sold for $1,500. That was in 1854.

In 1847 I was a large owner in the Alton packet Luella, getting $1 for a passage, but giving the passengers supper going up. As I was making a good deal of money, some parties concluded to put in another boat. This was the Tempest, quite a fast boat, and larger than mine. Just as soon as she began to run in the trade I put the passage down to 10 cents, still giving supper, and ran that way for nine months. It so happened that one night going up, the clerk who collected the fare at the table, came to me and said:

"Captain, there is one man down there at the table that won't pay the 10 cents for his passage and supper."

As I was pretty well riled on account of the opposition, and felt that the public was getting a great deal of something for nothing, I went down, and pulling back his chair at the table, I pushed him in front of me to the head of the stairs, and then kicked him down stairs. He fell like a log, with his head doubled up under him, and did not move. People began to gather around him. Well, I thought I had killed that man, and horror and regret took possession of me. I thought of what I had done and all for 10 cents; so I went down stairs and turned him over. As I did so he looked up and swore at me. I never was so glad to be cursed in my life.

In 1851 I built the Altona, I think the fastest boat that ever plowed the waters of the Mississippi, for the Alton trade. She paid for herself in one year, making the trip from Alton to St. Louis in one hour and thirty-seven minutes, and down frequently inside of an hour. Indeed I could land passengers in St. Louis before the railroad could.

Going back some years, from 1858 to 1848 I was engaged in milling at Alton, and as flour had been very low, only $2.60 for superfine flour in New Orleans, I had held back from shipping until I had the mill entirely full. I came to St. Louis and chartered a boat, the North Alabama, to go to Alton and take a full load to New Orleans. I mention this

circumstance to show the freaks that fortune will sometimes play. I loaded the boat to her full capacity, 18,000 barrels, and she started for New Orleans. As I then imagined bad luck would have it, she grounded at President's Island and remained there 12 days. I though I was ruined; but just at that time the Mexican war broke out. While she lay there flour went up to $3.50 a barrel, and I cleared $30,000 by the boat being aground.

The steamboat era made a record for casualty and mortality which was appalling. St. Louis newspaper files show that during the eighteen years preceding 1852 twenty-seven steamboats exploded their boilers, and that in the twenty-seven explosions there were killed 1,002 persons. In the eighteen years subsequent to 1852 fifty-four boats met with disaster. The number of fatalities was 3,100. The first serious explosion occurred as early as 1816. "The Washington" blew up, destroying nine lives. The climax in the series of disasters was reached when the Sultana exploded her boilers in 1864, killing 1,647 people, most of them returning soldiers. The explosions which cost fifty lives or more were those of the Ellen McGregor in 1836; the Blackhawk in 1837; the Orinoco in 1838; the General Brown in 1838; the H. W. Johnston in 1846; the Edward Bates in 1847; Louisiana in 1849; Princess in 1859; Ben Sherrod in 1861; Pennsylvania in 1862; Anglo-Norman in 1850; Glencoe in 1852; W. R. Arthur in 1871.

In his recollections given before the Missouri Historical Society, Captain Joseph Brown described the explosion of the Mozelle in 1837:

She was really ahead of the times as to speed and accommodations. She had an upper cabin and staterooms, and many other improvements and was quite fast. As there were at that time no restrictions as to the amount of steam a boat might carry, it was quite common to carry 180 or 200 pounds to the square inch, with only three-sixteenths of iron to hold it. The Mozelle's engineer was perfectly at liberty to do as he pleased, and quite often the captain and passengers urged him on like the woman who gave up her bacon to burn so as to beat the other boat. The Mozelle started out on her third trip from Cincinnati to Alton, and went above the city to take on some emigrants. After doing so, and being anxious to make a fine run past the city, where a large crowd was watching for her, she came along fairly flying, with 250 passengers on board. All at once all four of her boilers exploded, tearing the boat to pieces and burning and sinking what was left of the wreck, so that no part of the boat worth saving was ever found afterwards. Both sides of the Ohio river were strewn with legs and arms, and different parts of the bodies of human beings, while a few persons were blown ashore miraculously unhurt, or only maimed.

For proper appreciation of the paralyzing shock to the trade of St. Louis which the Civil war inflicted, the part which the steamboats performed in the city's commerce must be taken into account. Captain Joseph Brown told in a graphic way how this shock came to him:

I was in New Orleans when the United States flag was hauled down from the Custom house, and the state declared out of the Union. I happened to be sitting on the boat next to mine, the Natchez, a Vicksburg packet, Captain Tom Leathers. We entered into quite an animated discussion on the subject of secession. He took the grounds that there would be no war; that the Southern Confederacy would be acknowledged within three months, and that, anyway, one Southern man was equal to five Northern men, etc.

"Well," I said, "I don't agree with you. I know the Southern men are brave and impetuous, and have been fixing for this thing, and you may get the advantage at first, but, I tell you, the ingenuity of the north, the man who made the "wooden nutmegs," will win, for science is going to play a large part in this war. They will finally overrun you like an avalanche."

So we parted; I to try to get back to St. Louis, and he to take his part with the Southern Confederacy. I loaded up the Louisiana with pine knots and rosin, enough to carry the boat to Cairo witout stopping, and shoved out for St. Louis. As the river bank was full, we fairly flew along. I remember the exclamation of one old darkey as we rushed by the place where he stood. He said, holding up his hands, "De Lo'd's sake, what's de matter wid de Luzan. She just runnin' like a skeered wolf."

Still I had my doubts of getting past Napoleon, for we saw two cannons planted on the bank, on our way down. I told the pilot when we got there to get by if possible without landing. But it was no use, for when we got opposite there, off went one of their cannons, firing a blank cartridge across our bow. I stopped the boat and called out:

"What do you want? We have no business at Napoleon."

The response came:

"Come in here."

I said: "Does anyone want to come aboard?"

"Yes," 100 voices called at once. "Come in here; we want a drink, and if you don't come in, we will blow you to pieces."

Of course I had to land the boat, and as soon as she touched the shore, at least 400 thirsty men jumped on board. In less than twenty minutes the bar was empty, and the barkeeper got nothing, but was glad to get out with his life.

The next question came up, "Shall we confiscate the boat?" While the discussion was going on, I mounted a table in the cabin and said: "Gentlemen, this boat belongs in St. Louis, which is in a slave state, and if you want Missouri to join the Southern Confederacy, you had better not confiscate her citizens' property.

"The captain is right," cried one big fellow, half drunk, and waving his hat over his head; "but the Cincinnati boats we will confiscate, every one of them."

And they did for my boat was the last that got out of the Southern Confederacy.

The value of the steamboats registered or controlled at St. Louis in 1871 was $5,428,800. Probably the most ambitious consolidation of steamboat interests was attempted at St. Louis just after the close of the war. The Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company was organized. It owned a fleet of twenty-eight of the finest boats on the western rivers. Leading spirits in the enterprise were the Scudders, John J. Roe, the Ames family, the Ables, John N. Bofinger and several other St. Louisans with a few stockholders from the Ohio. The stock was $2,500,000. If the South had not been so impoverished, if recovery had been as rapid as expected, the consolidation might have been successful. Captain Joseph Brown said of the collapse:

The Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company was organized in 1866, after the war, and owned 28 steamers, most of which were 300 or more feet long. They plied between St. Louis and New Orleans. In fifteen months that company lost fifteen of the twenty-eight, either by explosion or sinking, and with no insurance. I was made president of the company after these disasters, and remedied the evils to some extent, but the company's back was broken. Inside of two years I was instructed to sell out at auction the balance of the boats ,eleven in number. While no one but the stockholders lost any money, it fell hard on them, for out of $70,000 that I had in stock I only got $2,600.

A thirteen-year-old boy, James B. Eads, sold apples on the streets of St. Louis. He did it so well that Barrett Williams, the merchant, gave him a place in his store. The employer discovered a bent in the young clerk for mechanics and turned him loose during leisure hours in a good scientific library. Before he was of age Eads knew what the books of that day could teach him of engineering. He went on the river as steamboat clerk. That was the promising

CAPTAIN JOHN S. McCUNE

A SCENE ON THE LEVEE, 1850

vocation of 1835-40. River commerce boomed. The disasters were terrifying. Case & Nelson, the leading shipbuilders of St. Louis, organized in 1842 a wrecking company to raise sunken boats, to recover cargoes. Eads joined in the enterprise. His natural engineering talent found exercise in the field of salvage. He invented machinery and appliances for the new industry with such effect that the profits of the business in ten years were half a million of dollars, a great fortune in 1850. All of the time the born engineer was studying the great river, its character and eccentricities. In 1855 he had devised a plan to clear the Mississippi of all obstructions and to keep it open a period of years. The House passed the bill to put the plan in operation. Jefferson Davis blocked the legislation in the Senate. Four years afterward the Lincoln administration called Eads to Washington. The engineer told what kind of armored gunboats he could build to operate on the Mississippi and its tributaries. He came back to St. Louis with a commission to build seven ironclads in sixty-five days. On the forty-fifth day the first of the fleet went down the ways at Carondelet. Six others followed. The DeKalk, Carondelet, Cincinnati, Louisville, Mound City, Cairo and Pittsburg were ready when the river campaign opened and the advance was made on Island No. 10.

Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War when he wrote rather tartly to Luther M. Kennett, who was in Congress from St. Louis, what he thought of the Eads theory of river improvement. He said:

"Unless the improvement of western rivers is to be conducted under a general system, supported by adequate means for many consecutive years, only partial benefits can be expected to result."

The home of Mr. Davis, at that time, was on a plantation with a Mississippi river frontage, below Vicksburg. Mr. Davis added:

> I cannot hope that this can be obtained by partial and occasional appropriations, even when expended by the most competent engineers, according to the best digested plans, but there is still less hope of its being attained by contracts to be executed according to the conceptions of men whose previous pursuits give no assurance of ability to solve a problem in civil engineering—than which none is more difficult—a problem which involves the control of mighty rivers flowing through alluvial valleys—the volume of whose waters varies irregularly with every year and every season.

This view of the necessity of continuous effort Mr. Davis reiterated when he addressed the commercial convention in New Orleans twenty-two years later, in 1878. What prompted Secretary Davis to write a letter to Congressman Kennett was the proposition already mentioned from the firm of Eads and Nelson to keep the Mississippi river clear of snags for a period of years by contract. Mr. Davis had the regular army idea of the civilian engineer in that day. He thought it would be a waste of government money to enter into the arrangement which James B. Eads and William S. Nelson proposed. At that time Eads and Nelson had been for a decade engaged successfully in raising sunken steamboats and in recovering cargoes when the boats could not be raised. They had established at St. Louis a large wrecking plant with boats and machinery constructed for the special purpose. Many of the devices were the fruits of Captain Eads' ingenuity and study of the Mississippi river problems. The proposition of Eads and Nelson was kept from consideration in the Senate largely through the course of

Judah P. Benjamin, then a Senator from Louisiana, who took the view of it that Mr. Davis did.

When the war was over St. Louis saw the railroads crossing the upper Mississippi and pushing westward across the continent. Military necessity was helping the northern development. The first route to the Pacific should have been by way of St. Louis. It would have been but for the war's diverting influence. It would have been in spite of the war, but for legal legerdemain. But what would a transcontinental line be with a mile break at the crossing of a river. Eads began to plan the bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis. Sinking piers in the shifting sands of the Mississippi channel was a new problem. Its solution was found. So, also, were discovered the devices which brought together the gigantic steel arches, controlling artificially contraction and expansion until the tubes from the east met tubes from the west and the splendid creation was perfected. In the literature of the engineering profession the story of the Eads bridge told by Calvin M. Woodward is one of the great books.

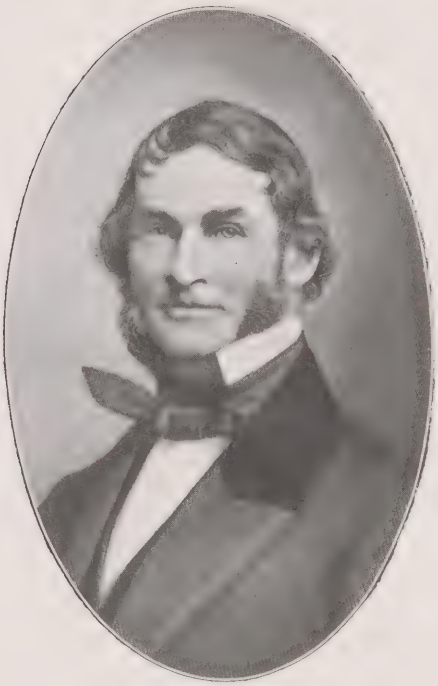
At the mouth of the Mississippi was a problem of increasing difficulty. Ships were being built of greater draft. The silt-laden water flowed out through the delta with depth growing less year by year. Government engineers wrestled over canal routes from New Orleans to deep water in the gulf. Eads said jetties. He was derided. His plan was met with scoffing Congress remembered the plan to make the channel safe, the ironclads and their record of service, the bridge which stood like the foundations of the city. To Eads was given the South Pass to experiment with, the compensation to be measured by the success. The jetties solved the problem.

While the army engineers were arrayed almost solidly against the jetties, Mr. Eads wrote, in 1874, to the Senate: "That they will ultimately be resorted to is as certain as that commerce or agriculture will increase in the valley." A year later the bill passed and Mr. Eads was given authority to go ahead on South Pass, the mouth where his expected failure in the opinion of the army engineers would do the least harm. Largely contributing, if not vital to the success of this legislation, was the fact that the city of St. Louis was represented in the House of Representatives at the time by three strong business men, one of the ablest trios of congressmen this city has sent to Washington. E. O. Stanard, Erastus Wells and W. H. Stone made it their business to get through the House the jetty legislation, and they were successful.

The St. Louisan studied the Mississippi as no other man ever did. He began with the alphabet of river knowledge—machinery to raise the snagged boats. He solved the great problem of the opening of a channel through the shoaling delta. Addressing a gathering of citizens of St. Louis who had faith in him, Mr. Eads, following the passage of the jetties bill by Congress, said:

> Every atom that moves onward in the river, from the moment it leaves its home amid the crystal springs or mountain snows, throughout the fifteen hundred leagues of its devious pathway, until it is finally lost in the gulf, is controlled by laws as fixed and certain as those which direct the majestic march of the heavenly spheres. Every phenomenon and apparent eccentricity of the river—its scouring and depositing action, its

CAPTAIN GEORGE H. REA



A. CHRISTY

THE ROUSTABOUTS' LEISURE HOUR

caving banks, the formation of the bars at its mouth, the effect of the waves and tides of the sea upon its currents and deposits—is controlled by laws as immutable as the Creator; and the engineer needs only to be assured that he does not ignore the existence of any of these laws, to feel positively certain of the ends he aims at. I therefore undertake the work with a faith based upon the ever-constant ordinances of God himself; and, so certain as He will spare my life and faculties, I will give to the Mississippi river, through His grace and by the application of His laws, a deep, open, safe and permanent outlet to the sea.

St. Louisans had faith in Eads. They financed the company organized to build the jetties under the legislation enacted by Congress. Julius S. Walsh was president of the company; Web. M. Samuel, vice president, and Richard Smith Elliott, secretary. Among other St. Louisans who participated in the financing were D. P. Rowland, John B. Maude, John Jackson, James Lupe, Mason G. Smith, Isaac Cook and E. P. Curtis. The faith of the St. Louisans was redeemed. Investments were returned with ten per cent interest and the profit which had been promised if Mr. Eads succeeded.

After the jetties were completed and in operation at the mouth of the Mississippi, E. L. Corthell, the engineer, said of them:

There is no instance in the world where such a vast volume of water is placed under such absolute and permanent control by the engineer, by methods so economic and simple as those adopted at the head of the passes of the Mississippi. The works are composed almost wholly of light willows ,with a large portion of the mattresses standing on edge, simply as screens to check the current and cause deposit. They constitute a remarkable illustration of how completely the immense forces of nature may be controlled by the wise use of the most inexpensive and unsubstantial materials which nature seemingly places within convenient reach of man for the very purpose.

When the boy who had peddled apples on the streets of St. Louis visited London in 1881 the greatest scientists of the United Kingdom showered honors upon him. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir John Lubbock presiding, invited Captain James B. Eads to attend the sessions, elected him a member and called upon him for an address. By a vote of the association Captain Eads' explanation of the jetty treatment of the mouth of the Mississippi and his description of the proposed Tehuantepec ship railway were incorporated in the proceedings of the association. He was given prominence as one of the great civil engineers of his generation and was the guest of honor at a series of entertainments by the most distinguished scientists of Great Britain. When the news of the remarkable reception given Captain Eads in England reached St. Louis it inspired a movement to erect a memorial at the entrance to the great bridge. Unfortunately the movement did not progress far beyond the newspaper columns:

Shortly after the census of 1890 Robert P. Porter, the commissioner, said to the Commercial Club of this city:

It behooves the people of St. Louis to see that there is no inertness in their conservation and care of the traffic opportunities afforded by the mighty rivers which flow out here.

He emphasized his warning with these significant figures:

The statistics show that in 1879 there were received here by river 947,185 tons of freight and lumber while in 1889 the receipts were 732,185 tons.

In 1879 the shipments from St. Louis by river were 689,225 tons and in 1889 they

were 721,424 tons. There is an increase here as you may have noted, in the shipments, but not sufficient to overcome the decrease in receipts.

The total river traffic of St. Louis in 1879 stands at 1,636,580 tons and in 1889 at 1,453,659 tons, being a decrease of 182,921 tons. There are many lessons to be learned from these statistics.

The record may be brought down to date. The freight received by river at St. Louis in 1908 was 293,180 tons and the shipments were 72,740 tons. The total river traffic at St. Louis in 1908 was 365,920 tons.

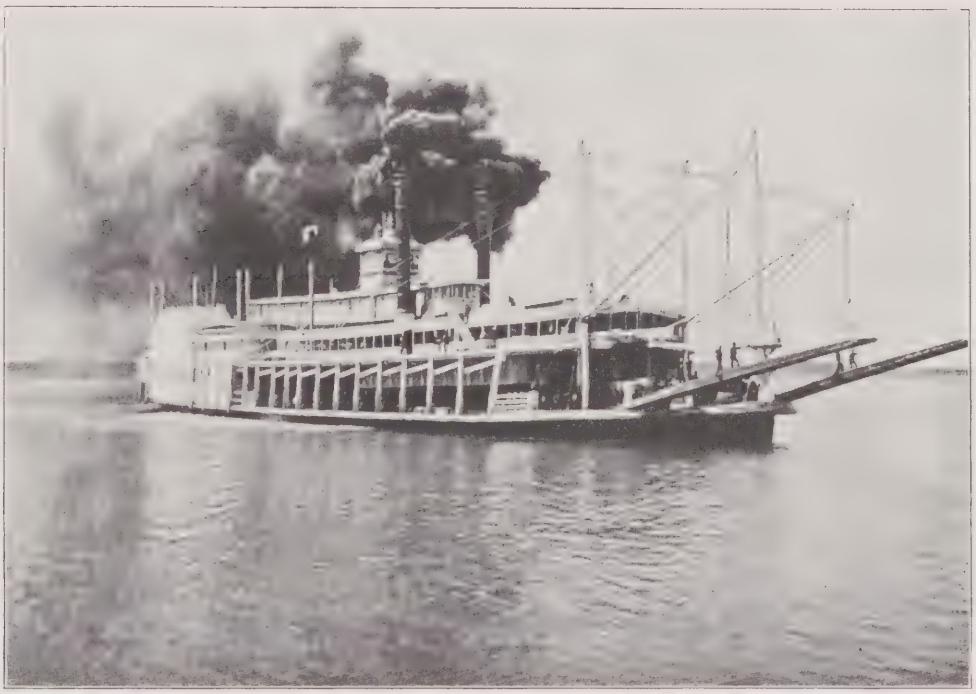
The St. Louisan who solved more Mississippi river problems than any other man was James B. Eads. He failed on none of them. His theories stood the test of trial. This is to be borne in mind when the message of suggestion to the National Commercial convention at New Orleans, many years ago, is read. To that body, Mr. Eads said:

I beg respectfully to call the attention of the convention to the importance of iron barges and iron steamers on the Mississippi river. As these vessels are being used in all parts of the world except in America, I would suggest that inquiry be set on foot by the convention to discover why the grain growers and planters of this valley are not enjoying the advantages afforded by the introduction of such boats and barges upon the Mississippi. They are used on all the chief rivers in Europe and Asia, several streams of which countries are far more rapid and dangerous than the Mississippi. Numbers of them are being constructed in Great Britain for the rivers of India, for the Nile and the Danube, and, indeed, for streams in almost every quarter of the globe, save America. These vessels will carry from twelve to fifteen per cent. more cargo than wooden hulls of equal size, strength and draught, and never have their carrying capacity lessened by being water-soaked. They cannot be destroyed by fire, are made with water-tight compartments, and are almost absolutely proof against sinking.

Mr. Eads had built iron gunboats at St. Louis and had seen their successful navigation of the Mississippi.

The convention resolved "that the building and employing of iron barges and steamboats in transporting produce and freights generally on the Mississippi river and its tributaries is highly recommended as a sure means of lessening the cost of freights and insurance, and increasing the amount of transportation on our rivers."

In 1906 the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway association was formed. There came together in St. Louis 1,100 delegates representing eleven States on both sides of the Mississippi from Minnesota to Louisiana. Fifteen governors of States attended that convention and spoke on the necessities of their respective States for better waterway transportation. Under the old way of agitating waterway improvement a memorial to Congress would have been adopted, a small committee would have been appointed to go to Washington and to have a hearing before Congressional committees. There the effort would have been suspended until a new movement was inaugurated. With the Deep Waterway association a new policy was adopted. No sooner was one convention over than plans for the next were put under consideration. At the same time the organization began to make itself felt in Washington. One day early in 1907 the officers of the association appeared at the White House with an invitation signed by seventeen governors of states asking the President of the United States to join them in a tour of observation down the Mississippi and to address the second annual convention at



"THE BIG ST. LOUIS"

Memphis. The invitation was supported with such forceful argument that the President accepted, viewed the river and addressed the convention. In attendance upon the Memphis convention were 2,300 delegates representing eighteen states, from seventeen of which the governors were present.

St. Louis was the place of beginning of Mississippi river improvement, as already told in the story of Captain John Goodfellow and the sandbar plowing. St. Louis has originated several river improvement movements but none of this thorough organization. In this city was started the Deep Waterway association. Here has been the central office of the association. St. Louis men have given time and thought unsparingly to the promotion of the association. Quite properly St. Louis sent to the convention at Chicago, in 1908, a delegation larger in number and stronger in character than any other which the city has sent to a similar convention. The delegates represented the municipality and the leading business bodies of the community. They included the mayor of the city and two former mayors. The candidates of the two great political parties suspended their campaigning in the high tide of it to come before that Deep Waterway convention and to address the 3,500 delegates.

There was excellent method in the management of the Deep Waterway movement from its beginning at, St. Louis. Naturally the first convention was held in St. Louis, the place of origin, the dividing point from the earliest steamboating days between upper and lower river navigation. Properly and for the maximum effect the second annual convention of the movement was held at Memphis and preceded by the tour of observation on the part of the President and the governors of States. The best of reasons designated Chicago for the meeting-point in 1908. St. Louis inaugurated and Memphis gave the movement impetus. At Chicago the Deep Waterway passed a crisis almost vital to early action. Illinois was about to vote on a proposed constitutional amendment to issue $20,000,000 in bonds to complete the second section from the completed canal to the Illinois river connection.

Is the Deep Waterway plan practicable? St. Louis obtained an affirmative answer before the movement was launched in 1906. How thorough and convincing the preliminary investigation was the general public did not know. There was no such phrase as a false start in the lexicon of the Business Men's eLague of St. Louis. Before the first Deep Waterway convention was called the pioneers solved to their satisfaction two phases of the proposition. They pursued inquiry along these lines:

1. The engineering problem.
2. The question of cost.

The opinions of the engineers most familiar with the course from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico were obtained. Army as well as civilian experts were consulted. And when the investigation, carried on without publicity was finished, James E. Smith, W. K. Kavanaugh, William F. Saunders and the others had become fully satisfied as to these conclusions:

1. There is nothing insurmountable, from the scientific standpoint, in

the way of a channel fourteen feet deep from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico.

2. The waterway, fourteen feet deep, from lakes to gulf, can be completed for less than $75,000,000 within five years from the beginning of the work.

With the ways well greased by such convictions, St. Louis shoved the movement into deep water. The government at Washington was a little shocked when the first ripples from the launching hit the White House and splashed on the marble steps of the capitol. Up and down the valley the agitation spread. Not until after the first Deep Waterway convention with its fifteen governors and 1,100 delegates, in 1906, did the seriousness of the proposition enter and occupy the minds of business men in the Mississippi valley. Not until after the second convention, attended by the President of the United States, seventeen governors and 2,300 delegates did the Deep Waterway take on its national importance. Congress took notice when the President made waterway improvement the subject of a special messaage in February, 1908, and said:

"Running water is the most valuable natural asset of the people.

"The Mississippi should be made the loop of the sea, and work upon it should be begun at the earliest possible moment.

"Adequate funds should be provided by bond issue if necessary."

CHAPTER XI.

OUR INDIAN RELATIONS.

The old French wars, and wars on this continent since then, amply prove how much better Frenchmen conciliate the natives, than the English. The English and the Americans, when they come in contact with the untutored savage, most commonly fight. But not so the French; they please and flatter the Indian, give powder and balls and flint and guns, and make a Catholic of him, and live in friendship with the red man and woman in the wilderness. The French have always had a stronger hold of the affections of the Indians than any other people.—Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth.

No Indians were to be dispossessed when Auguste Chouteau made fast at the foot of Walnut street. The trees were cleared away. The goods and tools brought in the first boat were unloaded and put under a temporary roof. Young Chouteau had begun the assembling of the stone and timber for Laclede's house when the tribe of the Missouris, men, women and children, arrived. The Indians did not manifest hostility. On the contrary they were too friendly. They informed the youth that they were going to form a village close to the house he was building. They begged food. They helped themselves to the tools. Chouteau was disturbed, the more so because some of the people who had come over from Cahokia to join the new settlement took alarm and began to move back to the east side of the river. The Indians numbered 125 warriors. The women and children made quite a community. Feeling that the situation was too serious for him, Chouteau sent for Laclede. In the meantime he put the Indian women and children to work on the cellar for Laclede's house. He paid for the labor in trinkets. Before the problem was settled the Missouris had about finished the excavation.

Laclede came up from Fort Chartres. He held a council with the Indians. He listened to their plans to live near neighbors to him. He heard what they had to say in favor of the the location for their proposed village. He took a night to think over what they had said. The next day he made a speech which so impressed young Chouteau that years afterwards he wrote it down. Laclede said:

You told me yesterday that you were like the ducks and bustards, who traveled until they found a fine country, where there was beautiful open water, that they might rest there and obtain an easy living; that you, the Missouris, who were worthy of pity, resembled them because you traveled to find a place to settle yourselves; that you did not find any more suitable than that where you are at present; that you wished to form a village around my house where we should live together in the greatest friendship. I will reply to you in a few words and I will say that if you followed the example of the ducks and bustards in settling yourselves you followed bad guides who have no foresight, because if they had they would not put themselves into open water, so that the eagles and birds of prey could discover them easily, which would never happen to them if they were in a woody place and covered with brush. You Missouris, you will not be eaten by

eagles, but these men, who have waged war against you for a long time past, who are in great numbers against you who are few, will kill your warriors because they will offer resistance, and will make your women and children slaves. Behold what will happen to you if you wish to follow, as you say, the course of the ducks and bustards, rather than the advice of men of experience. You women, who are here present and who listen to me, go, tenderly caress your children, give them food in plenty; also, to your aged parents, press them closely to your arms, lavish upon them all the evidences of the tenderest affection, until the fatal moment which shall separate you from them. That moment is not far distant, if your men persist in their intention to settle here. I warn you, as a good father, that there are six or seven hundred warriors at Fort de Chartres, who are there to make war against the English—which occupies them fully at this moment, for they turn all of their attention below Fort de Chartres from whence they expect the English—but if they learn you are here, beyond the least doubt they will come here to destroy you. See now, warriors, if it be not prudent on your part to leave here at once rather than to remain to be massacred,—your wives and your children torn to pieces, and their limbs thrown to dogs and to birds of prey. Recollect, I speak to you as a good father; reflect well upon what I have just told you, and give me your answer this evening. I cannot give you any longer time, for I must return to Fort de Chartres.

Auguste Chouteau thought he had reason to be apprehensive about these Missouris. There was a tradition that a party of the tribe had been taken to France many years before to bring back to the Mississippi valley impressions of the nation to which they owed their allegiance. The daughter of the chief, who was a member of the party, became converted and married a French soldier. Not long after the return this party participated in an attack on a French post and murdered the people. The bloodthirsty character given to these Indians by the tradition was not borne out by the events of that day on the site of St. Louis or in the subsequent relations between the settlers and the tribe. Laclede's address to the Missouris proved effective. Auguste Chouteau said of the result:

In the evening, the whole nation, men, women and children, came to M. de Laclede and told him that they had opened their ears wide to his discourse, and that they would follow in all things, his advice; and they prayed him to have pity upon the women and children, and give them provisions and a little powder and some balls for the men, that they might hunt while going up the Missouri and defend themselves if they were attacked. M. de Laclede told them that he would have pity on them, and detained them until the next day. He could not give them anything that day, for he had not enough corn, which he was obliged to send to Caos for. As soon as he had received it he gave them a large quantity—some powder, balls and knives and some cloth; and the day after all the Missouris went away, to go up the Missouri and return to their ancient village—having remained here fifteen days, in the course of which I had the cellar of the house, which we were to build, dug by the women and children. I gave them in payment vermilion, awls and verdigris. They dug the largest part of it, and carried the earth in wooden platters and baskets which they bore upon their heads.

The Missouri Indians were known by that name from the day of their first visit to the settlement of St. Louis. At an earlier period they were called the Nudarches. The name of the Missouris was given to the tribe by the Illinois or Illini tribe because they lived in the Missouri river country. The Nudarches established a record of friendliness between the white people long before they made their overtures to locate a village alongside of Pierre Laclede's settlement. The tribe welcomed Marquette one hundred years before the coming of Laclede. This friendly disposition of the Nudarches

or Missouris was noted by other early explorers. It is history that in 1712 the tribe was one of several which marched to the relief of the white settlement at Detroit. Seven years later the Missouris or Nudaiches ambushed and destroyed a Spanish expedition sent up from Old Mexico. The Missouris distinguished between the white nations. They were most kindly disposed toward the French. Notwithstanding their frequent manifestations of good feeling they did not incline to civilized ways. The French attempted to instruct the Missouris. The priests of that early period, encouraged by the disposition of the Missouris, directed missionary efforts toward them, but these were unsuccessful. The case affording the basis for the tradition was, probably, the only one in which these Indians attacked the French settlers.

One of the notable days of the ad interim administration of St. Ange de Bellerive was the military funeral given to an Indian. Pontiac was a chief of three tribes in his youth. He ruled over the Ottawas, the Ojibways and the Pottawattomies. He constantly sided with the French and fought the British. In one of his orations he called the English "dogs dressed in red who have come to rob you of your hunting grounds and to drive away the game." That was the year that Laclede came up the Mississippi to found St. Louis. France was surrendering by treaty her possessions east of the Mississippi to England. Pontiac led an uprising against the new authority. "Pontiac's war" continued until 1766. The chief was compelled to make a treaty with the English. He came west to the Illinois country and found a congenial retreat in the French community of St. Louis. He was still in his prime but disappointed he became a hard drinker. St. Ange de Bellerive had known the chief in better days and treated him kindly. While in his cups Pontiac was enticed across the river to the vicinity of Cahokia by a Kaskaskia Indian and killed from ambush. It is tradition that an English trader bribed the Kaskaskian with a barrel of rum to get Pontiac out of the way. St. Ange went after the body of the chief. Upon the return to St. Louis Pontiac was dressed in the uniform of a French general, a gift to him by Montcalm. The body lay in state, guarded by the French soldiers who had come from Fort Chartres after the evacuation. At the hour of burial military honors were paid. Pontiac had never been baptized. His body could not be placed in consecrated ground. A grave was dug for him a short distance west of the cemetery. Its precise location as determined by the Missouri Historical society was twenty feet east of Broadway and fifty feet south of Market street. The full garrison paraded at the funeral and the entire population of the settlement attended.

When Don Antonio Ulloa sent Rios up the Mississippi to fortify the mouth of the Missouri in 1768 he gave him an Indian policy in these words:

> The two main objects in establishing this fort are, first to keep the friendship of the savages in harmony with the colony, and second to prevent the British neighbors from intruding on the lands which belong to his majesty. To attain this purpose, it is necessary to use the best sagacity with the savages and to give the English no reason for complaint In regard to the savages: what they wish is that they shall be treated as brothers, without giving the slightest reproach or jest or mockery at their expense.

Especially no offense should be given them about their wives because they are very sensitive on this point. They consider this a grave offense, more serious than civilized nations do.

Sometimes the Indians go to excesses; they drink and steal. When they come back to themselves they give satisfaction and make the apology asked of them. If advantage is taken of them they get angry; they forget the friendship to the colony; they become very cruel enemies. Their revenge is bloody. It is impossible to check them.

When they act unreasonable, when they insult you, then is the time you must act with great prudence, avoiding them and not considering their actions as crimes. When their anger is past, complaint can be made to the chief. This will be the greatest punishment; it will be harder on them than anything that could have been done when they were angry. Angered they are just like beasts, as brutal. They are guilty of most atrocious acts. The best possible way to subdue them is to use the influence of their own people upon them. This is the principal reason why brandy should not be taken to the colony; the Indians love liquor but it is against public interest to let them have it.

The Indians are people who like to have lots of things given them. They will give their friendship for anything that is offered them. They are never satisfied. Things must be given them every time they come to ask, even if it is only a trifle. For this reason we must not give all of the presents we have at once. Something must be reserved in case they call again.

Don Antonio's analysis of Indian character is interesting. He believed in catering to the aboriginal vanity.

Some of the chiefs of some of the tribes may come to the fort. They will be given the distinction of wearing the medal of the king. Report must be made to the government of the chiefs who come and of the reason for their coming. Medals must be given to other chiefs in case they wish to come to offer friendship. This was the course pursued by the French government. We must continue doing it. They thus understand that we want to do everything they have been accustomed to.

It must be understood that no weapons must be used or violence exercised against the nations which belong in his majesty's kingdom. Everything must be settled with kind and reasonable words. The Indians must be induced to realize the injustice and unreasonableness of any disturbance or theft perpetrated by them. It is also very important that the tribes on the English side of the Mississippi must not be offended. We must keep on good terms with them whenever they come into our territory. Those who come to our side to change their locations, as they often do, must be admitted with kindness, watched with care. By allowing them to settle where they please we will gain their good will. It is very important to try to keep peace between the tribes. Great care must be exercised when there is any dispute among them to pacify. Call them together in meetings and try to reconcile them by making some small present.

The liquor traffic was a matter upon which Spanish authority imposed stringent regulation:

The introduction of brandy is strictly forbidden, not only among the savage tribes but also in the establishment. The quantity that must be brought in for necessities will be under special license. Any quality brought in above the amount mentioned in the special license will be thrown in the river by the storekeeper, the assistant surgeon and the controller. These officials must send to the government a certificate stating the amount thrown away. The party who brings in the extra quantity will be fined $25 for each pint extra. Half of the fine collected will be turned over to the orphans and the hospital and the other half will be retained by the commandant of the establishment.

American historians have charged Cortez and Pizarro and other Spaniards with atrocious treatment of the Indians. They have never given credit where due for the tactful course pursued toward the natives by white men who settled and governed at St. Louis for more than sixty years. In

A TYPE OF THE SHAWNEES WELCOMED BY GOVERNOR PEREZ

PONTIAC

TABLET TO PONTIAC, PLACED IN SOUTHERN HOTEL BY THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

all of the relations with Indians during the pioneer generations of this country, there is no period, no place which can offer comparison with the record established at St. Louis.

In the years of Spanish dominion at St. Louis there were times when financial stringency was felt. Salaries were reduced. Soldiers were not paid for months. Retrenchment was ordered. But the annual presents or "gratifications" as they were called for the Indian nations were not passed by.

In the winter of 1800 Governor Ramon de Lopez at New Orleans wrote to Governor Delassus at St. Louis that Josef Ferdon, master of a vessel, was enroute with the annual gratification, and added,

> I will appreciate it if upon making the distribution you will exercise the most care possible and be economical, not only because His Majesty wishes it, but also on account of the demands for cash made on this department and the lack of funds for same; we have to be very careful how we use up this money.

If the French fur traders and merchants accepted Spanish sovereignty easily, the same was not altogether true of their Indian constituents. Down the Missouri came a chief of the Osages to see the new flag and its representative. Gov. Piernas had establshed cordial relations with Laclede and with St. Ange. It didn't occur to the Spanish don that the red chief expected the courtesy of one governor to another. Gov. Piernas was dignified. The Osage went home and returned with a band. He met a Shawnee chief who was in St. Louis to see the governor about moving to some land south of St. Louis. The Shawnee looked inquiringly at the war bonnet. The Osage was drinking. He confided to the Shawnee his intention to avenge the slight the Spanish governor had put upon him; he was going to kill him at the first opportunity. The Shawnee saw the way to win favor for himself. He provoked the Osage to quarrel and killed him with a blow of the knife. The Osage chief was buried on Grand Terre, or Big Mound, which gave the name to Mound Street, and there the Osages came year after year in the colonial period to mourn and to decorate the grave.

One of the schemes of the Spanish governors was the settlement of Shawnee and Delaware Indians near St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. They thought the Indians could be partially civilized and made useful as allies to ward off attacks from wilder tribes in the west. The Shawnees and Delawares professed to like the arrangement. They formed villages and raised corn. But the young bucks would get out and commit depredations. One day a band of these Indians came upon a St. Louis settler named Duchouquette, who was alone in the vicinity of what is now Lafayette Park. They killed the white man. Francis Duchouquette was some distance away, and saw the attack. He ran to the village and gave the alarm. Officer Tayon called for help and led a posse in pursuit. The Frenchmen came upon the Indians. Duchouquette saw the one who had killed his brother and who was wearing the fresh scalp tied to his belt. He shot him. Four other Indians were killed. This discouraged the Spanish governors. The civilizing policy was given up. The Delawares were encouraged to move on—westward.

At the time of the American occupation the presents made by the Span-

ish government to the Indians in Upper Louisiana amounted to $12,000.00 a year. An official gun-smith was located at St. Louis to repair the guns of the Indians. He received $140.00 a year from the government. The Indians made visits to St. Louis to have their fire-arms put in order.

The relations which the French residents of St. Louis maintained with the Spanish authority in regard to control of the Indian situation is shown in the commission which Baron Carondelet issued to Pierre Chouteau in 1794. The baron is described as governor, lieutenant-general and viceroy of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida. The commission read:

> In consideration of the services rendered by Don Augusto and Don Pedro Chouteau, they having proposed to erect a fort in the nation of the Great Osages and to maintain order and discipline among them as well as in the nation of the Little Osages, preventing raids and incursions,—as they have already accomplished—it being essential to appoint a commander of this fort, the influence of these brothers over said Osages is such that I have appointed Don Pedro Chouteau, lieutenant of militia to be the commander of the fort with military powers subject to the lieutenant-governor of the Illinois. Besides these qualifications he has valor and the necessary fitness for the position. Therefore I order the lieutenant-governor, commanders, citizens, and inhabitants of the establishments of the Illinois to obey him as such commander and give to him the obedience, honors, privileges and exemptions which belong to him as such, and will best serve his majesty and the tranquillity of these provinces.

To illustrate how discreet the St. Louisans had been in their Indian relations, Captain Stoddard, who raised the American flag, told of the speech made by a truculent chief at a peace conference in St. Louis a few years previously. This chief said:

> We have come to offer you peace. We have been at war with you many moons, and what have we done? Nothing. Our warriors have tried every means to meet you in battle; but you will not; you dare not fight us. You are a parcel of old women. What can be done with such a people but to make peace since you will not fight? I come therefore to offer you peace, and to bury the hatchet; to brighten the chain, and again to open the way between us.

Spanish authority was thrifty, if it was punctilious in the dealing with the Indians in the Louisiana Territory. A man named David Troter and his son living on the Meramec river near St. Louis were killed by a band of Mascutins in March, 1800. The band was captured and brought in by two hundred Osages under the chief, Chevreux Blanc. Governor Delassus did what he thought was the right thing by the red posse but when his report of the affair reached Marquis de Casa Calvo, his superior, this answer was returned:

> The talk and statements you made to the Indians were very good. But it seems to me the reception and presents you gave them were too much. Not even the commandants at Penzacola and at Mobile do so much, as you have done, considering the number. You have given one hundred guns to two hundred Indians. The most that are given here are to the chiefs or to some captains. We can treat with four hundred of five hundred Indians without giving more than five guns. I feel that this action you have taken will prove unsatisfactory.

The treatment of Tewanaye, the Mascutin, is an excellent illustration of the Indian policy which prevailed in the early days at St. Louis. When the Osages had delivered to Governor Delassus the band of Mascutins respon-

sible for the massacre of David Troter and his son and for the burning of their home on the Meramec, investigation showed that Tewanaye was guilty and that five others who were brought in were not guilty. Two accomplices of Tewanaye had not been taken. The Indian confessed his participation. Results of the inquiry were sent by Delassus to Governor Manuel de Salcedo, at New Orleans, who replied:

I have thought that the quickest and best way to restore peace in that jurisdiction will be, as soon as you receive this, to have the party of Mascutin Indians appear before you and to inform them of the confession of Tewanaye. Make them understand the unreasonable proceedings in which they respond to the good will and benefits they continually receive from the Spaniards. Try to persuade them to give up the two mentioned by Tewanaye as accomplices in his cruel murder of David Troter. If they are willing to give up the accomplices, then you can impress on their minds the importance to justice and to themselves to execute the three murderers in the presence of the army, as we have done in the case of the Spanish soldier who killed the Tallapuses chief named Sancho.

If you can by reasoning and without getting them angry convince them that this is the thing for them to do you can order that the execution take place before the army and before the largest number of militia that can be assembled. Of course you will take all possible precautions to the end that no insult pass and that only justice be done. Afterwards you will by flattery try to get the Indians to go away to their nation.

If you cannot persuade the Mascutins to give up the accomplices, or if the other two Indians having been given up shall deny any part in the crime, you will insist only on the death penalty for Tewanaye. This must be carried out with the formality as directed above. I beg to call your attention to my statement that I do not think it is advisable on their crimes against the defenseless people in the country. But by all means you must try wanaye, as he has confessed. We do not want to excite the Indians and have them carry of their crimes against the defenseless people in the country. But by all means you must try to get them to leave as soon as possible because the small force of the army does not permit us to act with the energy that we ought, as we have to keep the peace in our own interest.

It may be that the Indians will refuse to kill Tewanaye. Then you must order the execution by the soldiers, but with the same solemnity as directed above, and in the presence of the Indians. You must try to make them understand it is only an act of justice to themselves as well as to us and in accordance with the reciprocity we have mutually agreed upon. You can also mention this to the other Indians who are connected with or friendly to the Mascutins, so that they will be more careful with their incursions. It is very necessary to bring all of them to a sense of justice. You can execute the sentence of Tewanaye at St. Louis or at New Madrid as you think best. Make the Indians understand the goodness of this government. Make them understand that without fearing them, we punish their crimes and pardon with generosity their acts of drunkenness, without having any feeling of revenge. It is indeed a hard commission. It is difficult to bring understanding to people who have no intelligence. But through facts and examples, although with difficulty, we may bring understanding to the most hard headed people.

The execution of Tewanaye took place in January, 1803. It was attended by a great demonstration. The militia companies of half a dozen posts marched under command of Governor Delassus to New Madrid. Tewanaye was unshackled. The sentence of death was read and translated to him in his own language. The militia paraded in front of the standard. The execution took place by shooting. The other Indian prisoners were so placed that they could see all that occurred. The body of Tewanaye was placed in the coffin. The soldiers with drums beating, marched by. The Indian prisoners were unshackled, taken to the governor's headquarters and turned over to their chief, Agyponsetchy of the Mascutin nation. The gov-

ernor returned to St. Louis. The militia companies marched back to Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon and Platin.

In March, 1804, three days after he had absolved the habitants of St. Louis from further allegiance to Spain, Governor Delassus formally told the Indians assembled at St. Louis of the change. He did so at the request of Captain Stoddard. The American Captain knew how well St. Louis had fared with the Indians. He appreciated the friendliness that had existed between Spanish authority and the nations of the Missouri. He asked Governor Delassus to make known in his own way to the Indians that they had a new father. The governor complied. To a formal assemblage of Indians in front of the government house, in the presence of Captain Stoddard and Meriwether Lewis, Governor Delassus delivered in a very impressive manner this address:

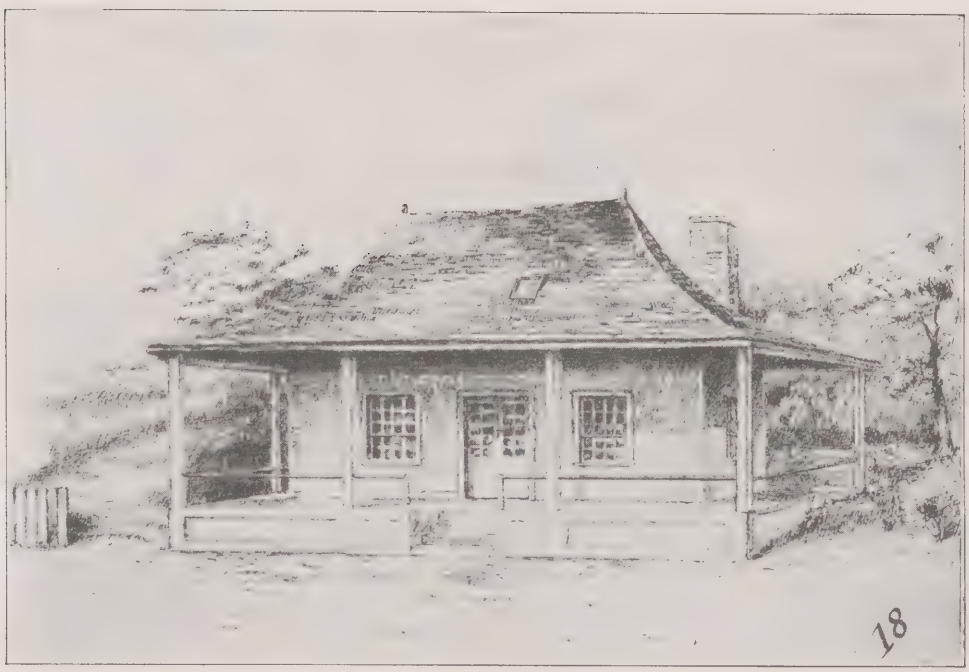
Delawares, Abenakis, Saquis and others:

Your old fathers, the Spaniard and the Frenchman, who grasp by the hand your new father, the head chief of the United States, by an act of their good will, and in virtue of their last treaty, have delivered up all of these lands. The new father will keep and defend the lands and protect all of the white and red skins who live thereon. You will live as happily as if the Spaniard was still here.

I have informed your new father, who here takes my place, that since I have been here the Delawares, Shawnees and Saquis have always conducted themselves well; that I have always received them kindly; that the chiefs always restrained their young men as much as possible. I have recommended thee, Takinosa, as chief of the natives; that thou hast always labored much and well to maintain a sincere friendship with the whites and that, in consequence of thy good services, I recently presented to thee a medal with the portrait of thy great father, the Spaniard, and letters patent reciting thy good and loyal services. For several days past we have fired off cannon shots that we may announce to all the nations your father, the Spaniard, is going, his heart happy to know that you will be protected and sustained by your new father, and that the smoke of the powder may ascend to the Master of Life, praying him to shower on you all a happy destiny and prosperity in always living in good union with the whites.

The American occupation was followed by an act which did much toward retaining Indian good will. In April 1806, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, back from his exploration of the Upper Mississippi was ordered to get ready for an expedition westward. The object was to escort to their tribes fifty-one Osages and Pawnees. These Indians had been taken prisoners by the Pottawatomies. They had been redeemed by the United States government. They were to be restored to their people with military escort. At the same time that he went on this diplomatic mission, Pike was to conduct an exploration to the far southwest. The Osages and Pawnees never forgot Pike. For many years any St. Louisan was sure of welcome among them. When one of the fur traders got the best of Long Hair the Pawnee chief, the latter let him leave for St. Louis with his catch but he relieved his mind with this bit of scathing eloquence:

Now Dorion, I know you are a bad man. I have no doubt that you have a quantity of such goods as we want concealed in those packs and could reward me if you were liberal enough, but I ask nothing. You have a forked tongue. You have abused me to the whites by calling me a rascal, saying I robbed the traders. But go; I will not harm you. Tell the Red Head that I am a rascal, a robber. I am content.



HOME OF MANUEL LISA

Blackbird, or Oiseau Noir, as he was called by the fur traders of St. Louis was the chief of the Omahas. About the time of the American occupation he died. In accordance with the instructions he had given them his people put his body on horseback and led the horse into a cave near the summit of a hill overlooking the Missouri river. The mouth of the cave was stoned up. In 1810 there was current in St. Louis the story of a remarkable fur trade with Blackbird some time before his death. According to this story as John Bradbury preserved it, a St. Louis trader arrived with his goods at the Omaha village. He asked Blackbird for the privilege of trading with the Omahas. The chief told the trader to bring to his lodge all the goods he had to offer. When the stock had been displayed Blackbird went over it thoroughly, picked out a fourth of the best and placed this portion to one side of the lodge.

"Now, my son," said the chief, "the goods which I have chosen are mine. Those you have are yours. Don't cry, my son, my people shall trade with you for your goods at your price."

Blackburn sent the herald to the top of the lodge to summon the tribe, directing that every warrior bring in all of the beaver, bear, otter, muskrat and other furs in his lodge. He compelled them to take for their furs whatever the St. Louis trader offered. When he got back to St. Louis, the trader declared that the voyage was the most profitable he had ever made.

Mr. Bradbury said he was given by Mr. Tellier at St. Louis the explanation of Blackbird's power over his people. Tellier had been Indian agent. He said a trader gave the Indian chief a package of arsenic and instructed him how to use it. The unscrupulous chief was accustomed to prophesy the death of any member of the tribe who disobeyed him. With his arsenic and the knowledge of a fatal dose he saw that his prophecies came true.

Captain Joseph Conway was the hero of St. Louis in the esteem of the boys of 1810-1820. He had been scalped three times. He had been tomahawked. He had been shot. He had been left for dead. The stories that were told of Captain Conway rivaled those about Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton. Boys got behind the captain and looked with admiring awe at the spots from which the Indians had cut the scalp locks. Captain Conway was a Virginian. He came west early in life and fought Indians. When the Spanish governor, Trudeau, was encouraging American settlers to come west of the Mississippi, he extended a special invitation to Captain Conway. About the time that Daniel Boone moved over from Kentucky Joseph Conway accepted a grant of land from Trudeau and became a resident of what is now St. Louis county. That was in 1798, six years before American authority was established in St. Louis. Conway was an Indian fighter from the time he could carry a gun. He accompanied Boone and Kenton on their campaigns against the Indians. Of Conway it was told that being hard pressed he ran from tree to tree, loading and firing until he had killed seven Indians. He fought with Harmer and with Wayne. In three different battles he sustained wounds. At one time, when he had been scalped, he was made a prisoner and with his undressed wounds was compelled to walk from

the Ohio river to Detroit. He was barefooted. The blood ran down his back from the scalp wounds. A white woman, who was a prisoner, bound up Conway's head. On the Canadian border Conway was held in captivity four years. Those experiences preceded the settlement in the vicinity of St. Louis. For years after he came here, Captain Conway held himself in readiness for service against the Indians whenever trouble threatened. The fame of the old borderer was worth a regiment of unknown men for restraining effect on a tribe that was inclined to be ugly. Captain Conway left descendants who held public offices in St. Louis. One of his sons became sheriff. A thoroughfare in the suburbs of St. Louis was named in honor of Captain Conway.

The faith which St. Louis kept with the Indians from Laclede's day was worth more than an army when war came in 1812. British influence was directed to the border, and was at work among the tribes from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the upper Missouri long before a gun was fired. To Governor William Clark in St. Louis, Manuel Lisa, far up the river more than a year before the war, sent word "the wampum was being carried along the banks of the Missouri." The British scheme, Lisa said, was "a universal confederacy" of the Indian nations preparatory to an overwhelming movement on Missouri when war came.

A grand character was William Clark in many ways. But even his share in the expedition of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific was not a greater service to his country than his management of the Indian situation in the northwest during the war of 1812. One of the first acts of Clark was to make Manuel Lisa a sub-agent of the tribes. No man had such influence over the Indians. Lisa was an American by acquisition. He came under the United States flag when St. Louis did in 1804. He was thoroughly American.

"I have suffered enough in person and property under a different government," he wrote, "to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live."

"Captain Manuel," as the Indians called him, began the organizing and arming of the tribes to fight, not against "The Republic," as he liked to call the United States, but against the Indian allies of Great Britain. When the war ended Lisa was fairly ready to begin. He had forty chiefs and several thousand warriors ready to go against the British Indians on the Upper Mississippi. The Missouri frontier had been saved from the Indian nations on the upper Mississippi. Governor Clark sent trusted representatives with messages of conciliation. Among these emissaries was the One-Eyed Sioux, a famous chief who visited St. Louis frequently and was a great admirer of General Pike, the explorer. The One-Eyed Sioux came to St. Louis with the information that a party had been made up to attack the American frontier. He undertook, at Governor Clark's request, to visit a number of tribes and to use his influence against the British. He was imprisoned, maltreated and threatened with death by the British, but was true to the confidence Clark placed in him. When the war was over the One-Eyed Sioux came back to St. Louis and was honored. As long as he lived he treasured and showed with great pride the commission he received to represent Governor Clark in his diplomatic efforts with the Upper Mississippi tribes.

In May, 1812, General William Clark assembled at St. Louis chiefs of the Great and Little Osages, Sacs, Renards, Delawares and Shawnees and took them to Washington to make a treaty. They made peace with each other before starting. These chiefs were received by President Madison just before the war with Great Britain. They were taken to eastern cities and made much of. The act was wise for settlers were crowding into St. Louis and scattering in the Indian country.

Clark made Manuel Lisa sub-agent among the Indians of the Missouri. Lisa went up the river 1,400 miles and started the Yanktons and Omahas after the Iowas, who were allies of Great Britain. The Omahas got a number of scalps and sent them down to St. Louis as evidence they were at work. Then Lisa put 900 Yanktons on the field and they took twenty-seven scalps of Iowas. Peace was declared; Lisa brought forty-seven chiefs to St. Louis to meet General Howard. He handled the situation with splendid skill. But columnies were put in circulation. Lisa came back to his home to find that his reputation was assailed. He wrote this indignant letter, a masterpiece for one who had passed most of his life with the Indians and trappers in the fur trading territory.

St. Louis, July 2d, 1817.

Sir: Last year I arrived from the Missouri the 22d of June, and learned that scandalous reports were circulated against me. I wrote and published an article in the Gazette of this town. The calumny was refuted, and the authors refused to unmask themselves. On the first of September, I re-entered the Missouri, and ascended it to my upper establishment, a distance of twelve hundred miles. Returning to this place on the 14th instant, I learned from you the day before yesterday, that certain scandalous reports were again on foot to my prejudice.

1. That I had disposed of the merchandise of the government to my own account.

2. That I had not brought down the Panis to treat with the Commissioners at St. Louis, upon their requisition.

3. That I had prevented the Omahas from revenging upon the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio.

4. That I had misapplied the provisions given to me last year, for the Sioux and Omahas returning home.

5. That I had sold whiskey to the Indians.

I owe to you, sir, from whom I received the appointment of sub-agent, to excapulate myself from these charges, which I propose to do in a few words.

I received your order the 24th of August, 1814, to receive from Mr. Sibley, $1,335 of merchandise, prices of St. Louis, to be distributed among the Indians of the Missouri, to engage them in offensive operations against the enemies of the United States. The 20th of August, the same year, General Howard, in his official letter, wrote to me, saying, "I hope you will be able to raise the Sioux against the other Indians of the Mississippi. If you succeed in exciting them to war, it is important, at least, that one of the principal chiefs of each band should come to St. Louis."

I distributed the merchandise. I raised the war parties. The presents were made among the Omahas and the Yanktons. The former made some scalps, which were brought to St. Louis, in February, 1815. I gave rendezvous to the Yanctons, at the entry of the river a Jacques, where there met me about nine hundred warriors, and went and took twenty-seven scalps from the allies of Great Britain, the Iowas of the Upper Mississippi; and completed the request of General Howard, by bringing down to St. Louis forty-seven warrior chiefs. This is all of the merchandise I have received from

government; it has all been distributed and the objects of the distribution have been accomplished.

2. The Panis were not brought down. That is true. I did not bring them because the official letter of Mr. Sibley prevented me from doing it. I wrote to you on the 29th of June past, and enclosed this letter, and consider no other details necessary to my justification; as I could not doubt the official statement of an accredited Indian agent that the treaty was closed, and that it was not the wish of the commissioners that any more Indians should be brought down.

3. I did prevent the Omahas from revenging on the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio. The case was this: Antonio, a Spaniard in my service, was killed nine miles from my establishment. His comrades fled, and gave me intelligence. I took one hundred and ninety-two warriors of the Omaha tribe, and went to the spot. Those who did the mischief had fled. The Omahas, impatient for blood, were eager to follow. I stopped them with my own presents and my own influence, and I take honor to myself for having done it. The body of Antonio was not mutilated; it was covered with a blanket, and his face with a hat; his comrades might have been killed—they were not hurt. The death of Antonio, then, was a case of simple murder, and not an act of national hostility on the part of the Sioux. For one guilty act, must I turn loose two hundred warriors upon the innocent? Forget all moral principle, and turn barbarian myself, because in a country called savage? Beside, I had among the Sioux at my upper establishment, two Americans and a Creole, who must have felt the tomahawk if I had revenged upon the innocent the death of Pedro Antonio. I rejoice that the stupid calumniators have made this charge. In attempting to render such conduct criminal, they show the business of which they are capable, and the crimes they are ready to commit to injure me.

4. I had a contract for a certain sum, $1,100, and a certain quantity of provisions, to conduct the Omahas and the Sioux, the last fall, to their respective homes. There were forty-seven men of them, and the voyage was of three months. I received from the clerk of the commissioner, Mr. Wash, the order for the provisions, and the papers of his office will show the quantity. It will, then, be easy to calculate that barely enough was allowed to conduct the chiefs to their homes, and they were conducted there; and thus there is no room for misapplication of a surplus which did not exist.

5. That I have sold whiskey to the Indians.

If this charge be true, it is capable of being proved. There are in this town at present, many persons who have been in my employment, characters of the first respctability; also five nations with whom I have traded; among them can be found witnesses to attest the fact, if it be true. On the contrary I appeal to the whole of them, and pronounce it a vile falsehood. At the same time it is an act of hospitality indispensable in his intercourse with the Indians, for the trader to treat his hunters with small presents of liquor. They look for it, and are dissatisfied if they do not receive it. The permanent trader makes such presents with discretion. I have made them, and urged the necessity of them to your excellency.

Thus much I have been induced to write and publish, to refute the slanders against me, because I have but just arrived, and my affairs will require me soon to depart again, and I cannot be here to contradict them in person.

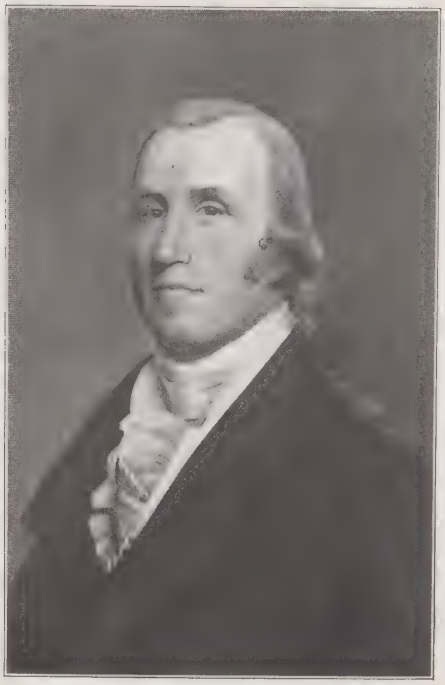
I have the honor to be, with respect and consideration, etc.,

MANUEL LISA.

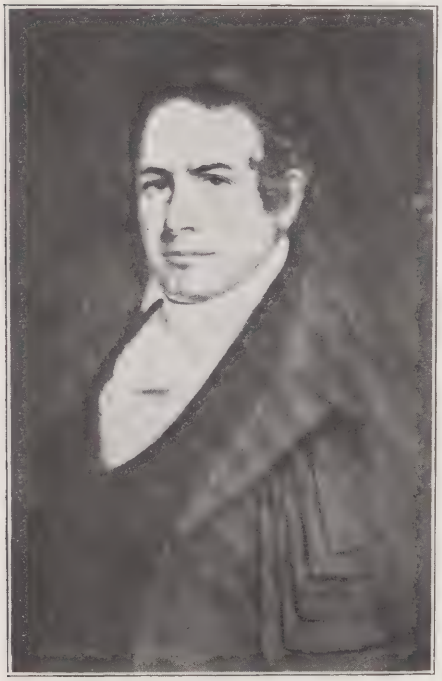
His Excellency Wm. Clark.

Everybody trusted Auguste Chouteau. Laclede put the boy at the head of "the first thirty" and sent him forward to establish the settlement. Maxent and the New Orleans partners put the affairs of the firm in Auguste Chouteau's care to settle when Laclede died. The highest Spanish authorities at New Orleans, when they sent the lieutenant governos to St. Louis, told them they could depend upon Auguste Chouteau. The government of the United States, after the acquisition of the country, made Auguste

MERIWETHER LEWIS
By Lopez



WILLIAM CLARK



MAJOR BENJAMIN O'FALLON

ROBERT FORSYTH

Chouteau a colonel and looked to him to solve immediate Indian problems. Having stirred up the hostility of the tribes as a part of the campaign of 1812, the British government, under the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, imposed upon the United States the responsibility of making peace among the Indians. And the United States selected Auguste Chouteau as one of the commissioners to bring about a general treaty. Always influential with the Indians, Colonel Chouteau achieved his greatest feat in diplomacy with the redmen at the council held at Portage des Sioux, across the Missouri river a few miles above St. Louis. He made a telling talk at that council, using with rare judgment figurative speech so effective with Indians. He said:

Put in your minds that as soon as the British made peace with us they left you in the middle of a prairie without shade or cover against the sun and rain. The British left you positively in the middle of a prairie, worthy of pity. But we Americans have a large umbrella which covers us against the sun and rain and we offer you, as friends, a share of it.

Auguste Chouteau was a man of pleasing countenance, light-haired, with high forehead and a straight nose, always smooth shaven and carefully dressed. At Portage des Sioux, while one of these Indian conferences was in progress, a chief, Black Buffalo of the Teton Sioux, died. This might have been interpreted as a bad omen by the Indians. The white men were disturbed over the event. But Big Elk, chief of the Omahas, averted the danger by an oration. He said:

Do not grieve—misfortunes will happen to the wisest and best men. Death will come, and always comes out of season; it is the command of the Great Spirit, and all nations and people must obey. What is past and cannot be prevented should not be grieved for. Be not discouraged or displeased then, that in visiting your father here you have lost your chief. A misfortune of this kind may never again befall you, but this would have attended you perhaps at your own village. Five times have I visited this land, and never returned with sorrow or pain. Misfortunes do not flourish particularly in our path—they grow everywhere.

(Addressing himself to Governor Edwards and Colonel Miller.) What a misfortune for me that I could not have died this day, instead of the chief that lies before us. The trifling loss my nation would have sustained in my death would have been doubly paid for by the honours of my burial—they would have wiped off everything like regret. Instead of being covered with a cloud of sorrow—my warriors would have felt the sunshine of joy in their hearts. To me it would have been a most glorious occurrence. Hereafter, when I die at home, instead of a noble grave and a grand procession, the rolling music and the thundering cannon, with a flag waving at my head, I shall be wrapped in a robe, (an old robe, perhaps,) and hoisted on a slender scaffold to the whistling winds, soon to be blown down to the earth—my flesh to be devoured by the wolves and my bones rattled on the plains by the wild beasts.

(Addressing himself to Colonel Miller.) Chief of the soldiers—your labors have not been in vain; your attention shall not be forgotten. My nation shall know the respect that is paid over the dead. When I return I will echo the sound of your guns.

Officially William Clark was "Indian agent." In fact he was "the friend of the Indian." A part of the life of St. Louis were the pilgrimages of the red men to visit "Red Head," as all of them called him. When rivers ran clear of ice in the spring the canoes began to come. They were beached along the then unoccupied river front above St. Louis. From Morgan

street to Bremen avenue there were only five houses. Little camps were formed. At some time of the open season every tribe at peace sent the head men to St. Louis. If the tribe was small a canoe, or two, was sufficient. Delegations from the larger Indian communities required a flotilla. With the chiefs came their squaws and papooses. When the camp site was chosen, a member of the party went down to notify General Clark. That meant rations. In the morning the chiefs and their retinues, painted and decked out in full ceremonial dress, came down for the formal council. These assemblages were held in a large hall which General Clark had built near his home. "The Council Chamber," it was called. It served the purpose of a museum of Indian dress, manufactures, utensils and curios. These things covered the walls. They added to the impressiveness of the formal receptions. In the council chamber the general met the Indians, exchanged salutations, giving without stint the time which these tactiturn people seemed to think the dignity of the occasion demanded. He listened to the speeches. He replied through the interpreters, using the native figures of speech which meant so much to the visitors. He met their aboriginal dignity with the suave courtesy of the Virginian. He was patient and kindly with them. After the talk the Indians looked over the museum, pointing out and commenting on those things best known to the tribe to which they belonged. Week after week General Clark held these receptions as the successive delegations arrived. In the long history of Indian affairs of the United States there is no other line of policy which is quite similar to this which General Clark adopted. And it may be added that there has been no other course of official action which surpassed this in effective results.

Having paid the visit of ceremony, the delegation enjoyed for a few days the freedom of the city. Every morning the chiefs and their families painted and put on their feathers and robes. They stopped at house after house, beating upon their drums, singing their chants and doing dances. Ceremonial from the Indians' point of view, these calls might be, but somewhat disconcerting to the new comers in St. Louis they often were. Indian etiquette made it proper to raise the latch and walk in without using the knocker or speaking a word. Standing within, the Indian looked about him, and after a few moments' deliberation, utter his "How!" Then followed a hand-shake with each person in the room. A small gift was expected, and then, as the interest of the involuntary host waned, the proud Indians took the hint and moved up the street. Here and there they came to the house of a hunter or trader who had known them in the wilderness. There the entertainment was elaborated. "Indian Coffee"—coffee with just enough of the bean to give color, a very weak imitation,—was served. Fat slices of bacon were cooked and handed round. Fire water,—hot stuff,—was the stirrup cup. Two or three days, perhaps a week or ten days, the visits and the hospitality continued. Then at daybreak the canoes were pushed into the water and the prows were turned up stream. St. Louis saw no more of the head men of that tribe until the following year. So long as General Clark lived this coming and going of the chiefs of a hundred tribes was of yearly

occurrence. Westward up the river and over the prairies pioneers pushed their picket line of settlement. They slept peacefully. Not a war whoop disturbed the night. Red Head's Indian policy was mightier for protection than an army of soldiers would have been.

Schoolcraft spoke of Clark's collection as "arranged with considerable effect."

Edward James Glasgow at the age of eighty-eight told Thwaites, the historian, he well remembered General Clark's Indian museum, which he visited when a boy. General Clark lived at Main and Vine. He had four other houses in the block, fronting Main. One of these houses was the large hall, in which were displayed the curiosities, open to the public. The collection included bows and arrows, battle clubs, stone axes, birch bark canoes which were suspended from the ceiling, Indian dresses, decorated with feathers, bones of mastodones.

When General Clark died, his houses were divided among his heirs. The collection was sent for safe keeping to a public museum. After a while the showman shipped his curiosities, including the Clark collection, by way of New Orleans to England. The Clark family learned of it too late to recover. Many years afterwards a member of the family thought he saw some of these things in London. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar visited St. Louis in 1825 and examined with much interest the collection. He wrote of it:

We then went to see Mrs. Clark, who, through the secretary of her husband, Mr. Alexander, exhibited to us the museum collected by the governor of his travels, and since considerably augmented. Mr. Alexander showed us articles of Indian clothing of different kinds, and various materials. Except the leather, the larger part of these materials were American, or rather entirely European in their origin. A single garment alone was made by the Cherokees of cotton which was pulled, spun, wove on a loom, made by an Indian and even dyed blue by them. Besides, several weapons of different tribes, wooden tomahawks, or battle-axes, in one of them was a sharp piece of iron to strike into the skulls of their prisoners; another made of elks-horn, bows of elks-horn and of wood, spears, quivers, and arrows, a spear-head of an Indian of the Columbia river, hewed out of a flint, a water-proof basket of the same people, in which cooking can be performed, several kinds of tobacco pipes, especially the calumet, or great pipe of peace. The heads of this pipe are cut out of a sort of argillaceous earth or serpentine; in time of war the spot, where this earth is dug out, is regarded as neutral, and hostile parties, who meet each other at that place, cannot engage in anything inimical against each other. The pipe, which the commissioners of the United States use at treaties with the Indians has a heavy silver head, and a peculiarly handsome ornamented wooden stem.

Farther, Mr. Alexander showed us the medals which the Indian chiefs have received at different periods from the Spanish, English and American governments, and the portraits of various Indian chiefs who have been at St. Louis to conclude treaties with the governor, who is also Indian agent. Among the remarkable things in natural history, we noticed an alligator, eight feet long; a pelican; the horns of a wild goat, shot by the governor in his tour among the Rocky Mountains; the horns of a mountain ram, and those of an elk, several bearskins, among others, of the white bear; buffalo, elk, skunk, which were sewed together in a robe, skins of martens, ferrets, etc. etc.; moreover several petrifications of wood and animal subjects, among others, of elephants' teeth, a piece of rock-salt, tolerably white, yet not shooting in crystals; as the English; various crystals; a large piece of rock crystal; very handsome small agates, which are here taken for cornelians, etc. Among the curiosities, the most

remarkable were two canoes, the one of animal-hide, the other of a tree-bark, a peace-belt which consists of a white girdle set with glass beads, two hands breadths wide; farther, snowshoes, nets which are drawn over an oval frame, also the rackets, which they use in playing their game of ball.

In his management of Indian affairs, General William Clark encountered and combatted influences more subtle and dangerous than the savage natures of his wards. General Clark's jurisdiction extended over tribes everywhere west of the Mississippi river. Near the British border there were the bloody evidences of intrigue in the years when there was supposed to be complete peace between Great Britain and the United States. Benjamin O'Fallon was the United States agent for Indian affairs up the Missouri. He reported to General William Clark at St. Louis. In the summer of 1823 after General Ashley and his party of fur traders had suffered severely from the attacks of the Arickarees, Captain O'Fallon sent word that General Ashley believed from many circumstances "the British traders (Hudson's Bay company) are exciting the Indians against us to drive us from that quarter." Captain O'Fallon added his own view to General Ashley's suspicions. He wrote:

I was in hopes that the British traders had some bounds to their rapacity; I was in hopes that during the late Indian war, in which they were so instrumental in the indiscriminate massacre of our people, that they had become completely satiated with our blood, but it appears not to have been the case. Like the greedy wolf, not yet gorged with the flesh, they guard over the bones; they ravage our fields, and are unwilling that we should glean them. Although barred by the Treaty of Ghent from participating in our Indian trade, they presumed and are not satisfied, but being alarmed at the individual enterprise of our people, they are exciting the Indians against them. They furnish them with instruments of hell and a passport to heaven—the instruments of death and a passport to our bosoms.

Captain O'Fallon forwarded to General William Clark a letter from Doctor Pilcher, who was then with the Missouri Fur company on the Missouri river. Doctor Pilcher wrote:

I met an express from the Mandans bringing me very unpleasant news—the flower of my business is gone. My mountaineers have been defeated, and the chiefs of the party both slain. The party were attacked by three or four hundred Blackfoot Indians in a position on the Yellowstone river, where nothing but defeat could be expected. Jones and Immell and five men were killed. The former, it is said, fought desperately. Jones killed two Indians, and in drawing his pistol to kill a third, he received two spears in his breast. Immell was in front; he killed one Indian and was cut to pieces.

The Jones referred to was a resident of St. Louis, known to the whole community. Immell had been an officer of the United States army, and after leaving the services had become an Indian trader of considerable note. He was a very large man and of great muscular strength.

Maximilian, Prince of Wied, while in St. Louis about 1833, attended one of the Indian receptions at the council chamber, and gave this description of it:

General Clark invited us to a small assembly, which he was to hold in his house with the Indians. We accordingly repaired thither. This meeting took place in the apartments, which are ornamented with a highly interesting collection of arms and utensils, which the general had secured on his extensive travels with Captain Lewis. The rooms con-

INDIAN VILLAGE,
Near Fur Trading Station

THE CHOUTEAU MANSION AS IT APPEARED WHEN FORTIFIED FOR DEFENSE AGAINST INDIANS

tain, likewise, portraits of the most distinguished Indian chiefs of the different nations. General Clark, with his secretary, was seated opposite to the Indians, who sat in rows along the walls of the apartment. We strangers sat at the general's side, and near him stood the interpreter, a French Canadian. The Indians, about thirty in number, had done their best to ornament and paint themselves; they all looked very serious and solemn, and their chief sat at their right hand. The general first told them, through the interpreter. for what reason he had assembled them here; on which Keokuk rose with the calumet in his left hand, gesticulating with his right hand in harmony with his thoughts; he spoke very loud in broken sentences, interrupted by short pauses. His speech was immediately translated and written down. The conference lasted about half an hour. General Clark had introduced us to the Indians, telling them that we had come far over the ocean to see them. They all testified their satisfaction in a rather drawling "hah!" or "ahah!" Before and after the sitting all of the Indians passed us in a line, each giving us his right hand, and looking steadfastly in our faces. They then withdrew, headed by their chiefs. The general had told them that they should persevere in their amicable sentiments as hitherto; and they had expressed the wish that their brethren might soon be set at liberty, because their wives and children at home were suffering hunger and distress. Upon this the general advised them, when Blackhawk and his associates should be set at liberty, to keep a watchful eye over them. On this condition he would intercede for the prisoners.

The conference followed the Blackhawk war in Northern Illinois. The Indians had come down the Mississippi to St. Louis, seeking for the release of the prisoners who were confined at Jefferson Barracks. Prince Maximilian described Keokuk:

The chief, or leader of the Indians assembled here was the Saukie chief, Keokuk, a slender man of middle size, with agreeable features, not very different from those of a European, though of a darker color. He wore a colored calico shirt, and on his breast a large medal, which he had received from the President of the United States; and likewise wore a figured handkerchief around his head, and was wrapped in a green blanket. He carried in his hand a calumet ornamented with feathers. His face was not painted, his ears not disfigured, and it was affirmed that he was not of pure origin. He wore brass rings round his neck and wrists.

The visiting Indians were allowed to go to the Barracks and to see their kinsmen. Prince Maximilian took advantage of the opportunity to witness the meeting:

General Clark introduced us to General Atkinson, the commandant of the place. After resting a short time in his house we proceeded to a spacious empty hall in one of the adjoining buildings, where the Indians were already seated in rows. The general sat opposite to them surrounded by the spectators, among whom were several ladies. When all were assembled, Keokuk, with the aid of the interpreter, delivered an address to General Atkinson, who replied; after which the prisoners were introduced. First of all Blackhawk appeared, a little old man, perhaps seventy years of age, with gray hair, and a light yellow complexion; a slightly curved nose, and Chinese features, to which the shaven head, with the usual tuft behind, not a little contributed. These poor men entered with downcast looks; and though no Indian betrayed any lively demonstration of emotion, such feelings were very manifest in many of them. The prisoners gave their hands to their countrymen all round and then sat down with them. Two of the Indians, known as particularly dangerous men, one of them the celebrated Winnebago prophet, who has a repulsive countenance, had chains with large iron balls at their feet. The other prisoners were not chained and we were told that they were taken out every day by the guard to walk. The speeches now recommenced. Keokuk spoke often and interceded for the prisoners. General Atkinson repeated to them pretty nearly what General Clark had already said, on which the Indians again uttered their "hah!" or "ahah!" When the speeches were ended the company withdrew and left the prisoners alone with

their countrymen to give free vent to their feelings. The sight of old Blackhawk and the whole scene of the prisoners and their friends was affecting.

The Winnebago chief was known better as White Cloud. He was the bad medicine man who encouraged Blackhawk to repudiate the treaty by which Illinois had been given up to white settlement. White Cloud was a Winnebago on his mother's side. He lived on Rock river in Illinois. While he was a prisoner at Jefferson Barracks the medicine man was painted by the artist, Catlin. Soon after the visit of Prince Maximilian, the Indian prisoner Blackhawk was sent on a tour to eastern cities in order that he might be impressed with the strength of the white people.

General Henry Atkinson was prominent in the military life of St. Louis for many years. He was a North Carolinian and rose through the grades to be a brigadier general. He was connected with the expeditions which went out from St. Louis to the Yellowstone in 1819 and 1825. His most notable service was command of the United States troops in the war against Blackhawk when that warrior and his followers invaded Illinois in 1832. After that war General Atkinson was stationed at Jefferson Barracks until his death in 1842. General Atkinson was known among the Indians as "White Beaver."

The American Fur company's St. Peter, which carried the annual supplies up the Missouri, in 1837, also carried the smallpox. Disease broke out on the boat after the departure from St. Louis. An express was sent ahead warning and commanding the Indians to keep away from the boat. The deaths which resulted among the Indians were estimated at from 15,000 to 30,000; Mandans, Arickarees, Assiniboins and Blackfeet suffered.

To St. Louis the government looked for controlling influence of Indian troubles long after the border line had been moved far westward. Among the prized papers of St. Louis University is a letter from the Peace Commission giving credit and thanks to Father De Smet for preventing an Indian uprising in the Northwest as late as 1868. The St. Louis missionary left a bed of sickness to go among the Sioux and pacify them. He addressed one war council of 30,000 braves. Father DeSmet repeatedly rendered most valuable service in averting Indian troubles. He went out as commissioner at the request of the Government when an outbreak was threatened. On one of these occasions General Harney was at the head of the expedition; when the forces reached that part of the west where the outbreak was threatened, Father DeSmet left the camp and went alone among the Indians. Assembling a party of chiefs, he brought them with him to General Harney and was the chief agent in bringing about a treaty of peace. He crossed the plains eight or ten times. He made half a dozen trips to Europe in the interests of the Indians. He was devoted to the theory that the Indians might be civilized. The purpose of his trips abroad was to enlist sympathy for the Indians and to obtain for them agricultural implements and money, and to influence the young men on the other side of the water to take up the mission of civilization work among the American tribes. In 1859 Father DeSmet took a small skiff at Fort Benton and with three oarsmen descended the Missouri river, making as many as eighty miles a day.

CHAPTER XII.

ST. LOUIS, THE GATEWAY.

The New Comers, like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for bread stuff.—Rev. John Mason Peck.

Within six months after the flag was raised over St. Louis the new Americans of 1804 were looking thoughtfully far to the southwest. It is history, written in the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the mouth of the Columbia, that statesmanship at Washington contemplated extension to the Pacific coast on the northwest before the ink was dry upon the treaty which secured the acquisition of the Louisiana territory. It is history, preserved in old Spanish and French correspondence files of the Missouri Historical society, recently translated, that before the Spanish garrison had floated down the Mississppi, the planning to extend American boundaries far beyond the limits of the Louisiana territory was going on at St. Louis. While he waited for the building of the boats which would take him and his cannon and his grape-shot and handful of officers, the Spanish governor, Delassus, in August, 1804, wrote from St. Louis to Senor Marquis de Casa Calvo at New Orleans, marking his communication "private," this remarkable message:

I am in a position to observe the movements and hear the conversations of the Americans regarding this region that has become a part of the United States. One can plainly see that the general opinion is that the limits will go into Mexico taking the line to the River Bravo. Many people think it would be of advantage to include that land. They have already had enough benefit out of the mines to reach this conclusion. You can judge this from their conversation.

"I am informed that they are getting ready to send troops to the Upper Missouri. Although I do not know this surely, yet they talk it very much. If they do not carry out their project it will be because their army is not large enough. They want to come as soon as possible and take that part of the kingdom. All of the appearances indicate this. Here, at St. Louis, officers of the United States are all of the time trying to get information from the Indians of Missouri, from the white hunters and from the traders as to the roads and the shortest way to get to New Mexico by way of Santa Fe.

I know positively that in the month of July of this year they sent from here a man called Jeanot Metayer with several good boats of merchandise, accompanied by another man called Batista la Conde. These goods have been entrusted to the men I have mentioned by a merchant of the post of the Cahokias called William Morison, who is rich enough to undertake these enterprises. These two parties are going there with the purpose of meeting another man named Josef Gervais who is waiting for them in that territory and he is going to guide them until they reach Mexico. It is said that this Gervais knows the way very well; that he is the same man who conducted parties last year and also this spring to make peace with the governor or the commander of the frontier.

At the same time there is another man, Laurent Darocher, who although he is old is a very good and bright man—he can show those who are to start shortly after how to go. I understand that the commanders know all about the trip of Darocher. I have

learned that they believe he is taking with him private instructions and orders from Captain Stoddard. I also know there is a man known as Jacque d'Eglise who for many years has been in these enterprises without any success, as he is a very ignorant man. Last year he was commissioned by Santiago Morgan to deal with the nations of the Missouri. This year he has not returned here and everybody is sure he has gone to Mexico with the rest of the merchandise.

I am sure that you know it takes about two months to go to Mexico. The trip is hard. It is very dangerous to meet with the Indians there. The Indians are very numerous and they are always ready to go to war, but I feel that if arms and presents are taken there will be no trouble for those Americans to get past them. These Indians are beginning to get accustomed to these people. Very soon they will begin to talk to them and will help them on their trips to Mexico. There is the probability that these Indians who have been friendly with the Spaniards will become enemies, excited by the Americans. This can be presumed from a conversation I heard. I am indeed surprised that the civil commander, Captain Stoddard, and the military commander, Major Buff, had such a conversation with the Osage nation. Answering several questions which these officers asked, the Indians said that several years ago a part of their nation went to Mexico and captured a caravan. Those in the caravan gave up to the Indians their horses and other animals which were loaded with white iron (silver). You are well aware that this is true. The American officers have asked the Indians to go down there again and to bring back as much of this silver as possible. I have learned of this through a friend whose name I cannot mention because I have given him my word that I would not. This action in all appearances seems to be against Spain.

At present there are enough dry goods of all kinds here and yet everyday new goods arrive. It seems to me the object is to take the goods to the frontier of Mexico. I am of the opinion we must take steps to stop this as soon as possible or later we will see that the traders will come to St. Louis with the silver of the Mexican mines in great quantities. I think it is my duty to inform you of all these things. I assure you that while I remain I will watch carefully everything that these people do against Spain.

St. Louis was the starting point of two expeditions quickly following that of Lewis and Clark. The year after the American occupation Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike went up the Mississippi, under orders to discover the source of the river. He left St. Louis August 9, 1805, and returned in nine months, having traced the river to Lake Itasca. The next year Pike led a second government force almost due westward to the Rocky mountains and discovered Pike's Peak. Both expeditions furnished the government with a great deal of information about the newly acquired territory. Subsequently there was some controversy about the exact source of the Mississippi. In later years it became necessary to take the Great American Desert off the map. Nevertheless Pike was an interesting and popular explorer. What he reported served to stimulate public interest in St. Louis and beyond. In his journal Pike said he caught sight of the peak on the 15th of November, 1806, when it "appeared like a small blue cloud." The next day he "marched at the usual hour, pushed forward with the idea of arriving at the mountain; but found at night no visible difference from yesterday." Finally on the 25th, nine days later, he "marched early with the expectation of ascending the mountain but was only able to camp at its base."

Within five years after Laclede marked the trees for the location of the settlement St. Louis had a population of about 1,000. When Stoddard raised the United States flag forty years after the founding there were not many

EDWARD DE LAUREAL

AN EMIGRANT'S CAMP

PETER LINDELL'S RESIDENCE AT COLLINS AND BATES STREETS, LOOKING OUT OVER THE RIVER

more inhabitants. But the settlement had grown. It had rooted deeply and broadly. The view that St. Louis had waxed slowly between 1764 and 1804 was superficial. It failed to note and measure a development which meant more than the census. Every year saw the radius of the St. Louis sphere of influence lengthen. Up the Missouri crept a line of outposts tributary to St. Louis, each far more important to the settlement than hundreds added to the populations. The traders established and cultivated friendly relations with the Indians. They learned the great country of the lower Missouri intimately. St. Louis was to become the gateway of the stream of migration, the starting point for the expeditions. The four decades from Laclede to Stoddard were so many years of efficient, important preparation for what was to follow.

Out from St. Louis in all directions moved the expeditions. Some were military, to establish forts. Some were scientific, to explore and to exploit. More were to establish communities, to open commercial avenues. It was a peaceable movement for the most part. Troubles with the Indians were not frequent or general in those days. The real Indian wars of subjugation or extermination west of the Mississippi came two or three generations later. The Frenchmen of St. Louis paved the way well for the American occupation of Louisiana. A branch of the Chouteaus started Kansas City with "Chouteau's landing." Robidoux, another St. Louisan, established a post which became St. Joseph. One of the Menards founded Galveston. A full score of western cities owed their beginning to St. Louisans.

Three men, headed by James Parsley, an American, went west from St. Louis in 1802. Their purpose ostensibly was to hunt along the Osage. But when they reached the headwaters, across the border in Kansas, they continued to journey westward. They penetrated New Mexico to the vicinity of Sante Fe. This trip gave Parsley the distinction of being the first American to cross the plains.

One of General William Clark's best agents in the handling of the Indian problems was Major George C. Sibley. He was Massachusetts born but was reared in North Carolina. His father was a surgeon in the American Revolution, afterwards settling in Natchitoches, Louisiana. George C. Sibley came to St. Louis as an attache of the Indian bureau. His aptitude for dealing with the Indians prompted his advancement. When the Hunt expedition went up the Missouri in 1811, Major Sibley was in command at Fort Osage, the most important Indian post on the Missouri. The place known today as Sibley, in Jackson county, is near where Fort Osage, afterwards Fort Clark, was located. Major Sibley was one of the three commissioners who went out from St. Louis in 1825 to negotiate the opening of the Sante Fe trail and held a very successful meeting with the Indians at Council Grove, Kansas. After he retired from public service Major Sibley settled in St. Charles county. He is remembered for his liberal gifts to educational institutions. General Sibley's associates on the commission were Thomas Mather of Connecticut, who had come out to Kaskaskia in 1818, and a Mr. Reeves. The secretary was Captain Gamble. At Council Grove

the commissioners assembled representatives of the Osages and made a treaty securing travel privileges free from interference over the Sante Fe trail. They gave in return for the privilege, merchandise to the value of $800 from the stock carried in the seven wagons. A surveying corps accompanied the commission from St. Louis and laid out the trail from Independence to Council Grove. The surveying party was under command of Joseph C. Brown.

A scientist who came to St. Louis and participated in several of the early expeditions was Thomas Nuttall. He had been a journeyman printer and was from Yorkshire. The story ran that while setting type in Philadelphia Nuttall became acquainted with Dr. B. S. Barton, a scientist of high repute. The doctor inspired the young printer with his enthusiasm for nattural history. Nuttall as soon as he had mastered the rudiments in books took to the country. He was in St. Louis frequently during the time he was exploring the west. Afterwards he became a professor at Harvard and was curator of the botanical gardens. As early as 1811 and as late as 1835 he was engaged in scientific journeys through the west. After that he returned to England and lived on an estate.

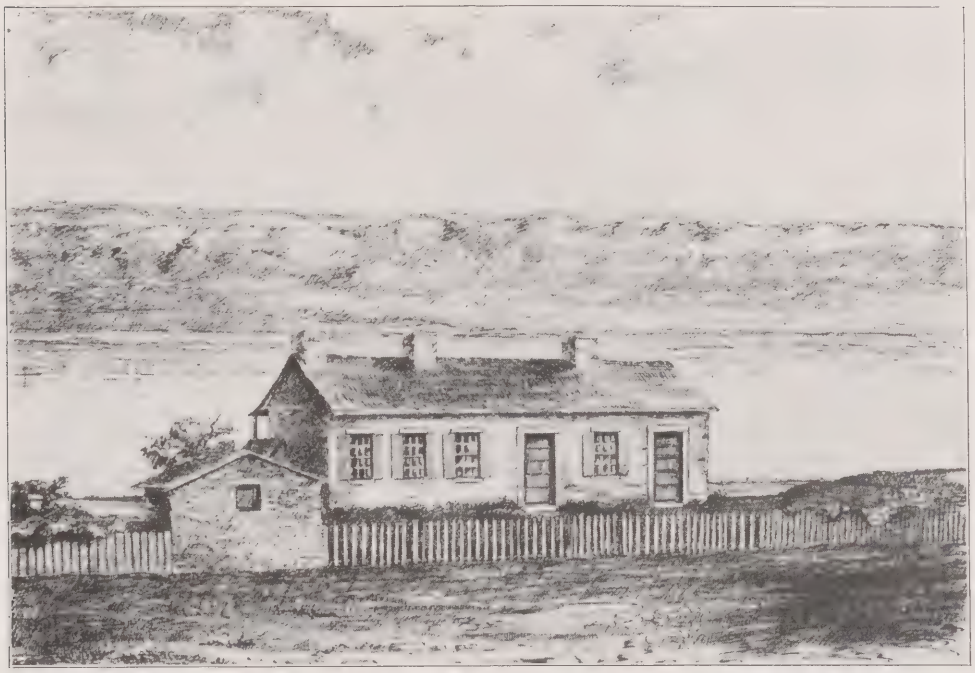
Brackenridge, the staff correspondent of the Missouri Gazette, described Mr. Nuttall's enthusiastic investigation during a trip to the upper Missouri with the fur traders:

> There is in the company a gentleman of whom I have spoken already, Mr. Nuttall, engaged in scientific pursuits, to which he appears singularly devoted and which seem to engross every thought to the total disregard of his own personal safety and sometimes to the inconvenience of the party he accompanies. To the ignorant Canadian boatmen who are unable to appreciate the science, he affords a subject of merriment. "The fool" is the name by which he is commonly known. When the boat touches the shore, he leaps out, and no sooner is his attention arrested by a plant or flower than everything else is forgotten. The inquiry is made, "Where is the fool?" "He is gathering roots." He is a young man of genius, and very considerable acquirements, but is too much devoted to his favorite pursuit, and seems to think that no other subject deserves the attention of a man of sense. I hope should this meet his eye, it will give no offense; for these things often constituted a subject of merriment to us both.

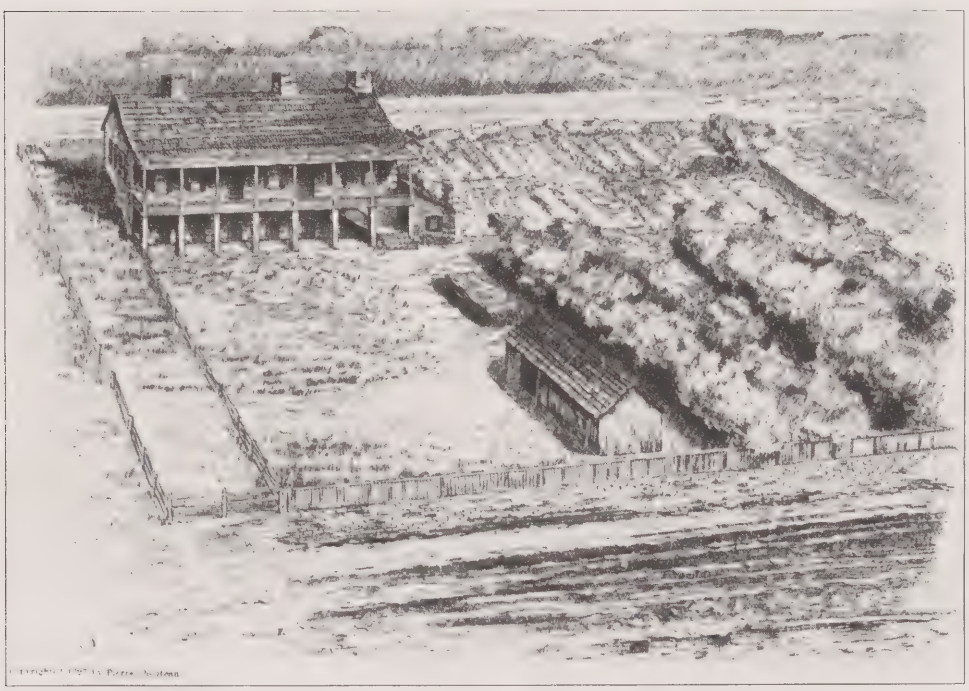
Chambers, Beard, McKnight and ten or twelve other young men left St. Louis in 1811 to cross the plains. They were captured in what is now the southern part of Colorado, taken in chains by the Mexicans to Santa Fe and sent down to Chihuahua where some of them were kept prisoners until 1821, when Mexico gained her independence of Spain. McKnight and Beard became wealthy through interests in copper mines west of the Rio Grande.

A little later another party was fitted out by Chouteau and Gratiot and started west under command of Auguste P. Chouteau. This expedition was captured by the Mexicans and the members were imprisoned.

A third party, much larger than the others, left St. Louis in 1824 and reached San Diego, California, where the members were thrown into prison and held until seven of them died. John Ohio Pattie was one of the members of this expedition. He was so young, a mere boy, that the Mexicans permitted him to go at liberty. His father died in prison. The Patties were from Ohio, coming to St. Louis in 1812. Building had created a demand for



WEST FRONT OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR,. RESIDENCE ON MAIN STREET, NEAR WASHINGTON AVENUE, SHOWING FIRST ICEHOUSE BUILT IN ST. LOUIS



EAST FRONT OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., RESIDENCE, SHOWING ORCHARD, GARDEN, STABLE AND LANE BY WHICH COWS WERE DRIVEN TO STABLE. THIS FRONT LOOKED OUT UPON THE MISSISSIPPI

lumber. Sylvester Pattie, the father, went to the region along the Gasconade, cut and sawed pine, and rafted to the St. Louis market. In the War of 1812, Sylvester Pattie was a lieutenant in the St. Louis command, which was surrounded by the enemy at Cap-au-Gris, up the river. Pattie put on a British uniform, got through the line and reached Fort Bellefontaine, from which post McNair headed a rescue party. The expedition which left St. Louis in 1824 consisted of one hundred and sixteen men, of whom not more than sixteen survived. Sylvester Pratte headed the expedition at first and afterwards Sylvester Pattie was given command. Members of this party were the first Americans to reach the Gila river. They visited the Colorado canyon. John Ohio Pattie, after the collapse of the expedition in California, worked in the Santa Rita mines, made his way to the Yellowstone, fought the Blackfoot Indians and got down to Sonora and Chihuahua. He wrote an almost incredible narrative of his personal experiences. From St. Louis went the earliest explorers of Colorado, New Mexico and California. Most of them, who survived the hardships, became the pioneer settlers of that region. Several continued to advance on the picket line of settlement and civilization until they reached Oregon and made homes there.

In the memoir of Rev. Dr. John Mason Peck the immigration which passed through St. Louis to the regions beyond is likened to an avalanche. These intending settlers were called "new comers." In their every day talk all of the new country west of the Mississippi was "the Far West." The Mississippi was the "great river." The memoir reads:

> The "new comers" like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for breadstuff. Some families came in the spring of 1815; but in the winter, spring, summer, and autumn of 1816, they came like an avalanche. It seemed as though Kentucky and Tennessee were breaking up and moving to the "Far West." Caravan after caravan passed over the prairies of Illinois, crossing the "great river" at St. Louis, all bound to the Boone's Lick. The stream of immigration had not lessened in 1817. Many families came from Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, and not a few from the Middle States, while a sprinkling found their way to the extreme west from Yankeedom and Yorkdom. Following in the wake of this exodus to the middle section of Missouri was a terrific excitement about getting land. My first visit in 1818 was at this crisis, and I could not call at a cabin in the country without being accosted: "Got a New Madrin claim?" "Are you one of these land speculators, stranger?"

A traveler in the acquired territory told of the surprises to be met. He said it was impossible to form an idea from the exterior of some of the houses what might be found within. Speaking of the arrival at a rather unprepossessing habitation, he said:

> Here we were politely received and entertained in the house of a gentleman formerly of New York. A large and splendid collection of books, several articles of costly furniture and, above all, manners and conversation like those of the better classes in our cities, formed a striking contrast to the rules in solitary cabin.

To Daniel Boone was credited the expression, "I think it time to remove when I can no longer fell a tree for fuel so that its top will be within a few feet of the door of my cabin." Brackenridge, as he traveled through the region west of St. Louis, observed the extraordinary qualities of the new settlers and wrote about them:

> The frontier is certainly the refuge of many worthless and abandoned characters,

but it is also the choice of many of the noblest souls. It seems wisely ordered that in the part which is weakest, where the force of the laws is scarcely felt, there should be found the greatest sum of real courage, and of disinterested virtue. Few young men who have migrated to the frontier are without merit. . From the firm conviction of its future importance, generous and enterprising youth, the virtuous, unfortunate and those of moderate patrimony, repair to it that they may grow up with the country, and form establishments for themselves and families. Hence in this territory there are many sterling characters. Amongst others I mention with pleasure that brave and adventurous North Carolinian, who makes so distinguished a figure in the history of Kentucky, the venerable Colonel Boone. This respectable old man in the eighty-fifth year of his age resides on Salt river, up the Missouri. He is surrounded by about forty families, who respect him as a father, and who live under a kind of patriarchal government, ruled by his advice and example. They are not necessitous persons, who have fled for their crimes or misfortunes, like those gathered about David in the cave of Adullam; they all live well and possess the necessities and comforts of life, as they could wish. They retired through choice. Perhaps they acted wisely in placing themselves at a distance from the deceit and turbulence of the world. They enjoy an uninterrupted quiet and a real comfort in their little society, beyond the sphere of that larger society where government is necessary; where without walls of adamant and bands of iron, the anarch fiend of the monster despotism would trample their security, their happiness and their dearest possessions under foot. Here they are truly free; exempt from the vexing duties and impositions, even of the best governments; they are neither assailed by the madness of ambition, nor tortured by the poison of party spirit. Is not this one of the most powerful incentives which impels the wandering Anglo-American to bury himself in the midst of the wilderness?

In the early days when the new comers were flocking to St. Louis, the keepers of hotels and boarding houses had a way of classifying them as northerners or southerners. If one of these strangers called for sour milk to drink, he was at once identified as from a southern state. If he asked for sweet milk that meant he was from north of the Ohio river, from New England or a middle state. Sweet milk sold in St. Louis then at twenty-five cents a gallon and sour milk at eighteen and three-quarters cents a gallon.

Great expectations attended the government expedition which left St. Louis in 1819. The destination was the upper Missouri. The purpose was a comprehensive military and scientific exploration of the country between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains. In an editorial, the Missouri Gazette of April 21, said:

> The importance of this expedition has attracted the attention of the whole nation, and there is no measure which has been adopted by the present administration that has received such universal commendation. If the agents of the government who have charge of it fulfil the high expectations which have been raised, it will conspicuously add to the admiration with which the administration of James Monroe will hereafter be viewed. If the expedition should succeed, as we fondly hope and expect, and the views of the government should be carried into effect, the time will not be far distant when another nation will inhabit west of the Mississippi, equal at least if not superior, to that which the ancient remains still found in this country lead us to believe once flourished here, a nation indeed rendered more durable by the enjoyment of that great invention of American freemen—a Federal Republic."

Long's expedition traveled on the most wonderfully designed craft which had landed, up to that time, at the St. Louis water front. "White man bad man, keep great spirit chained and build fire under it to make it work a boat." This was an Indian's description of the Western Engineer.

OLD McNAIR HOUSE, MAIN AND SPRUCE STREETS
From a daguerreotype taken in 1850

RESIDENCE ON MAIN STREET, WHICH PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., SOLD FOR $37,000 WHEN HE MOVED TO NEW YORK. A RECORD PRICE FOR RESIDENCE REALTY IN ST. LOUIS ABOUT 1850

The Indians thought they could see a long tongue dart out when the steam puffed forth from the serpent's head. They were horror stricken. The reporter of the St. Louis Enquirer described the Western Engineer in this graphic manner:

'The bow of this vessel exhibits the form of a huge serpent, black and scaly, rising out of the water from under the boat, his head as high as the deck, darted forward, his mouth open, vomiting smoke, and apparently carrying the boat on his back. From under the boat, at its stern, issues a stream of foaming water, dashing violently along. All the machinery is hid. Three small brass field pieces mounted on wheel carriages stand on the deck. The boat is ascending the rapid stream at the rate of three miles an hour. Neither winds nor human hands are seen to help her, and, to the eye of ignorance, the illusion is complete that a monster of the deep carries her on his back, smoking with fatigue and lashing the waves with violent exertion. Her equipments are at once calculated to attract and awe the savages, objects pleasing and terrifying are at once placed before him—artillery, the flag of the Republic, portraits of the white man and the Indian shaking hands, the calumet of peace, a sword, then the apparent monster with a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with portholes and bristling with guns. Taken altogether, and without intelligence of her composition and design, it would require a daring savage to approach and accost her with Hamlet's speech: "Be thou a spirit of wraith or goblin damned."

To add to the realism the head of the river serpent was painted black and the projecting tongue was red. While the expedition is known to history as Long's, the officer in immediate command of the Western Engineer was Captain Swift. An attache of the expedition, who afterwards became a notable character in St. Louis was General Nathan Ranney.

The Long expedition gave to American geography "the Great American Desert." Long and his party of scientists explored Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma. They left the Missouri near Omaha. They went as far as the Rocky mountains. They divided into groups and covered considerable territory, before they arrived at Fort Smith. In summing up his conclusions on the expedition, Major Long included in his sweeping condemnation northern Texas and the Dakotas. He wrote to the goverment:

In regard to this extensive section of country we do not hesitate in giving the opinion, that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. This objection rests not only against the immediate section under consideration, but applies with equal propriety to a very much larger portion of the country.

And then Major Long applied his desert theory to parts of Texas and the Dakotas:

Agreeably to the best intelligence that can be had, concerning the country northward and southward of the section, and especially to the references deducible from the account given by Lewis and Clark of the country situated between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, above the river Platte, the vast region commencing near the sources of the Sabine, Trinity, Brazos and Colorado, extending northwardly to the forty-ninth degree north latitude, by which the United States is limited in that direction, is throughout of a similar character. The whole of this region seems peculiarly adapted as a range for buffaloes, wild goats, and other wild game, incalculable multitudes of which find ample pasturage and subsistence upon it.

Major Long found reason to congratulate the government that this Great American Desert was where, according to his observation, it was:

> This region, however, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy that might otherwise be disposed to annoy us in that quarter.

Long was an officer of the engineer corps of high attainments. He had in his party a botanist, a zoologist, a geologist, a naturalist, a painter and topographers.

Besides the scientific exploration of Major Stephen H. Long, two other expeditions organized and left St. Louis in 1819 upon missions of importance. Colonel Henry Atkinson, with the Sixth Regiment of Infantry, left St. Louis to go up the Missouri and to establish Fort Atkinson on the Iowa side where Council Bluffs is. Colonel Josiah Snelling organized his expedition and with the Fifth Infantry ascended the Mississippi to establish Fort Snelling in Minnesota. St. Louis was the headquarters, the outfitting capital for the investigation and occupation of all of the country west and northwest.

When Bonneville started on his expedition from St. Louis in 1833 he got leave of absence from the army. After exploring the northwest he came back as far as the Big Horn mountains and sent an agent, Mr. Lane of St. Louis, to Washington for further instructions. Receiving nothing, Bonneville acted upon his own notion and went back to the Columbia. He was gone so long that the War Department gave him up for lost and struck his name from the army rolls. When the captain appeared in Washington, Lewis Cass was Secretary of War. The department hesitated to restore the captain to his rank. President Jackson waived aside the red tape and ordered the name of Bonneville restored.

General Bonneville came of a family of notable longevity. His grandfather was 102 years of age when he died on the church steps at Everux, in France. His father was a bosom friend of Lafayette. When the latter was visiting the United States, Bonneville was a captain in the Seventh Infantry. A furlough was obtained and the captain sailed with Lafayette on the steamer Brandywine for France. Admiral Farragut was a lieutenant. The ship was old and in bad condition. Water began coming into the hold. At one time during the voyage word was sent to the cabin where Lafayette, Bonneville and others were playing whist that there was danger of going down. Bonneville insisted that the play go on; he declared he would not leave the cabin until the game was finished. His coolness reassured the rest of the party and the warning was entirely ignored.

Gottfried Duden, a young German physician, passed through the St. Louis gateway into the Missouri country about 1824. He found an ideal home in what became Warren county, and wrote a book. The descriptions of Duden were pleasant reading. The narrative was published in 1829. It prompted a large immigration from southeast Germany and the upper Rhine to the hills along the lower Missouri.

OLIVE STREET, LOOKING WEST FROM FOURTH STREET IN 1848

OLIVE STREET, LOOKING WEST FROM FOURTH STREET IN 1908

To St. Louis in 1834 came the 500 members of the Giessen society. They were from all parts of Germany. They were organized into two divisions headed by Friedrich Muench and Paul Follenius. Prompting the emigration was much more than the ordinary desire for change or physical betterment. Here was ardent aspiration for political freedom. These were men and women of ideals. The leaders were men of education. They had belonged to patriotic organizations at the universities. They had labored among the masses to arouse ambition for self government. Friedrich Muench was a pastor with a love for philosophy and for politics. Follenius was a lawyer. He had married Muench's sister. Having quite a following among the educated, the intelligent, Muench and Follenius determined to head an emigration movement and set about the enrolment of members. Their original plan was to seek some part of the United States not yet occupied and to found a German state which should be settled by the great numbers who would follow. They went so far as to frame a set of laws for the proposed colony. Gradually this idea of exclusive occupation of territory was abandoned. A commission sent over in advance reported in favor of Missouri as offering the most encouraging opportunities. St. Louis was chosen as the destination. One division of the party under Follenius came by way of New Orleans. Muench brought his people to Baltimore and down the Ohio.

At St. Louis the plan of a united colony was abandoned. The division headed by Follenius had encountered cholera and had lost many members. Expenses had been heavier than was expected. Muench and Follenius gave from their own funds to replenish a depleted common treasury and made a distribution as equitable as possible. The society disbanded at St. Louis. Some of the members became residents of the city and attained prominence. Others went into St. Louis, St. Charles and Warren counties and acquired homesteads. Warren county, from which Duden had written his glowing accounts of country life in America, was chosen by Muench, Follenius and a few others, and there they formed their "Latin Settlement," always cultivating close relationship with St. Louis. They maintained through newspapers, through books and through correspondence an influence which drew to Missouri multitudes of German immigrants. They introduced the vineyards which they hoped to see transform the hillsides along the Missouri into another Rhine country. Sons and daughters of these first German pioneers sought the city. Friedrich Muench was a frequent contributor to the German press of St. Louis. When he came here he was received with profound respect and was known as "Father Muench." He was the type a patriarch, tall with a strong nose and piercing eyes and a great bushy head of hair. His influence among the Germans of St. Louis was strong.

To the administration at Washington, St. Louis was indebted for the Bent family. The Silas Bent who came to St. Louis in 1806 was a son of the Silas Bent who commanded the party which threw overboard the tea in Boston harbor. He had been one of the pioneer settlers in Ohio and had married Martha Kerr in Virginia. In 1806 Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, selected Silas Bent, because of his experience and trustworthi-

ness, to be surveyor general of Louisiana Territory and sent him to St. Louis. He became a judge and was presiding the day incorporation was granted to the town of St. Louis. He served on the bench in St. Louis until Missouri was admitted to the Union. After that he held office in the local government until his death. This Massachusetts father and Virginia mother gave to St. Louis a family of six sons and four daughters. The daughters married men of prominence—Lilburn W. Boggs, Joseph McClelland, James Russell, and Judge William C. Carr. The six sons had the pioneer, exploring spirit of their father strongly developed. They were leaders in pushing the frontier westward to the Rocky Mountains. William, Charles, Robert and George formed a partnership with Cecil St. Vrain and built Fort Bent high up the Arkansas. William Bent defeated 200 Indians in a three days' battle. A traveler told of meeting one of the Bents in 1839 with a caravan on the Santa Fe trail for St. Louis. The train consisted of ten wagons loaded with peltries and 200 Santa Fe sheep. It was guarded by thirty-nine men. Dr. Adolph Wislizenus, of St. Louis, on a scientfic expedition, was entertained by the Bents at their fort.

About 1830, St. Louis began to realize the Oregon immigration movement. A Boston man named Hall J. Kelley, a teacher and a philanthropist, started what he called the "American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory." Among the earliest responses to Kelley's propaganda was Captain Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth's expedition. Wyeth and his brother were Harvard men. They arrived in St. Louis with a company in April, 1832. Their men were uniformed in coarse woolen suits. Each of them had a bayonet and a small ax attached to his belt. But what amazed all St. Louis were the vehicles in which the company transported a full camping outfit and a large stock of goods to trade with Indians on the way. These vehicles were designed by Captain Wyeth. The body was shaped partly like a canoe, and partly like a gondola. It was thirteen feet long and four feet wide. This boat was firmly connected with the axle-trees. Wyeth's idea was to take off the wheels and use the boats for crossing the streams between St. Louis and Oregon.

St. Louis had seen many queer moving outfits, but never before anything like these "nat-wye-thiums" as they were called. The boat wagons were piled high with axes, glass beads, looking glasses and miscellaneous notions, for which the Indians, according to what Wyeth's party had read and heard, were waiting to exchange unlimited quantities of skins. Soon after their arrival in St. Louis the Wyeth company became convinced that the boat wagons would not do; they sold them for a fraction of the cost of construction.

Wyeth and his companions soon realized that the fur trade was altogether different from what they had supposed. They were received cordially. The goods suitable for the trade were shown to them. The conditions of the business were explained. William L. Sublette was about departing with the stock for the trading rendezvous at Pierre's Hole in the Rocky Mountains. He permitted the Wyeth party to accompany him, and saw

THE BUSINESS CENTER IN 1879
Birdseye view from Courthouse northwestward

THE BUSINESS CENTER IN 1909
Birdseye view from Courthouse northwestward

that they crossed the plains and passed the mountains. About half of Wyeth's company turned back, leaving him at various stages of the journey. When the party left Boston for St. Louis, they expected to trade their notions to the Indians for enough furs to load a ship when they reached the mouth of the Oregon. Wyeth got through. The vessel which left Boston with supplies, and to take the furs, was wrecked.

At the same time that Wyeth's company left St. Louis for Oregon, five missionaries went through. They were going out from the east. A delegation of Flathead chiefs had appealed to General William Clark at St. Louis for religious instruction. General Clark had forwarded the request to the Methodist organization in New England. Here were the missionaries with Jason Lee at the head of them. They, too, were given escort by Captain Sublette.

John B. Wyeth was one of those who turned back when Captain Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth called his own town meeting at Pierre's Hole. He kept a journal in which he told of the mistakes made and the hardships endured. Some of these young men, the flower of Boston and Cambridge, worked their way homeward by helping to "wood up" for steamboat deck passage. When the young men got back to Massachusetts, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge promoted the publication of John B. Wyeth's journal in order "to discourage wild schemes of western immigration." In the journal, Wyeth told how the easterners' eyes were opened to the true character of the St. Louis fur trade:

> The next day we descried a number of men on horseback approaching us at full speed. Captain Sublette had an apprehension that they might be hostile Indians. He therefore ordered every man to make fast his horse as quick as possible, and prepare for battle on foot. But on their near approach we found them a body of white men called trappers, whose occupation is to entrap the beaver and other animals that have valuable furs. Captain Sublette has for about two years had about two hundred of these trappers in his pay, in and around the Rocky Mountains, and this troop was a party of them. His place of rendezvous for them is at Pierre's Hole, by which name they call one of those deep and verdant valleys which are to be found in the Rocky Mountains from the eastern boundary of them to their extreme edge in the west, where the Oregon or Columbia river commences under the name of Clark's river, some branches of which inosculate with the mighty Missouri on the east. It is to Pierre's Hole that his trappers resort to meet their employer every summer. It is here they bring their pelts and receive their pay, and this traffic has been kept up between them a number of years with good faith on both sides, and to mutual satisfaction and encouragement. When Sublette leaves St. Louis he brings up tobacco, coffee, rice, powder, shot, paint, beads, handkerchiefs and all those articles of finery that please both Indian women and men. And he, having established that sort of traffic with his friends, the Indians, on and in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, what chance was there that any small band from Boston, or even Cambridge, could supplant him in the friendship and confidence of his old acquaintances, the Shoshones, the Blackfeet or any other tribe? He must have seen this at once and been convinced that nothing like rivalship could rise up between him and the New England adventurers. He, therefore, caressed them, and in a manner incorporated them with his troop.

By way of comparison with the nat-wye-thiums, John B. Wyeth gave a detailed description of the bull boat of the fur traders:

> They first cut a number of willows, which grow everywhere near the banks of all

the rivers we had traveled by from St. Louis, of about an inch and a half diameter at the butt end, and fixed them on the ground at proper distances from each other; and as they approached nearer one end they brought them nearer together, so as to form something like the bow. The ends of the whole were brought and bound firmly together, like the ribs of a great basket. And then they took other twigs of willow and wove them into those stuck in the ground, so as to make a sort of firm, huge basket of twelve or fourteen feet long. After this was completed, they sewed together a number of buffalo skins, and with them covered the whole. After the different parts had been trimmed off smooth, a slow fire was made under the bull boat, taking care to dry the skins moderately, and as they gradually dried and acquired a due degree of warmth, they rubbed buffalo tallow all over the outside, so as to allow it to enter into all the seams of the boat, now no longer a willow basket. As the melted tallow ran down into every seam, hole and crevice, it cooled into a firm body, capable of resisting the water, and bearing a considerable blow without damaging it. Then the willow-ribbed, buffalo-skin, tallowed vehicle was carefully pulled up from the ground, and behold a boat capable of transporting man, horse and goods over a pretty strong current. At the sight of it we Yankees all burst out into a loud laugh, whether from surprise or pleasure, I know not. It certainly was not from ridicule; for we all acknowledged the contrivance would have done credit to old New England.

"Why! The word of these trading Indians is as good as the Bible," a number of the Sublette party said to Wyeth, when the New Englander marveled at the confidence the fur traders showed in the business relations with the tribes. Wyeth wrote of it:

We were surprised to find the Indians in the vicinity of the mountains, and all around Pierre's valley and the Blackfoot tribe, and the Shoshones so well provided with muskets, powder and ball, woolen cloth and many other articles, until we were informed that Mr. McKenzie, an established and wealthy Indian trader, had long supplied them with every article they desired. Had the captain of our band been acquainted with the fact, and also been informed of the trading connection between the Indians and the two brothers, William and Milton Sublette, before he started from home, we should have avoided a great deal of trouble, and he escaped a great deal of expense. From all I could learn, St. Louis was the depot, or headquarters, of the commerce with the Indians. McKenzie I was informed, has a steamboat called the Yellowstone, by which he keeps up a trade with the nations inhabiting the region watered by the river of that name.

Captain Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth wasn't satisfied with one experience. He came back to St. Louis the next year floating down the rivers. In March 1834, he astonished St. Louis with a company of seventy men organized in Boston to cross the plains and mountains to Oregon. This time he brought no boat wagons. He had with him the Harvard professor, Mr. Nuttal, and another naturalist, John K. Townsend. Milton G. Sublette started with Wyeth's party on this second trip. He was going out to the rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. After traveling for several days he was compelled, by reason of injury to his leg, to return to St. Louis, where he died. Townsend wrote an account of the second expedition of Wyeth. He described the favorite apparel of the fur traders of that period as consisting of "leathern pantaloons and enormous overcoats made of green blankets." The head covering especially impressed the naturalist. It appears that the Missourian of later generations came well by his liking for the broad-brimmed hat. Townsend said the borderers of 1834 wore "white wool hats with round crowns fitting tightly to the head; brims five inches wide and almost hard enough to turn a rifle ball."

FOUNTAIN SQUARE

Courtesy of James C. Travilla

Thomas Jefferson Farnham, a Vermont lawyer, probably a relative of the intrepid fur trader of an earlier period, arrived in St. Louis about 1839 and passed on. His avowed purpose was to take possession of Oregon under the United States flag and to resist the British fur companies. Farnham was accompanied by nineteen bold spirits. On the way out to his destination he met a trapper who was from New Hampshire and had been educated at Dartmouth. This college graduate, who had chosen the wilderness for his home, was dressed in deerskins and wore moccasins. He had not a shred of cloth on his person. Reaching Oregon, Farnham got up a memorial which was signed by the seventy residents, to Congress asking that the United States take that region under its care.

When Fremont set out on the expedition which resulted in the acquisition of California, Jesse Benton Fremont remained in St. Louis. The secretary of war was James A. Porter, a Pennsylvanian. It was Mrs. Fremont's business to forward mail from St. Louis to Fremont at Leavenworth where the expedition was preparing to leave. Secretary Porter sent an order directing the lieutenant not to take a howitzer. Mrs. Fremont held the order at St. Louis. Fremont took the cannon and went on to the conquest of California. The moral effect of the cannon was very great. Fremont came back to St. Louis a national character, to bear through the rest of his life the title of "The Pathfinder," to be chosen the first republican nominee for president of the United States. He made great use of the opportunity to explore, but that opportunity came about through a conversation between President Tyler and Dr. Silas Reed, then surveyor general of Missouri. The President was trying to organize his Tyler party. Henry Clay would have none of it. Dr. Reed suggested to President Tyler that he might conciliate Senator Benton and obtain his support in the senate by doing something for Lieutenant John Charles Fremont. Although the young army officer had run away with the daughter, Dr. Reed argued that the senator would be pleased if Fremont was sent to explore the Rocky Mountains.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHEN ST. LOUISANS RODE.

The running gear which was used for the first omnibus in St. Louis was built in the east for the government to be used in transportation across the plains. This running gear, with others, was shipped to St. Louis via New Orleans, was sunk in the river, was raised by my father's diving-bell boat and stored in his warehouse on Green street, near Main. One morning when I was thirteen years old, Erastus Wells, then a young man, came into my father's office, and after the usual salutation, said: "Captain, you have started McMurray, William Nelson, Dudley and James B. Eads in business, now what can you do for me?" They came out of the office into the warehouse, and while walking there, my father's eyes fell upon the aforesaid running gear, and he said: "Erastus, you might start an omnibus line, as there are some nice running gears you can buy cheap." After figuring the cost over, young Wells said: "Captain, I have not capital enough, but if you will join me I will try it." The wagonmaker on North Second street was engaged to build the body. It was numbered 1. It was a crude affair, but was the nucleus of our present grand system of street railways.—Recollection of George S. Case.

Before 1843 St. Louis walked. Beginning with November, 1843, St. Louis rode. The first public transit was by omnibus. The enterprise was of such importance for the period that one of the newspapers noticed it editorially, saying:

"We observe that an omnibus has been started to run from the old market to the upper ferry. The fare, we understand, is one bit. This is a very reasonable charge for the distance, and the convenience of the vehicle will no doubt insure it a liberal support."

Public transit in St. Louis was by omnibus sixteen years. In 1859, the first horse car left Fourth and Olive streets at 10 a. m., the Fourth of July. Before it reached the present location of the postoffice, Eighth street, this pioneer car had been lifted back on the rails three times by the directors who were making the trial trip, the president of the company holding the reins. Between that date of modest beginning and 1886, a period of twenty-seven years, there were horse cars and horse cars, in variety ranging from bobtails to double deckers. In 1886, St. Louis people began to ride on the grip and the trailer of the cable. The year previous, in October, 1885, the fourth annual meeting of the American Street Railway association was held in St. Louis. More than one hundred managers of street railways in the United States and Canada attended. They talked much and earnestly about the future of their business. They agreed that the horse car era was passing, that American cities were rapidly outgrowing that motive power. But what was to be the substitute. That was the problem. Strange to tell this generation, the sentiment of street railway management, only twenty-four years ago was decidedly against electricity. Almost unanimously these experts in street railway matters, assembled in St. Louis agreed that the power which has since become of almost universal use for city transit was impracticable. They argued that for lines with sufficient to justify the investment, the cable was the coming power; the lines which could not afford the cable must get along with horses and mules.

An Indianapolis syndicate showed the way with a cable road from Sixth and Locust streets westward. Local companies followed, spending millions to cable Olive street, Broadway, Easton avenue and Fourth street. A little longer than a decade, St. Louis was jerked down town and up town by cable. Then came the trolley.

A farmer's boy of northern New York went to work in a store at Watertown for eight dollars a month. When he was nineteen, he had saved $140. From the country west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri, came tales of prosperity which seemed almost fabulous. The steamboat age was approaching its marvelous development. St. Louis was the focus of migration from the eastern states. The boy with $140 heard of the opportunities. He made his journey, overland, by canal and by river. He was not twenty years old when he climbed the rough river landing and began the search for vocation in St. Louis. The year was 1843 and the month was September. Blood tells. By one line of descent, young Erastus Wells came from the Otis family of Massachusetts, patriots in the Revolution, framers of the organic act of the commonwealth and legislators through several generations. By another line, the family came from Hugh Welles, a Connecticut pioneer and ancestor to many notable citizens of that State. Erastus Wells tried several things after his arrival in St. Louis, while he studied the growing city and looked for the more permanent opportunity. Then occurred the conversation with Calvin Case and the decision to try an omnibus line. For $75 each young Wells bought two horses, and began.

According to contemporary records, public opinion required some molding. Erastus Wells found that the community did not respond at once with enthusiasm to his enterprise. There was travel enough between the National hotel and the Upper Ferry. People did not prefer walking. But, the omnibus was a new proposition for the old St. Louis of 1844. "At first people were a little shy of it," said the newspaper account. "Some did not think it exactly a genteel way of traveling the streets. These scruples have entirely disappeared, and everybody now rides and is glad of the opportunity."

In the pioneer omnibus, which for nine months was the only rolling stock of the firm of Case & Wells, there was no skylight in the top through which to pass the fare. Driver and Conductor Wells got down from his seat and went around to the rear to collect the fare if the passenger did not tender the bit before he entered. At that time the strap for controlling the back door and for signaling to stop had not been invented.

During the first winter of the operation of the pioneer line from the National hotel to the North Market street ferry, there were half days when Mr. Wells drove over the route without a solitary passenger. While the ferry was the official terminus, the omnibus stopped in front of the "O. K." That was the name of a "coffee house" which stood near the river bank. In this place of refreshment persons waited for either the ferryboat or the omnibus. About a month after the Case & Wells line had been started, the horses, while standing in front of the "O. K.", took fright and ran away. They jumped over some logs. When the team was stopped, the top and several other parts of the omni-

bus were shattered. The line suspended about three weeks for repairs. Here was where the capitalist of the enterprise, Captain Case, perhaps proved the salvation of it. He encouraged Mr. Wells and footed the bills. The suspension was one of the best things that could have happened. While people did not take enthusiastically to the omnibus line and predicted failure the first few weeks, they missed the convenience while repairs were in progress. When Mr. Wells returned to the route with the restored omnibus, he was pleasantly greeted. Business picked up. The newspapers had something congratulatory to say about the reappearance of the "old reliable."

The present generation can hardly conceive of a demand for public transit on the route selected from Third and Market streets to the Upper Ferry. But in 1844 those were terminal points between which travel suggested the need of a line of public vehicles. The city was growing along the river. Expansion westward came later. The second bus line put on the streets ran southward from the National hotel to the arsenal.

The venture of Erastus Wells proved successful. Two conditions contributed to the success. Judgment as to the route was vindicated by the receipts. At the outset, Mr. Wells rigidly observed the schedule. At first he drove the bus and collected the fares. The hour and minute for departure from the National hotel and the Upper Ferry were established and adhered to. If when the time came to start Wells didn't have a passenger, he drove away as punctually and cheerfully as if he had a load. People going over the route learned that the time card could be depended upon. This, it is said, had as much as anything else to do in determining the gradually increasing patronage. Calvin Case went into the omnibus business with Mr. Wells extensively. Other lines were started. Never forgetting his earliest experience, Mr. Wells insisted after he became a manager of several lines, instead of a driver of one home-made omnibus, upon strictest observance of the schedules.

Several months, the best part of a year, the rolling stock of the first transit company of St. Louis consisted of the single omnibus. And that omnibus was very different from the vehicle known by the name to this generation. It had two small windows. The sides were protected by curtains, to be removed or rolled up when the weather was fair. The body was perched higher on springs than by the later concern.

The omnibus of 1844 was entered from a rear step and there was "always room for one more." Erastus Wells drove regularly the first two years. That regularity, as has been said, was the condition on which success depended to a considerable extent. For several months after Mr. Wells began to drive the one omnibus of St. Louis, the fares averaged not more than $2.50 a day. The fare was 12½ cents, or, as Conductor Wells expressed it, in the vernacular of 1844 "one bit." If, at the end of the working day, which, in the case of the omnibus line, continued into the evening, Mr. Wells had carried twenty people between Market street and North Market street, he had done a fair business.

Evidently the St. Louis people only needed showing. Mr. Wells' object lesson was quickly effective when the first impression was overcome. By the middle of 1845, three north and south omnibus lines were running. Market

street had a line out to Camp spring, just beyond where the Union station is now. The fifth line enabled the public to visit a suburban resort of that time, known as the Prairie House. Congratulatory mention was made by the press of the arrival of "a new and beautiful omnibus, manufactured in Troy, New York," to be placed in service by Case & Wells. Speaking of the popularity of the omnibus lines, a paper said: "All seem to be doing a flourishing and profitable business, and they prove to be a great convenience to persons residing in distant parts, and to those having business to attend to in remote parts of the city. They have contributed not a little to give an increase of value to real estate lying at a distance from the centre of business part of the city."

The omnibus lines were more than a convenience to the public. They stimulated home manufacture. Before the end of 1845, the city was congratulated on the appearance of an omnibus made in St. Louis. The maker was Theodore Salorgne who became one of the pioneers of St. Louis in carriage manufacture. The papers declared that the Salorgne omnibus was "in every respect equal to those used on the Case & Wells line," which were from the east. The St. Louis omnibus went into operation on Market street and Carondelet avenue.

After Case & Wells had demonstrated the fact that St. Louis would support omnibus lines, others went into the business. One of the lines was started on Franklin avenue by John C. Vogel. It was equipped with one omnibus and that was the identical vehicle with which Erastus Wells began. Vogel bought the pioneer omnibus for $100. In five years Case & Wells had established a patronage which required from twelve to fifteen omnibuses. In 1850 a consolidation took place. Calvin Case, Erastus Wells, Robert McO'Blennis, and Lawrence Matthews formed a company and operated the united omnibus lines. They were enterprising. They put on a suburban line running between St. Louis and Belleville. One of the new lines was opened on Olive street to Seventeenth street. When the company had fully developed its plans, six principal lines were operated. They were equipped with ninety omnibuses. The motive power was supplied by 450 horses. Four stables were established. The number of men employed was 100. On the best traveled lines the omnibuses left the terminals every four minutes. On the other lines the departures from the terminals were every ten minutes. The business was not without competition. Luther Case put a line on Seventh street running south from Franklin avenue to Flora Garden, a down town resort. William Billings tried a line on Broadway, starting from Second and Market and running to Bremen. Competition brought about reduction of fare to five cents. The fares were collected by the driver, and were handed up through a hole in the roof of the omnibus just behind the driver's seat. A strap extending back from the driver, just under the roof gave control of the door in the rear. This strap was pulled when a passenger wished to get out. Two rather high steps behind the omnibus enabled people to get in and out. But they were also very tempting to boys who dodged behind the omnibuses and stole rides. The drivers had whips with long lashes but this was only a partial means of protection against the boys. Somebody invented an addition to the door which projected downward over the two steps

HENRI CHOUTEAU MANSION,
Where Four Courts now stand, taken in 1870

FOURTH STREET, FROM CHESTNUT,
Looking north, taken in 1870

FIFTH STREET, FROM OLIVE,
South, taken about 1870

MAIN STREET, FROM WALNUT,
North, showing Old Merchants Exchange in 1870

in such a manner as to make it impossible to stand or sit on the steps when the door was closed. This improvement was a kind of rear fender. It was of great interest to the youth of St. Louis when it made its first appearance on the omnibuses. The driver not only received the fare through the hole in the roof but he passed back the change and answered questions of passengers who were not quite certain where to get off. The lines originally established by Case and Wells were extended under the consolidation until they reached Carondelet on the south and Bissell's ferry on the north. St. Louis between 1850 and 1860 was very long on the river front and quite narrow from the river westward.

Two young men who became foremost citizens of St. Louis owed much to Captain Calvin Case. Erastus Wells was encouraged to push the development of the omnibus transit system. James B. Eads was started on the way to become a great engineer and to build the St. Louis bridge. Case, himself, was cut short in a career which promised to make him one of the most valuable citizens to the city. He came from New York state where he had learned shipbuilding. At eighteen years of age he turned out one of the finest schooners on Lake Ontario. Then he constructed and commanded steamboats on the Lakes. Coming west, he built two boats at the village of Chicago. In 1839, Captain Case took up his residence in St. Louis. He became the pioneer in a number of enterprises. The steamboat era was approaching its greatest development. St. Louisans bought and managed boats but up to that time had not built them. Captain Case started steamboat building at St. Louis. One of the first he turned out he called the Chicago. The mortality of steamboats was very heavy. Case undertook the raising and wrecking of boats. He introduced the diving bell on the Mississippi. Eads, who had been a steamboat clerk, went with Case and showed so much ingenuity in devising apparatus to improve the wrecking of sunken boats that he was made a junior partner by Case. One line of business was not sufficient for the active mind of Calvin Case. The firm of Case, Nelson & Eads was formed to build the first glass works, and to manufacture the first glass made, west of the Mississippi river.

His other enterprises did not prevent Calvin Case from backing Erastus Wells in the omnibus system until the city of that day was supplied with that kind of public transportation. Captain Case was actively interested in the omnibus lines at the time of his death. He was one of those killed when the excursion train celebrating the extension of the Missouri Pacific railroad went through the bridge at Gasconade river.

Sunday observance was an issue of St. Louis politics in 1846. And the proposition was to "put the lid on," not saloons but the omnibus lines. The city was booming. Immigration was coming faster than ever known before. With certain elements of the population the Native American idea was popular. Omnibus lines moving people about the city at all hours of the Sabbath shocked the anti-foreigners. The election went Native American. One of the earliest reforms instituted by the new municipal government was an ordinance limiting the running of the omnibuses to the earlier part of Sunday. The new law made it unlawful for an omnibus to be driven on the streets of St. Louis "on Sunday, after the hour of two o'clock of the afternoon, for the purpose of carrying

passengers from point to point." The penalty, which held against owner, driver or manager, was $25 for first offense, $50 for second offense and $100 for third offense. The ordinance applied to "omnibus or vehicle capable of containing more than four persons."

The comment of the press upon the anti-omnibus ordinance was sarcastic. In the Republican, Colonel Chambers said:

> The above is a fair specimen of the legislation of the Native American city council The distinction drawn between the morning and evening of Sunday, making an act lawful if done before two o'clock p. m. and unlawful if done after that hour, the distinction between carriages that will hold four and those that will hold five persons, the allowing the rich and prodigal who can own or hire a carriage an unbounded latitude to ride and drive through the streets at all hours, while the laboring and less prodigal must not enjoy a ride, although it only costs a dime, is worthy of this enlightened age and the liberal spirit of the board that can sanction it.

When Calvin Case was killed in the Gasconade disaster of 1855, his partners dissolved the omnibus company and divided the property. The four omnibus lines which the company was operating were appraised. It was decided that the three surviving partners and the estate of Calvin Case should take, each, an omnibus line by lot. The distribution gave the Second street line to Lawrence Matthews, the Broadway line to Robert McO'Blennis, the Market and Olive street line to Erastus Wells and the Franklin avenue line to the Case estate.

Dr. George S. Case, the son of Calvin Case, bought the Franklin avenue omnibus line. He entered upon an active connection with the public transit facilities of St. Louis which lasted nearly forty years. Then a young student, George S. Case was one of the passengers on the first omnibus trip made in St. Louis with Erastus Wells as driver. He adopted medicine as his profession and before he graduated he startled the doctors at a meeting of the St. Louis Medical Society with a declaration of the existence of a cholera bacillus. That was shortly after the fearful cholera epidemic of 1849. Dr. Case, then not quite of age, not only made his point about the bacillus but he showed the doctors that men employed about the omnibus stables and other places where ammonia fumes abounded were immune.

When the horse car era came, Dr. Case had a line of seventeen omnibuses. He operated from Fourth street to Twenty-seventh street. The Citizens' railway company bought out the omnibus line for $23,000. Dr. Case took half cash and half stock. He became a director in the Citizens. The road was built as two single track lines, one on Franklin avenue and one on Morgan street, the cars passing on switches. After awhile the two single tracks were joined at the ends and cars ran west on Franklin avenue and east on Morgan street. When the Union street railway was built, Dr. Case went into that, becoming a director. In 1870, Dr. Case built the Baden and St. Louis railroad. He was president of it until it was sold in 1894. During Dr. Case's administration the Baden and St. Louis had the distinction of being the fastest horse railroad in the west if not in the United States. It maintained a schedule which gave it the record for rapid transit with horse power.

In 1858, the last year of what has been called the omnibus era of St. Louis, eleven lines, were running. The equipment was 145 omnibuses, although 87 was

the minimum number in regular use. It is an interesting fact that the omnibus lines were on routes afterwards followed closely by the street car tracks. Market and Olive streets, and Franklin and Chouteau avenues were occupied by east and west lines. On Franklin avenue the omnibuses ran to 27th street, the terminus farthest west. But the greater part of the travel was on north and south lines. The route from Carondelet to Bissell's ferry was divided into four sections. Competition brought down the fare from one bit to one-half bit, or six and one-half cents, and then to five cents. In the last year of the omnibus era it was estimated that the omnibuses carried 14,000 people a day. The regular omnibuses earned from $6 to $9 a day. St. Louis had a population of 150,000.

The horses in the service numbered 681. The men employed were 218. Municipal regulation had been applied. On each omnibus operated was imposed an annual license fee of $30. The distance covered by the principal lines was eleven and one-half miles. Under influence of competition the omnibuses underwent much improvement. These of 1858 were very different from the carryall with which Erastus Wells opened the omnibus era. They had glass windows along the sides, landscapes on the yellow bodies, and fair faces on the doors. They cost $650 delivered in St. Louis by eastern manufacturers, or $50 to $75 more if made in St. Louis.

Introduction of fare boxes came about 1858 with the spread of the omnibus system in St. Louis. The fare box was the invention of a man named Slawson, of New Orleans. It made him a fortune. A St. Louis newspaper described the innovation:

> By the use of this ingenious contrivance, the proprietors are always sure of getting their money, and the drivers are always free from the suspicion of embezzlement. The lines adopting the fare box pay from four to eight dollars a month more to drivers, than do those which do not adopt it. The latter pay about twelve dollars a month and board, and the former from sixteen to twenty dollars and board. Those lines which use the fare boxes have rules which they require every driver to sign before hiring him. Should any driver be detected in receiving into his hands money or tickets tendered by passengers, or should he fail to cause the same to be put, without touching it himself, into the box, he is immediately discharged. The driver is not allowed to smoke a cigar or pipe while driving, and he must keep sober and pay strict attention to business. The arrangement is one, we think, into which the proprietors of all lines must eventually come. The price of the fare boxes is twenty-five dollars apiece.

Men and women only fifty years old saw the first street car in St. Louis. To be sure, they were infants in arms and may not remember that exciting event, but they were here. The semi-centennial anniversary of the opening of the first street railroad in this city came in 1909. The Fourth of July of 1859 was the day. Olive street was the scene. The inaugural trip took place at ten o'clock in the morning and was attended with great enthusiasm. The newspaper account described this first "horse-car" as "a beautiful vehicle, light elegant and commodious, built with fifteen others of the same style for the Missouri railroad company." The place of manufacture was Philadelphia. The cost was $900. Plans for the opening nearly miscarried owing to the delay in the arrival of the car. On the morning of the 3rd of July the Ohio & Mississippi railroad agent sent word to the street railroad people that the first car was in East St. Louis. In those days the task of getting a street car down the bank

of the Illinois side, upon a ferry boat and then up the St. Louis Levee was formidable. But the man who drove the first omnibus in St. Louis was at the head of the street railroad enterprise. The "horse-car," as the papers called it was on the track at Fourth and Olive streets before ten o'clock the morning of the Fourth. The directors of the company took the seats. President Erastus Wells stood on the front platform holding the lines over the crack team, hitched to the pole, "which," as the reporter explained in his description of the car, "can readily be shipped to either end of the car."

Only the newspaper account of the first trip of the first street car seen in St. Louis, published at the time, can properly present the scene.

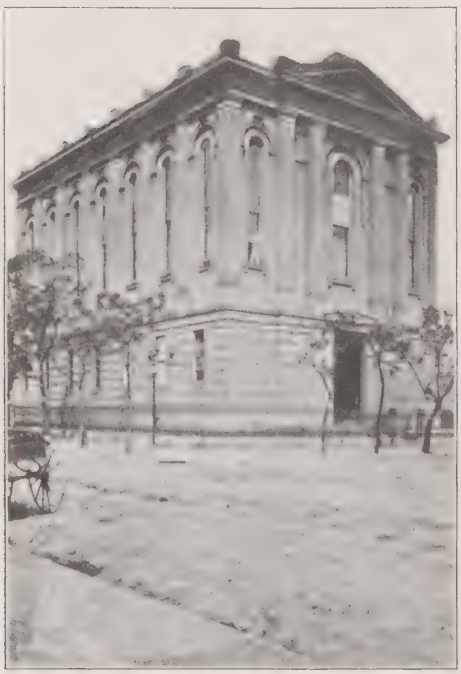
Mr. E. Wells, president of the road, then took the reins, and after a jerk or two the first car moved slowly but steadily up the track, amidst loud shouts and cheers from the crowd. Troops of urchins followed in its wake, endeavoring to hang on, and we fear unless this is prevented in future serious accidents may occur. The center of the track, or footpath, being macadamized, and not sufficiently settled, small pieces of rock being detached constantly by the horses' feet, and falling upon the track materially retarded the progress of the car, in several cases throwing it from the track. The switches, or turnouts, too, require some alteration, as they do not answer entirely the purpose intended. Several times the car failed to run upon the track intended, and a general backing out was found necessary before the car could proceed. But after various delays of this nature the car arrived at Tenth street, the track having been cleared of stone only that distance. The horses were then attached to the other end, and the return trip progressed, and after but few delays, the track being much improved by the first trip, the pioneer car arrived at Fourth street, where it was again greeted by a large crowd of persons, each waiting an opportunity for a free ride. During the progress of the car through the streets, its presence was greeted by hundreds of fair faces beaming from every window and door, while shouts of joy from scores of urchins heralded its approach. The first trip has proved the enterprise a complete success, and at each subsequent trip, which was made with the car crowded to repletion, fresh laurels were won, as the horses pulled the enormous load without apparent effort.

The Missouri railroad company, which built this first street railroad in St. Louis, had been authorized by act of the legislature in 1855, but the company was not formed until 1859, when the ordinance passed the city council. There were two sides to the question of permitting street railroads in St. Louis. Omnibuses were considered good enough by many people. Just as there had been those who doubted if it was quite the thing to patronize omnibuses in 1844, so in 1858-9 opposition to street cars was manifested. People who lived within easy walking distance of the business center urged that horse railroads were not needed, that they would blockade the narrow streets, that property fronting on streets occupied by the tracks would be damaged, that the noise would prevent sleep at night and wear upon nerves in the daytime. The opposition to the street railroads even became a subject of action by mass meetings. Citizens of the Second and Third wards especially were active, declaring in resolutions against the movement to grant occupation of the streets by railroad tracks.

So spirited was the controversy over horse cars that Dr. Adam Hammer in addressing a mass meeting of the First ward criticised the citizens of the Second and Third wards, "ascribing the disaffection there to the influence of a few politicians who had axes to grind." The resolutions, "adopted by a large vote," demanded " the granting of the right of way for one track on Carondelet

OLD LINDELL HOTEL,
On Washington Avenue in 1880

FOURTH STREET, FROM OLIVE,
North, taken in 1870



OLD POPE COLLEGE,
Seventh and Clark Avenue, 1870

CHESTNUT STREET, FROM FOURTH,
West, showing Courthouse on the left and Old Planters Hotel on right, taken in 1870

avenue and one on Seventh street, and such other necessary facilities to city railway companies as will contribute to the speedy completion of the roads, limiting them, however, to passenger traffic alone, and surrounding them with such proper and wholesome restrictions as will insure the safety and convenience of the public."

When Erastus Wells began to lay the first street railroad track in St. Louis, he faced a problem. The rail was flat, with one side an inch or so higher than the other. Should the higher half be the inside or outside of the track? That was the question which the pioneer street railroad builders faced. After an exhaustive discussion, Mr. Wells concluded that the best of the argument was with those who claimed the higher part should be inside and that the wheel tread should be outside. The track was so laid with the result that, on the inaugural trip, the directors were compelled to get out and repeatedly lift the car on the track. For several months the Olive street cars were run with the rails in that position, the wagon tread facing outwardly. The cars could not be kept on the track for any considerable distance. Mr. Wells tore up the rails and laid them with the higher half on the outside. The cars were kept on the rail. The Citizens' company had followed the experiment of the Missouri and had laid the wrong side out. This company had not started cars when the Missouri company reversed the rails; it promptly tore up its rails and relaid them the other way. On Broadway, or Fifth street as it was then, the rails were laid wrong side out. But instead of tearing up the rails and relaying them, the St. Louis railroad company fixed the car axles so that the flange of the wheels ran on the inside of the rails. This method of operation was continued for years on Fifth street, the wagon tread being on the outside, while on the other roads the reverse was the condition.

St. Louis came to have a street gauge of its own. It differed from steam railway gauge by an arbitrary inch and one-half. There is no engineering explanation for this difference. The St. Louis gauge came about by accident. According to good authority the intentions of the early builders of street railways was to lay the tracks to conform to the standard steam railroad gauge of four feet, eight and one-half inches. The oldest street railway tracks of St. Louis were put down under the misapprehension as to where the wheel tread should be. They were so poorly laid that they spread. The wheels were pressed out on the axles to keep them on the tracks. When new rails, a few at a time were put down, they were given a gauge to correspond to the width between the wheels. An average of four feet, ten inches was thus established by practice as the street railway gauge of St. Louis. In 1860 the Legislature declared four feet and ten inches to be the legal gauge of street railways in St. Louis. Later, by ordinance, the city established the shape of the rail head and provided that the lower flange must be on the inside. In the pioneer period some of the rails used on the streets of St. Louis were brought from England. Later, when the iron industry of this vicinity developed, rails were rolled for St. Louis street roads by Chouteau, Harrison & Valle and by the Tudor iron works. It would be difficult to describe the many kinds of rails tried upon the streets of St. Louis, in the continuous effort to find the best. In weight and in shape these rails

widely varied. At first stringers were put down on cross ties. Then rails of sufficient weight took the place of stringers and the ties were placed closer together.

St. Louis has not been slow in dealing with problems of public transit. This was one of the first of American cities to introduce horse cars. Even earlier than that, the omnibus line of Erastus Wells on Olive and Market streets was considered one of the best equipped in respect to rolling stock and horses in the country. The brick stable was said to be a model. When, in 1882, horse cars ran on 119 miles of track, the city was so well provided with street railroad facilities that several of the companies were in the hands of receivers and not half of the mileage was paying a fair per cent on the money actually invested. It is said that during the period of horse car operation in St. Louis only one line continuously paid dividends. That was the Olive street line. Stockholders in some of the other lines tried to give away their shares. One day the porter of a mercantile establishment came into the Lindell office at Twenty-second street and Washington avenue and presented an order for the transfer of a block of stock to himself. The order was signed by the man's employer. The matter was referred to the executive officer of the road who sent back word to the stockholder that if he would look at the by-laws of the company he would discover stock could not be transferred so long as there was an assesment unpaid. Those were days which tried street railroad men's bank accounts. John Scullin ran a street railroad in St. Louis at a loss of $100 a day for many months. The receipts not only did not pay the interest on bonds or dividends on stock but fell $100 a day short of meeting the operating expenses.

Cars went through the experimental stage. The earliest were for two horses. They had bodies fourteen and sixteen feet long. The horses were attached to a tongue, which was dropped loose at the end of the line and dragged around to the other end. There was another style of car the body of which was on a pivot in the center. At the end of the line, the pivot was raised and the car body was swung around, the trucks remaining on the tracks. Then came the adoption of the bobtail car, drawn by one horse. This car was from ten to twelve feet long with a platform in front and a step behind. The passenger put the fare in a box at the front end of the car. Manufacture of street cars became a St. Louis industry. Street railroad managers stood over the street car manufacturer. Maximum strength with minimum weight was the vital principle. Where an inch or an ounce could be spared, without loss to carrying capacity, it was eliminated. At one period bobtail cars exclusively were operated on the Olive and Washington avenue lines. When two-horse cars, with double platforms and conductors were put on in place of the bobtails, the patrons felt that they were obtaining metropolitan conveniences. Occasionally enterprise took the form of eccentricity. In 1874 the Northwestern, as it was then, afterwards the Mound City, put on a two-story car, or double-decker as the newspapers called it. A spiral staircase on the rear platform gave access to the second story. The double-decker was a fair weather car. It did not last long. Steam dummies were put on Grand avenue and Easton avenue west of Grand.

They frightened the horses of the farmers coming to town. They were prohibited by the county court.

The St. Louis railroad was one of half a dozen transit enterprises which received franchises in the early part of 1859. The incorporators included names of men who were prominent in their generation. Among them were Hudson E. Bridge, the stove manufacturer, identified with the early history of the Missouri Pacific railroad; D. A. January, a wholesale merchant; Robert A. Barnes who gave a fortune to found a hospital; James H. Lucas, who presented to the city Missouri Park; John How twice mayor of St. Louis; and George R. Taylor. David H. Armstrong, in his early life a schoolmaster and afterwards a United States senator was the first president of the St. Louis railroad. He was followed by D. A. January and Hudson E. Bridge. Then William Tecumseh Sherman, who had resigned his commission in the regular army and who had conducted the San Francisco branch of the St. Louis bank of James H. Lucas & Co., took the presidency and the active management of this street railroad for a short time before Civil war. After General Sherman the presidents of the Broadway line in turn were David H. Armstrong, again; Hudson E. Bridge, John O'Fallon Farrar, John F. Madison, Robert A. Barnes and Christian Peper. Mr. Peper served as president of the Broadway line twenty-five years, declining any salary. He made it one of the most profitable lines of street railroad in the country. When in 1888, the road was turned over to a purchasing syndicate of Chicago men and C. B. Holmes was made president, the stock was selling at about $175 and there was $250,000 of the mortgage bonds in the treasury. The Broadway line of horse cars took the place of two omnibus lines, one running south, the other north from the center of the city. People had been accustomed to this division of traffic. The St. Louis railroad company divided the Broadway line into two parts and operated from the court house north and south as two roads. In 1869 the city council passed an ordinance requiring the company to run cars through from end to end instead of the old arrangement of turning back at the courthouse.

The associates of Erastus Wells in the incorporation of the Missouri railroad were William M. Morrison, Marshall Brotherton, Dr. William VanZandt James H. Parker, and Alfred A. Henry. The company built tracks on Market street and Olive street in 1859. The Olive street track stopped at Seventeenth street. The Market street track reached Twelfth street that year. Mr. Wells held the presidency from the beginning, through his ten years in Congress and until 1881, when he disposed of the control.

The Union Depot street railway had its inception under the name of the Gravois railway in 1859. It was promoted by men interested in the southern and southwestern parts of the city. Construction was begun in 1862 and made some progress during the war. The road was not profitable. It served a section that needed facilities but could not supply paying support. A foreclosure and sale put the property in the possession of Green Erskine who had large real estate holdings in that part of the city and Thatcher S. Johnson. Major C. C. Rainwater improved and extended the road. The road was sold again in 1876 to the Union Depot railroad company composed of John Scullin and his

associates. Extensions were built and a great deal of money was invested. The company saw little return for the enterprise until the road was converted into an electric system. The Gravois and its successor, the Union Depot, were built far in advance of the population to be served. Those who put in the capital were obliged to wait many years before returns came. The Union Depot company under Mr. Scullin's management took over the operation of the Bellefontaine, the Mound City and the Grand aveune. To John Scullin, more than to any other street railroad manager the people of St. Louis owed the development of the transfer system.

In 1874 a franchise was granted to the Carondelet Railway company. Vide Poche had lost its municipal identity and had become a part of the city of St. Louis. Among the original incorporators were John C. Kelly, a leading civil engineer; Fred L. Garesche, Abraham McHose, William L. Ewing Jr., afterwards mayor. The road under the franchise obtained by these citizens extended from Chippewa street south on Carondelet avenue to Carondelet. Two years later the South St. Louis railway company acquired the rights of the Carondelet company and two years after that was authorized by ordinance to build to Sixth and Market streets. In 1884 the name was changed to the Southern and in 1894 to the Southern Electric. This road had as presidents I. C. Terry, Pierre Chouteau, Theo. Plate, William C. Lange, T. J. Minary, E. R. Coleman, W. L. Johnson, Claude Kilpatrick.

The Union railway was authorized in 1859 but was not built until after the close of the civil war. The franchise was granted to Charles D. Coleman, C. D. Blossom, William F. Saltmarsh, Henry M. Blossom and Charles W. Horn. In 1875 the Union road reached the Fair grounds. The down town terminus was Fourth and Locust streets. B. Gratz Brown was president of the Union for a time.

The associates of George S. Case in the incorporation to build the Baden and St. Louis railroad were men of wealth having their homes and extensive interests in the northern suburbs of the city. Among them were Robert McLaran, Robert Jennings, B. M. Chambers, Jacob Bittner, John T. Walter, John H. Reel, J. H. Lamotte. The road was sold in 1892 to the St. Louis, or Broadway.

The Lindell, which took Washington avenue for its main stem, was not one of the half dozen before-the-war transit enterprises. The incorporators obtained a franchise in 1864. They began construction late in the year but the road did not get fairly into operation until the spring of 1867. The incorporators were among the most prominent citizens of St. Louis. Most of them lived in the western part of the city near the line of the road. They were John H. Lightner, Wayman Crow, Dwight Durkee, Levin H. Baker, John M. Krum, Daniel R. Garrison, William Patrick, Joshua Cheever, Bernard Crickhard, Willam D'Oench, Charles K. Dickson, William Meyer and Morris Taussig. The presidents of the Lindell were John H. Maxon, Robert McCulloch, J. H. Lightner and George D. Capen. The Lindell was late in starting but its management developed great enterprise in building extensions and branches. The territory claimed by other lines was invaded and competition became lively if not profit-

WASHINGTON AVENUE, WEST FROM KING'S HIGHWAY

able. The Lindell operated Taylor avenue and Compton Heights lines. It acquired the Clayton line and the Midland line in the suburbs. It was the anaconda of street car corporations.

The original Bellefontaine line came as near paralleling the Broadway as the old "three blocks law" would permit. It followed the up town course of the Broadway at the legal distance or a little more. In 1864 the franchise was granted. Cars ran in 1866. In 1876 the Bellefontaine was sold under foreclosure. In 1890, the road was bought by James Campbell and in 1893 was sold to the Union Depot system. It was not for want of strong presidents that the Bellefontaine did not do well in the early period. The presidents were John M. Krum, the ex-mayor; Richard Schackleford, George H. Chase, Charles Parsons, and J. G. Chapman. Eventually the Bellefontaine became the second longest division in the United Railway system forming a great arc fifteen miles long.

"The third parallel law" had much to do with transit projects of St. Louis. It was passed by the legislature fifty years ago. It prohibited the construction of parallel street railroads within three blocks of each other. When the law was taken to the supreme court of Missouri on a test case the interpretation given to it was important. On its face the law seemed to be designed primarily to prevent close competition. The supreme court did not so regard it. The court said:

> The provisions of the Act of 1860, prohibiting the construction of parallel roads within three blocks of each other, were primarly intended as police regulations, incidentally affording a qualified exemption from competition to the roads coming within the scope of the act.

The court sustained the law treating it as a protection to the citizens no less than to the railroad company. The effect of the law in the long run was excellent. It resulted in a wide and general distribution of street railroad facilities. There is no other large city in the country where so large a proportion of the population lives within two hundred yards of street car lines. Ninety per cent of the residents of St. Louis reside not farther than three blocks from street cars. The average St. Louis business man has been educated to take a street car within two minutes' walk of his house door. And the third parallel law is the cause of it. The map of St. Louis was studied and studded by the street railroad builders until it obtained the present net work condition.

The Act of 1860 was peculiar. It confirmed to the St. Louis railroad company, the People's railway and the Citizens' the enjoyment of the franchises under which they were operating. These were the Broadway, the Fourth and Chouteau avenue and the Franklin avenue lines. It declared that "no street railroad shall hereafter be constructed within the City of St. Louis nearer to a parallel road than the third parallel street from any road now constructed, or which may hereafter be constructed, except the roads hereinbefore mentioned."

The test case was brought against the Northwestern which proposed to act prohibited the construction of parallel lines of street railroads in the city of St. Louis within three blocks of each other."

Several times the supreme court was called upon to interpret the third parallel law. The decisions enforced the law "on the ground that it was designed

for the benefit of the public and to preserve their use of two streets out of three from being disturbed or interrupted by the laying down and operation of street railroads; that this law was an exercise of the police power of the State for the benefit of the city of St. Louis and to protect certain of its streets from invasion by street cars." When, of later years bills were pending in the municipal assembly to grant franchises to elevated roads, opposing property holders invoked the third parallel law, claiming that it applied to elevated as well as to surface street railroads.

The first street railroad company which received a franchise from St. Louis did not build. Quite appropriately the promoters gave to their enterprise the title of "the Laclede Railroad company." The terms of the franchise serve to recall the time when St. Louis was an aggregation of separate communities. By the ordinance the stockholders of the Laclede company were "authorized to construct their railroad in the city of St. Louis, from the city of Bremen, on Ninth street, to Howard street or Cass avenue, thence on Howard street or Cass avenue to Seventh street, thence on Seventh street to Carondelet avenue, and thence on Carondelet avenue to the southern limits of the city of St. Louis, with a double track for the entire distance." The southern limit of the city was then a short distance below the arsenal. This ordinance was approved in the winter of 1856. The road was not built. Three years later, when the epidemic of horse railroad construction came, franchises for routes were granted without regard to the Laclede.

In the consolidations and rearrangements of the street railways, only one of the original enterprises was annihilated. In 1866, Compton Hill was coming into recognition as a high class residence district of St. Louis. It wanted horse car communication with the business center. A franchise was obtained for the Tower Grove and Lafayette railroad. The original incorporators were men of large property interests in the southwestern suburbs. They were H. N. Switzer, John J. Roe, the pork packer and steamboat owner; James B. Eads, the bridge builder; C. K. Dickson, and John S. Cavender, one of the principal real estate men of that generation. The road was built and opened in 1866. It did not reach the terminus which the incorporators contemplated. The tracks were laid on Third and Second streets to the arsenal. That part of the proposed line was operated several years. A single track was laid on Lafayette avenue from Second Carondelet avenue to Grand avenue and a lonely bobtail went over the route to Compton Hill every fifteen minutes. Before the two ends of the Lafayette and Tower Grove were tied together the People's company came in and absorbed the unfinished and unprofitable line. The downtown tracks along Third street were torn up and the cars connected with the People's at Chouteau avenue and came over Fourth street to Morgan. For a number of years little green cars were operated from Morgan street to the arsenal, as a division of the People's. The latter connected with and subsequently absorbed the line out Lafayette avenue to Grand. It would have been a roundabout way for Compton Hill people to reach the shopping and office district by way of Second and Third streets to Olive. The city began growing away from the

original route of the Tower Grove and Lafayette railroad almost from the year of its incorporation. In 1888 the Fourth street and Arsenal railway was authorized by ordinance to acquire the rights and privileges of the Tower Grove and Lafayette. An electric system was put in and trolley cars were operated. In 1891 an accumulation of gas blew up the Mill creek sewer at Third and Chouteau avenue. The tracks were scattered. When the sewer was restored and the tracks were relaid the suspension of operation continued for some time. In 1896 poles were put up and wires strung. Electric cars were put on the road. They did not run long. Operation was unprofitable and was discontinued. Later the franchise became a subject of controversy when the growth of manufacturing created a demand for steam railroad facilities. Some of the most experienced street railroad managers of the city handled the Arsenal line at different periods. The first president of the road was G. W. Dreyer. Then followed in succession J. H. Lightner, who at one time was presiding justice of the county court before the separation of city and county; James H. Britton, a resident of the Lafayette Park neighborhood and president of the National Bank of the State of Missouri; J. R. Lionberger, at one time president of the Third National; Daniel E. Walsh, Julius S. Walsh and Charles Green.

The People's obtained a franchise in 1859. The promoters had great faith in the future of the Lafayette Park neighborhood. And that faith was not misplaced. The incorporators were some of the best known financiers and business men of the decade before the Civil war. They were Robert M. Renick, the banker; Barton Able, the close friend of Francis P. Blair and of B. Gratz Brown; Peter L. Foy, one of the proprietors of the St. Louis Dispatch; Hiram Crittenden, John H. Lightner, J. B. Sickles and John S. Cavender. The route authorized was from Fourth and Morgan, along Fourth street, Chouteau avenue, St. Ange and Park avenues to Lafayette Park. The road was built immediately. It went into operation in the fall of 1859. The first president was Robert M. Renick. In the early days of horse railroads the People's was one of the most promising from the investment point of view. Because of its desirability the stock changed hands. Consolidaton with the Lafayette and Tower Grove to protect its territory put a load on the People's as originally planned. Later the Union Depot line cut into the business. In 1889, the People's line was cabled. This added greatly to the investment burden. In 1897, the road having failed to pay interest on its bonds, was placed in the hands of a receiver. The presidents of the People's, in succession after Mr. Renick, were G. W. Dreyer, J. H. Lightner, James H. Britton, John R. Lionberger, Daniel E. Walsh, Julius S. Walsh, and Charles Green.

Three families have had much to do with the transit problems of St. Louis,—Erastus and Rolla Wells, the Cases and the Walshes. Three generations of the Walsh family were identified with the development of transit facilities. The Citizens' railway was authorized in 1859. One of the principal stockholders was Edward Walsh, whose name headed the list of incorporators. Associated with Mr. Walsh were Henry T. Blow, afterward

Minister to Brazil; B. Gratz Brown, nominee for vice president in 1872; James B. Eads, the eminent engineer; George S. Case, son of Calvin Case, builder of the first steamboat at St. Louis; John Doyle, Cary Gratz, William J. King, and B. Crickard. The association was a remarkable one. The first president was B. Gratz Brown. He was followed by James B. Eads, Alton R. Easton, for whose family Easton avenue was named; and Julius Walsh.

Of all who have been connected with the transit facilities of St. Louis, Julius Walsh has had the most comprehensive experience. Edward Walsh, coming to St. Louis in the late twenties, prospered in merchandising and milling. He put his profits into steamboats, steam railroads, horse railroads, banks and insurance companies. His faith in the future of St. Louis was very strong. When he died in 1866, he was largely interested in street railroads. Julius S. Walsh, educated to be a lawyer, gave his attention to the varied interests left by his father. Street railway management and development appealed to him strongly. In 1870, Julius S. Walsh became president of the Citizens' and of the Fair Grounds and Suburban. He was at later periods president of the People's, the Tower Grove and Lafayette railway companies. In 1873, Mr. Walsh became president of the Union street railway. In 1885 he built the Northern Central and about the same time acquired the control of the Cass avenue and Fair Grounds. The St. Louis street railway companies of which Julius S. Walsh was the head at that time operated seventy-five miles of track.

There was a rush of street railroad building in St. Louis just before the Civil war. During the war, these enerprises were not active. But war alone could discourage the dealing in transit problems of St. Louis Panics cut little figure in the calculations of street railroad promoters. In the winter of 1874, when the financial troubles of 1873 were still fresh in the public mind, adventurous spirits projected the Northwestern. The railroad was built to the northwestern part of the city in 1874. The first president was William F. Wernse. In a short time the road went into the hands of a receiver. The affairs were straightened out by James Campbell. In the summer of 1876 the Mound City company was organized and authorized to acquire the franchise. Under the Mound City reorganization, John Scullin became the president of the road.

The Cass Avenue and Fair Grounds Railway was another enterprise which was put forward on the heels of the panic of 1873. A franchise was granted. The building of the road was pushed. At that time, 1874, the city was building up rapidly in the northwest. Both the Cass Avenue and the Mound City went after the new traffic. The first president of the Cass avenue line was William K. Patrick. The stock changed hands. W. R. Allen succeeded Mr. Patrick. Capital has never been timid about taking hold of transit problems in St. Louis. Horse, cable and trolley cars have been operated in advance of profitable conditions. Street railroads have been built in St. Louis for future rather than for immediate needs. Twice have capitalists come in strength from other cities to show St. Louis how to solve transit problems. They have retired in some disorder.

LINDELL BOULEVARD ENTRANCE TO FOREST PARK

In 1882 the horse car lines were approaching the maximum of efficiency. St. Louis had at that time 119 miles of track. The equipment consisted of 496 cars and 2,280 horses. The employes numbered 1,010. The lines transported 19,600,000 people in a year. Agitation for rapid transit became active and importunate. St. Louis papers told their readers what the cable was doing for San Francisco. Chicago and Indianapolis were introducing the new system. Mechanical motive power in place of horses and mules was demanded. The elevated projects took on some enthusiasm and promoters were busy with schemes.

Every movement for an elevated railroad started in St. Lous aroused strong antagonism. When the franchise of the Rapid Transit Railway company was obtained, there was immediate organization to fight it. The St. Joseph Convent of Mercy, located on Morgan street, brought action to restrain the company. Evidence was taken. The case was argued. Briefs were filed. An array of lawyers appeared for the convent, including Lee and Ellis, Smith P. Galt and Sim T. Price. Before any decision was rendered the company failed to comply with the ordinance and the movement ended. Prominent in the enterprise were the Scotts of Kansas City. They were real estate men who had participated in the boom period of that city. Coming to St. Louis, the Scotts acquired, with their associates, by purchase or option considerable tracts of ground in what were then the outskirts of the city. Later the Scotts returned to Kansas City and one of them became the postmaster there.

If the road as contemplated twenty-one years ago had been built it would be today small help toward solution of the transit problems of St. Louis. Third and Washington avenue was the starting point. The main stem was on Morgan street from Third to Twenty-third street. From Morgan street the central branch went down Jefferson avenue to Chouteau avenue, over Ohio avenue to Park avenue, west on Park to the New Manchester road, which is in the immediate vicinity of Shaw's Garden. From the Manchester road the route was westward and northwestward to the city limits near West End Heights or the southwest corner of Forest Park. There was to be a northern branch from Twenty-second and Morgan to and beyond the Fair Grounds and a southern branch down Ohio avenue to Carondelet. The legal obstacles proved to be formidable.

The framers of the present constitution of Missouri a third of a century ago took what the lawyers called "an advanced position" for the protection of the individual against the corporation. They went farther than the constitution makers of many states. They framed provisions which which bore directly upon the transit problems of St. Louis. The Missouri constitution of 1865 was modeled upon the general provisions applicable to uses of private property for public purposes. That instrument, in its first article, provided:

"No private property ought to be taken or applied to public use without just compensation."

This was the common form of protection. The statutes of 1865, as was

the practice of the States, set forth the method for determination of the value of private property taken for public use and also secured the payment to the private property holder.

The constitution of 1875 was quite different from that of 1865, the place of which it took. The constitution of 1875 was framed by men of independent views and considerable originality of thought. It did not follow closely the constitutions of other States. It contained provisions which were distinctive. The framers exalted the individual and put the curb on the corporation. The framers enlarged the protection to private property. The Missouri constitution of 1875 declared:

"Private property shall not be taken or damaged for public use without just compensation."

The constitution of 1875 went even farther than this declaration. It prescribed that the just compensation must be paid in advance of the taking or the damage of private property. The compensation, the constitution declared, should be ascertained "in such manner as may be prescribed by law, and until the same shall be paid to the owner, the property shall not be disturbed, or the proprietary rights of the owner therein divested."

The statutes as revised in 1879 made provision of the method for ascertaining "just compensation" for property to be taken, but not for property damaged. In 1887 the Legislature enacted the Shaw law to supplement the revised statutes of 1879 and to provide the method of ascertaining just compensation for private property damaged for public use. The law stipulated that before an elevaed road can be built the damage it may be to private property "shall be paid to the owner, or into the court for the owner, before his property shall be disturbed or his proprietary rights therein divested."

One section of the Shaw law defined what was meant by damages. It said: "Damages in this act is hereby defined to be the depreciation in the value of the property that may result from the construction and operation of the proposed railroad."

Five movements toward elevated railroads in St. Louis have made some progress. Engineers have worked out the plans. Once the franchise was granted by the municipal assembly. Three times elevated railroads have been built upon the map. At Third street and Washington avenue many years ago, with due formality the concrete foundation for the first pier of an elevated railroad was put in, while those assembled about the hole in the ground exchanged congratulations. Construction did not go beyond that. Capitalists abroad became interested in the St. Louis field to the extent that they sent an expert to make a thorough examination in 1891. John R. Thomas, for many years a member of Congress from the Cairo district of Illinois, acted as financial agent. This was his explanation of the failure of the project:

A syndicate was formed which was prepared to find all the money. It was backed by manufacturers who made a conditional contract to deliver the material necessary for the construction of the road on the Levee at St. Louis at a price far below the estimate.

The steel was to have been shipped from Antwerp to New Orleans and thence up the river. The contracts were all drawn up and signed, and the only condition was a favorable report by two experts, one of whom was selected by the Belgian capitalists, and the other by me. The Belgians selected for their expert, Mons. Le Sage, one of the best known engineers in Europe. I had no complaint to make as to the selection, Le Sage's reputation being of the highest. I selected as my representative on the inspection and investigation Edward Bates Dorsey, the celebrated New York engineer, and upon the report of these two men the fate of the project rested. I advanced the money required for the investigation with the most absolute confidence, and they started off with the blue prints, reports and other documents. It was expressly stipulated by the agents of the investors that the investigators should visit St. Louis incognito. It was desired that the gentlemen should form an opinion as to the reasonableness of the project and the probabilities of its paying, not upon the estimates of St. Louis people, but upon their own individual judgment alone. This stipulation was observed, and the two engineers went to St. Louis, stopping for about a week at the Southern Hotel. They drove in carriages over the proposed route and the intersecting streets, and then in order to make their investigation thorough in every detail, they rode from terminus to terminus of every street railway in the city. As I understand, they asked no assistance or advice, but just made a cold-blooded examination of the situation as it presented itself to them. Their report was unanimous, and it knocked me out, the elevated road dying with my hopes of a good-sized fortune for my services in engineering the deal. There was no appeal from the report, it being really a part of the contract, and so far as I was concerned the matter was at an end. I have long since washed my hands of the entire transaction, and turned over every paper bearing upon it. But I remember the purport well. The report began by confirming my statements and went on to verify the blue prints and to speak highly of the prospects of St. Louis, and of the excellence of the proposed route. Then it demolished the hopes it had built up by an arbitrary statement to the effect that St .Louis was better equipped with surface roads than any other city in the world; that the said surface roads provided ample accomodation for present travel, and all that might be expected in the near future, and that it would be folly to invest $7,000,000 in an elevated road in view of this fact.'

St. Louis companies went into cable railroad construction with courage and energy worthy of better results. The St. Louis, Cable and Western, as it was called, began operation in 1886. Within five years it had fallen into such uncertain ways that advantage was taken of the permit to turn it into an electric road. The franchise obtained by the Indianapolis company granted the right to build from Sixth and Locust to Vandeventer. The power house was located on Franklin and Channing. Beyond Vandeventer, connection was made with the former narrow gauge steam railroad built by Erastus Wells to Florissant. For two or three years the cable road did a great deal of summer business. Kensington Garden was established at Union avenue. Spectacular and pyrotechnic exhibitions were given. The pleasure travel was enormous during two or three summers. From the patrons of the horse cars arose importunate demand for rapid transit. Although the first cable road proved anything but reliable, other companies, in 1887 and 1888, let contracts for cabling their lines. About the time the Locust street cable began to show signs of wearing out, the other cable lines were starting. The Franklin avenue cable was built from Fourth street to Kings Highway and from Easton avenue to the Fair Grounds. Cable cars began running in November, 1887. The operation was so irregular and unsatisfactory that in January following the horse cars

were put back into service. During the winter and well into the spring the overhauling of the Easton avenue line went on. Not until May were the cable cars tried again.

Twenty-one years ago, in February, 1888, the first electric railroad in this country went into operation. It was in Richmond, Indiana. Up to that time electricity applied as a mechanical motor had been in the experimental stage. Worse than that, many inventors guarded rigidly against publicity of their efforts, the effect of which was to give the faker and unscrupulous promoter a country-wide opportunity to do the credulous. In those days, electric factories were guarded and locked. Visitors were barred. Dynamos were painted a brilliant red. Individuals and companies dealing in electrical motors surrounded their business with mystery. The trade abounded in secrets. Many street railroad companies looked forward to storage battery cars as the probable substitute for the horse cars. St. Louis railroad men spent money freely to solve the problem. In 1887, the Lindell company experimented for months with a storage battery car built under the Julien plan. This car was run over the road several times. The directors were passengers. There was no certainty when the car left the stable on Washington avenue that it would get back there on its own power. The Broadway line went even farther. A power house was built, poles were put up, and wires were strung for a mile on Broadway between Keokuk and Wyoming streets. Six cars were built. Various methods of application of the current were tried. The experiments were not satisfactory. The results were not satisfactory. After spending a great deal of money, the Broadway management reached the conclusion in 1888 that the trolley was impracticable, abandoned it and proceeded to cable the line at enormous outlay.

The cabling of the St. Louis railroad or Broadway line made a record. At that time the Broadway cable was the longest which had been constructed. It occupied what was then the busiest street in the city. It was seven and one-half miles of double track. Extraordinary difficulties were overcome. From one end of the line to the other, it was necessary to move gas pipe and water pipe. At Washington avenue the crown of the railroad tunnel was so near the surface that the cable conduit could not be given the full depth it really required for normal operation. The Broadway cable crossed every other cable but one. This meant frequent "let gos." In spite of the unusual difficulties the Broadway cable, with two power houses and the longest cable road in the country, went into operation in 1891.

The same year that the cable record was broken by St. Louis, 1891, the longest electric road then in existence was put into operation. Curiously, the electric railroad record of that date was made on what had been the pioneer cable road in St. Louis. The St. Louis Cable and Western was converted into an electric road. Its life under the cable was five years. Those people who rode on it toward the end of the five years realized that it was worn out. The power house at Channing and Franklin was aban-

LINDELL BOULEVARD, KENRICK GARDENS, McPHERSON AVENUE

Courtesy of James C. Travilla

doned. An electric station was built at De Hodiamont. The old cable track was torn up. The conduits were filled. The trolley wires were strung from Sixth street to Florissant. A new name, the St. Louis and Suburban, was adopted. The distance from the downtown terminus to Florissant was eighteen miles. This longest of electric roads of that time attracted the attention of street railroad men all over the country.

Twelve months the trolley was put on probation. Union depot cars came eastward over the California avenue division as far as Chouteau avenue and then turned back. The Lindell cars ran on Finney avenue west of Vandeventer. The average citizen looked with distrust and foreboding on that naked overhead wire carrying sure death if the circuit was made through a human link. It was even contended stoutly by some theorists that the wire carrying current sufficient for moving street cars would kill the shade trees. The St. Louis papers printed in their public opinion columns the prediction that so much electricity in the air would cause much sickness, especially nervous ailments. There was no apparent damage to the trees. No epidemic or increase of sickness occurred.

The trolley era dates from 1894. It came with tribulation. In 1843, St. Louis was reluctant to patronize the ominbus because "it wasn't genteel." In 1859 some pioneer improvement people held indignation meeting and instructed their aldermen to vote against horse car tracks because they would damage the streets and infringe upon the rights of property holders. The clanging cable was denounced as a nuisance and some people moved to get away from the sound of it. And then came the prolonged and bitter opposition to the trolley. Not until 1890 was permission given to try the poles and overhead wire on certain streets in the western part of the city. St. Louis was gradually convinced that the trolley was not the menace to human existence that had been imagined. The first permits gave such satisfactory results that in a few months, the overhead wires were allowed to approach the business center. Before a year had passed the trolley car reached Fourth street. But it was not until 1894 that the use of the trolley became general.

The American Street Railway association came to St. Louis again in 1896. The last horse car disappeared from the streets that year. The cable system which had come in eleven years before was going out. The trolley was the thing. But not until 1899 was the last of the cable roads transformed and equipped for electrical service. The trolley has been in universal use by St. Louis street railroads ten years.

The trolley meant new and heavier rails throughout. In 1909 there was not a mile of the horse car track in St. Louis. Not only heavier rails but new roadbed was required. The first electric cars were diminutive compared with the rolling stock which came later, but they were very much heavier than the horse cars. The first electric cars in St. Louis had bodies only sixteen feet long. The seats were on the sides. Double reduction motors drove the cars. The Bellefontaine line was reconstructed for electricity in 1892. The company showed its enterprise by increasing the

length of the electric cars to twenty feet. Then came the Suburban with a car twenty-eight feet long, with the floor four feet above the rail. These cars had cross seats upon a center aisle. These imposing cars were welcomed as a great improvement on the old side seats. The Lindell company was well stocked with the cars sixteen feet long. It adopted the novel plan of splicing two cars of sixteen feet together and mounting the elongated car on double trucks with a side as well as a rear entrance. Other roads supplied themselves with longer cars, until nearly all in use were from twenty-six to twenty-eight feet long. Cross seats became the rule.

In the matter of rails, St. Louis experimented not only for the local traffic but for the benefit of the whole country. The flat rails, spiked upon stringers, were not enduring. Stringers of pine were short lived. The Bellefontaine road was laid with Bessemer steel rails weighing forty-five pounds to the yard. Five miles of this kind of rail was put down at a time when no Bessemer steel was rolled in the United States. These rails were imported from England. The South St. Louis railroad put down a mile of track on Sixth street, using a rail weighing fifty-two pounds to the yard. It was a girder rail, doing away with the necessity of stringers. It came into general use by street railroads, because it gave a track more solid than the flat rails. Heavy girder rails were laid generally by the street railroads of St. Louis. Rails previously in use were torn up and disposed of as old metal. These rails were four and one-half inches high and weighed from fifty-two to sixty-three pounds a yard. These were the heaviest section rails rolled at that time.

In 1890, two companies put in still heavier rails. The St. Louis, on Broadway, and the People's, on Fourth and Chouteau, preparatory to cable operation, laid a rail six inches high which weighed seventy-five pounds per yard. For several years, between 1890 and 1900, St. Louis street railroads used these six-inch, seventy-five-pound rails as the standard. Then with hard paving of streets there came into use a rail seven inches high and weighing eighty pounds per yard.

The spring of 1893 brought another improvement of track, in which St. Louis pioneered the way. The Baden and St. Louis track, six and one-half miles was laid with a rail six inches high, weighing seventy-eight pounds a yard. The joints, 2,200 of them, were welded so as to make the rail continuous. The welding was done by electricity. That same year the St. Louis railroad company, as an experiment, cast-welded 800 joints of the rails on Chippewa street. That was the first track ever laid with cast-welded joints. The effect was to give a roadway over which the cars passed without any jolting to indicate where the joints had been.

The year 1895 brought rail reconstruction of the Citizens' line on Franklin and Easton avenues. This road had been laid with a rail weighing sixty-three pounds to the yard in 1887. Only eight years later the rails were torn up. The whole road from Fourth street to Kings Highway was laid with rails seven inches high and weighing eighty-five pounds per yard. These rails were sixty feet long, the first of that length rolled for street

railway uses. To put in these record breaking rails, the company cut away a concrete roadbed, employing steam drills and dynamite. All of the joints of these sixty-feet rails were cast-welded. The result was a solid roadbed, a stiff rail, an imperceptible joint, a track that was a model of smooth riding.

Cast-welding came into general use after the Franklin avenue trial of it. In 1896 Market street and Laclede avenue, the Surburban and the Vandeventer avenue tracks were cast-welded. In 1897 new rails sixty feet long were laid on Olive street and cast-welded. Since that date Olive street tracks have been laid again and cast-welded.

The United Railways in 1909 was laying rails nine inches high on paved streets, and in addition to the heaviest of rails cast-welded, was putting in a concrete base. On macadamized streets the United Railways used rails six and seven inches high. The track was being reconstructed by these methods at the rate of twenty-five miles a year.

Through the periods from omnibus to trolley can be traced the advanvement in the standard of men employed. The omnibus lines paid twelve dollars a month and board. In the days of the horse cars the drivers and conductors were paid from thirteen to fifteen cents an hour. The hours were long. After 1880, the pay was seventeen cents an hour. With the cable and trolley, requiring men with clear heads and steady hands, the pay was advanced to nineteen and twenty-two cents an hour.

Beginning January 1, 1908, a graded system of pay was introduced. The minimum rate of pay for conductors and motormen who were in service prior to that date was made twenty-three cents an hour. Those who had been continuously in the service of the company for four years received twenty-four cents an hour. Those who had been continuously in service five years received twenty-five cents an hour. As conductors and motomen reached the four and five years' classes their pay was increased in conformity with this rule. Beginners received below twenty-three cents an hour, being advanced as their service lengthened. The pay has doubled since the early horse car years.

A condition which had its relation to rapid transit for St. Louis was the universal transfer. Away back in the period of extravagant extension, when sixteen companies were gridironing all St. Louis to secure territory ahead of the city's growth, the transfer was the chromo thrown in to induce travel. It was not enforced by legislation. It was entirely voluntary on the part of the railroad companies. If the Lindell, invading Olive street territory with a lateral, could secure travel by giving transfers it did so. If an east and west road had a north and south division, it gave transfers. Weak lines were absorbed by stronger. The transfer field extended. Thus it came about by 1898, without concession being granted by the city therefor, that one passenger in four on lines granting this privilege made use of a transfer to continue his journey without cost on the second car. The companies which issued transfers found that they were carrying from one-fifth to one-fourth of their passengers free.

When all the lines except the Surburban were consolidated the transfer privilege was made to apply. When the Surburban was absorbed the transfer became of universal application throughout the city. In no other of the half dozen largest cities of the country was the transfer system so general or so liberal as in St. Louis. Nearly one-third of the passengers transported in 1908 rode on transfers. That is to say, nearly every other man, woman or child who paid fare on a street car in St. Louis last year took and used a transfer.

With the introduction of the cable in the period between 1885 and 1890 the number of people who rode on the cars doubled and trebled. With the general application of the trolley between 1890 and 1900 the number of fares doubled again. The patronage increased from 19,600,000 in 1882 to 112,000,000 in 1898. In 1907 the number of passengers carried was 313,945,149.

St. Louis street sars in 1908 carried five and one-half times the number of people they did when the city was just half as large. Revenues have not increased correspondingly. The passengers ride longer distances. Of the 313,000,000 carried last year, 97,000,000 used transfers. The average fare was less than three and one-half cents—to be accurate, 3.39 cents. In the days of the omnibus lines, three fares of six and one-quarter cents each were required to go from Carondelet to Baden. Three changes were made en route and only one of the end lines was operated free.

Every change for the better in transportation facilities found prompt response in increased patronage. Horse cars carried more people than omnibuses did. There was another very marked advance when the cable came in. But the greatest advance followed the trolley. Each time the increase was far beyond the growth of population.

For twenty-five years after the street railroad began Fourth street was the down town terminus of all east and west lines. When the Southern and the St. Louis Cable and Western were built they were obliged to stop at Sixth street. The former was halted at Sixth and Market. The latter came to a down town end at Sixth and Locust. Both companies felt that this worked a hardship. They were too far from the business center. They struggled in the courts for the privilege to run over other lines in order to get nearer to what was then the commercial heart of the city. When the Cass avenue line, with its vivid green cars, sought the best down town entry that remained, it could only avail itself of Seventh and Eighth streets and Walnut to Fifth street. Then came the joint use of tracks under judicial decision. Looping was a partial solution of a situation which was becoming serious. When the consolidation of all the roads but the Surburban encouraged an adjustment of the down town routes, conditions were improved. The loops were so arranged as to distribute the cars to be handled with the greatest expedition and with the maximum of convenience to the public. The system was made as nearly perfect as study of the traffic and long experience with operation could make it.

In 1907 the street cars carried 23,000,000 passengers more than they did in 1906, and the last three months of 1907 were part of the period of

Courtesy of James C. Travilla

HAWTHORNE BOULEVARD

financial stress. Since 1900 the traffic has been growing according to these figures:

1900	126,813,033
1901	163,905,942
1902	185,077,940
1903	210,238,108
1904	285,291,034
1905	244,241,161
1906	291,522,786
1907	313,945,149
1908	310,589,278

In 1900 there was a strike which cut down traffic for several weeks. The year 1904 was World's Fair year.

In the past nine years the number of fare-paying passengers much more than doubled. At the beginning of that period one passeger in four took and used a transfer. In 1908 two in five, or a fraction above that, took advantage of the privilege. The street railroad experts accounted for the growing patronage in various ways. St. Louis people have become more social; they patronize amusements winter and summer more than they did a few years ago. They live farther from their places of business and employment than they did. To what extent the street car has become an absolute necessity in St. Louis was illustrated during the month of March in 1908 just passed. The first quarter of 1908 showed a falling off in fares of the United Railways amounting to $32,403, as compared with the first three months of 1907. When the losses were located it appeared that they were to be accounted for in the main by the temporary stoppage of factories Divisions carrying the greatest number of people employed by industrial establishments were those which suffered the most of the decrease in travel.

The street railroads of early days in St. Louis cost $4,500 a mile of single track. The cars which were hauled over them cost $1,000 each. Long before either railroad or cars were worn out, the public demand and the competition between rival lines prompted the construction of heavier and better track, costing $7,000 a mile, and of cars costing $1,500. Then came the cable experiments at $50,000 a mile, with grip cars at $1,000 and trailers at $1,500. St. Louis expended millions on the cable roads and their equipment, only to discard them in a few years for the trolley. The electric road such as is built in St. Louis today, costs $30,000 a mile. The first electric cars in St. Louis cost $4,000. The present standard type of car is built at a cost of $6,000.

People who travel much credit St. Louis with the most comprehensive, the best managed street railway system in the United States. In the era of competition among several companies, street railway building was somewhat overdone. It anticipated growth. Consolidation has been followed by reconstruction of track according to the highest standard at the rate of twenty-five miles a year, by the establishment of a uniform type of car, by the perfection of a system of universal transfers, by an arrangement of schedules and routes which is as efficient as can be obtained from surface

operation. The street railway system of St. Louis is managed by men who have received their training in St. Louis and who are looked upon by the street railroad men of other cities as possessing superior qualifications. Notably this is true of the head of the system, President Robert McCulloch. The street railroad system of St. Louis was created by local capital. It is, in large part, owned by St. Louisans.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ERA OF RAILS.

I have means to live a life of leisure but I can't sand it. I must have occupation for all my energies and I must find it by extending the railroad.—Thomas Allen, in 1867.

St. Louis people were given early a small object lesson in railroad operation. A little railroad was brought to the city and put on exhibition. The Baptist church at Third and Market was rented. A circular track was built on staging. The rolling stock was a miniature locomotive and one car which held a single person. Steam was raised in the locomotive and the little train was sent around the track at a lively rate for such a short circuit. This was the summer of 1830. Probably not twenty people in the city had seen a railroad previously. An admission fee was charged and a small amount was collected for a ride in the one-passenger car. The object was educational, for St. Louis was just at the beginning of agitation for railroads. At the same time admission was charged to cover expenses. A newspaper said:

The public will be much gratified by a visit to the miniature railroad exhibited at the old Baptist church. This combination of art and science, although in miniature is complete in all its parts, and exhibits in one view all the apparatus necessary for railroad traveling. With a few ounces of coal, and a small measure of water, it winds its way round on a circular track of one hundred feet at the rate of seven miles an hour, carrying a person of the largest size in the car.

St. Louis had 10,000 inhabitants when Mayor John F. Darby sent a railroad message to the board of aldermen. That was the first formal railroad building in Missouri or anywhere west of the Mississippi. The time was February, 1836. The road then proposed was to run from St. Louis to Fayette in Howard county. Acting on Mayor Darby's message, the board of aldermen called a meeting of the citizens. The meeting appointed a committee to draw up an address. In effect the address was a call to the counties interested to send delegates to a railroad convention to be held in St. Louis in April, 1836. Eleven counties were represented. The delegates were entertained at the expense of the city and were banqueted. Two projects were endorsed. One of them was a railroad south from St. Louis to Iron Mountain. The other was for a railroad to St. Charles and westward through the counties north of the Missouri river.

At the next session of the legislature, 1836-7, George K. McGunnegle, a representative from St. Louis, introduced a bill to charter the St. Louis and Iron Mountain and the bill passed. That was the beginning of railroad legislation in Missouri. The legislature declined to vote aid to the enterprise.

A little locomotive, the first real iron horse that St. Louisans saw, was brought up the river on the Chariton in 1838. The boat went on to Meredosia, a town with considerable expectations on the Illinois. There, in the summer of 1838, eight miles of railroad was built, in an easterly direction toward the Athens of Illinois, Jacksonville. The civil engineer, who ran the lines and superintended the construction was George P. Plant, the son of a Massachusetts cotton manufacturer. Mr. Plant came to St. Louis a couple of years later and became the head of the great milling firm. The contractor who did most of the construction work was T. T. January who also came to St. Louis soon afterwards with his brother Derrick A. January. The Januarys were Kentuckians, brothers-in-laws of the Massachusetts man. The little railroad was given the high sounding name of the Northern Cross. Two men who became prominent in St. Louis a few years later participated in the opening of the railroad in November, 1838. They were Charles Collins in honor of whom Collins street was named and Miron Leslie.

In the winter of 1839, a governor of Pennsylvania, David R. Porter, sent to the legislature a message dwelling on the importance to that state, of "a continuous railroad to the city of S. Louis." He was ridiculed for such a wild suggesion. The next year a burlesque message, purporting to come from the governor, was printed and widely circulated in Pennsylvania. At that time, 1840, Texas was a country of refuge for some Americans as well as an attractive region to the good settlers. The bogus message contained this paragraph which was esteemed an excellent joke at the expense of Governor Porter:

> During the last session of the legislature, in a special message, I took occasion to recommend the construction of a continuous railroad for St. Louis in the State of Missouri. As there are few spectacles more sublime than the voluntary retraction of an erroneous opinion by a public officer, I have determined to present that spectacle to the world. I therefore withdraw my special recommendation and in its stead recommend a continuous railroad to the Republic of Texas. This is done because more of our party friends are traveling in the latter direction.

For ten years after St. Louis began the agitation for railroads Benton and his following opposed government aid of them. Coming back from Washington in 1839, the senator said in a speech:

> Ever since the day when General Jackson vetoed the Lexington and Maysville road bill, internal improvement by the general government was no longer to be considered as among the teachings and doctrines of the democratic party. It is the old, antiquated, obsolete and exploded doctrine of Henry Clay's "American system." Look at Illinois, where whig rule obtained for awhile, overwhelmed in debt, unable to pay the interest on her bonds. Look at Missouri, a state free of debt—a state governed by democracy.

In 1849 Benton reversed himself. He made the speech more frequently quoted than any other in what he liked to call the "six Roman lustrums" of his great senatorial career. The occasion was the national convention held in St. Louis to promote the building of a transcontinental railroad from the Mississippi to San Francisco. Benton participated. Enthusiasm reached its highest pitch when with all of his oratorical magnetism, he pointed toward the west and exclaimed: "There is the East. There is India."

A. A. TALMAGE

J. W. PARAMORE

THOMAS ALLEN

From a picture taken when he was promoting railroads for St. Louis, before the Civil War.

J. H. MAXON

JOHN C. BROWN

FACTORS IN TRANSPORTATION

That pose and the words of prophecy gave Harriet Hosmer the inspiration for the statue of Benton which stands in Lafayette park. Advocacy at last of that which he had most strenuously opposed won for Benton his greatest renown.

The invitation to Benton to participate in the convention was carried by John F. Darby, one of the leaders in the movement. He said to the senator, as he afterwards narrated:

> Colonel Benton, we expect you to aid us in this matter. St. Louis from her central position is entitled to have the road start from here. We shall have opposition and much to contend with. Douglas is striving hard for the presidency, and he will try to have the Pacific road start from Chicago instead of St. Louis, run through Iowa, and give us the go-by. Should Douglas succeed in his presidential aspirations, it will give him additional power and influence.

The reply of Senator Benton, as Mr. Darby reported it, was: "I shall be there, sir; I shall attend the convention, and advocate the building of the road from St. Louis to San Francisco. Douglas never can be president, sir. No, sir, Douglas never can be president. His legs are too short, sir. His coat, like a cow's tail, hangs too near the ground, sir."

Miss Hosmer's conception represents Benton holding a map and looking down to it. One who was present described Benton as assuming his most impressive pose, throwing back his head and stretching out his right arm to indicate the course, as he said in deep tones:

> Let us beseech the national legislature to build the great road upon the great national line, which suits Europe and Asia—the line which will find on our continent the bay of San Francisco at one end, St. Louis in the middle, the national metropolis and great commercial emporium at the other end—the line which will be adorned with its crowning honor, the colossal statue of the great Columbus, whose design it accomplishes, hewn from the granite mass of a peak of the Rocky Mountains, overlooking the road—the pedestal and the statue a part of the mountain, pointing with outstretched arm to the western horizon and saying to the flying passenger, there is the east—there is India!

After Mayor Darby's message and the convention, ten years went by with only agitation to mark development of railroad sentiment in St. Louis. On the 20th of December, 1847, wires reached the Mississippi. St. Louis was put upon the telegraph map. This stimulated the railroad movement. A committee of citizens was appointed to ask the legislature for authority to vote on a subscription of $500,000 by St. Louis toward the building of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad. The route had been surveyed from Cincinnati through Vincennes to the Mississippi. After some delay the legislature provided for the submission. The proposition passed. That was the first of many contributions by St. Louis toward railroad construction.

By mass meeting in the rotunda of the court house popular sentiment in St. Louis was committed to the project. Mayor John M. Krum presided. An address to citizens favoring a loan of $500,000 was adopted. It was prepared by Thomas Allen, Frederick Kretschmar, John McNeil, Willis L. Williams, Samuel M. Bay, Isaac H. Sturgeon, Samuel Hawken, Trusten Polk, Daniel D. Page, Lewis V. Bogy and A. L. Mills. The mass meeting led to the appointment of a vigilance committee, as the body was called, of ten men from each ward "to attend the polls on Monday and secure favor-

able consideration of the subject." The $500,000 loan to the Ohio and Mississippi went through by a heavy majority carrying five of the six wards.

"This vote may be hailed as a new era in the history of St. Louis," said the current newspaper account. "It is the first instance in which she has put forth her efforts to the accomplishment of a great enterprise and she has come up to the full amount desired with a promptness and a heartiness which evince that she understands her interest in the proposed work."

The citizens as well as the municipality promoted the building of the first railroad eastward. St. Louis was strongly represented by Mayor Luther M. Kennett, John O'Fallon, James H. Lucas, Andrew Christy, Daniel D. Page and others among the incorporators who obtained from the Illinois Legislature in the winter of 1851 the incorporation of the St. Louis and Vincennes railroad. This was the western half of the Ohio and Mississippi. The directors held meetings in St. Louis. They chose John O'Fallon the first president. They added to the St. Louisans on the board Charles P. Chouteau and Robert Campbell. While the city of St. Louis aided with $500,000, St. Louis bankers carried the financial load.

The Ohio and Mississippi railroad enterprise received no encouragement from Illinois in the beginning. Cincinnati and Vincennes were anxious for the extension of the road to St. Louis. They sent Abner T. Ellis and Professor O. M. Mitchell, the noted astronomer, to St. Louis to obtain encouragement. Illinois was worse than indifferent. The state had a well defined policy not to encourage railroads which would build up cities outside of the state. To obtain permission to build a railroad across Illinois from Vincennes to St. Louis it was necessary to overcome this opposition. Not long afterwards Illinois became liberal with charters to build railroads anywhere. Isaac H. Sturgeon was strong in public life when the Ohio and Mississippi movement started. He suggested the subscription of $500,000 by the city of St. Louis, and later as state senator put through the legislation which permitted the county of St. Louis, which included the city, to subscribe $200,000:

On the 7th of February, 1852, St. Louis inaugurated the building of the first railroad eastward. Headed by the mayor, Luther M. Kennett, and escorted by the directors of the company, the participants in the ceremony and a large number of interested citizens crossed by ferry boat to the east side. The celebration was distinctively a St. Louis affair. Charles D. Drake, the St. Louis lawyer, afterwards United States senator, called the assemblage to order and announce the programme. President O'Fallon spoke and so did Abner T. Ellis, representing Vincennes. Mayor Kennett, always happy in his references, reminded the audience that St. Louis had previously crossed over to the Illinois side to build first sand and then stone dykes. Now the city proposed to add iron bands to its relations with Illinois. The officers of the Pacific railroad were present. Thomas Allen told how much it would mean to the first railroad west from St. Louis to have this first railroad east. Charles D. Drake loaded a wheelbarrow with sand and gravel. Mayor Kennett trundled to the place which the contractor pointed out. The work was begun.

When Daniel R. Garrison had completed all but seven miles of the Ohio and Mississippi he ran out of rails. A shipment from England had been made but it might be months enroute. The Terre Haute railroad was in course of construction. On the levee at St. Louis lay a consignment of rails for the Terre Haute. There wasn't money enough in the bank of Page and Bacon, the institution which was financing the Ohio and Mississippi, to buy a ton of these rails from the competing road. The consignment was being conveyed across the river. In some manner, never fully explained, a sufficient quantity of these rails to lay the seven miles was loaded on Ohio and Mississippi cars. This had been done before the owners discovered the mistake. The sheriff of St. Clair county, with a posse, came after the Terre Haute rails. Mr. Garrison received the officer courteously and invited him and his party on board of the train to take a short ride while they talked about the claim to the rails. A railroad ride was a novelty. It appealed to the sheriff and the posse. But when the train approached the eastern boundary of St. Clair county, it did not stop. Imperative business prevented Mr. Garrison from returning with the train. The legal papers were of no effect beyond the county line. Before the sheriff got within his jurisdiction again the rails were down and the last spike had been driven. Very properly, when the Ohio and the Mississippi opened, the business men of St. Louis presented to Mr. Garrison a fine set of silverware.

The Pacific railroad movement was born in St. Louis the year that flames swept the business district and 6,000 deaths from cholera decimated a population of 60,000. In May of that year Isaac H. Sturgeon introduced in the common council the resolution calling the national convention and in October the convention met. The movement reached the legislative stage in Congress thirteen years later while St. Louis was under the Civil war cloud. Political expediency moved the line far to the northward of the city where the campaign of education for a transcontinental railroad had received its earliest and greatest impetus. St. Louis not only lost the transcontinental railroad but for many years saw it operated to its disadvantage.

Popular was the movement which led to the building of the first railroad for Missouri. Public meetings were held. A charter was obtained. At the meeting held on the 31st of January, 1850, the project passed beyond the stage of addresses and resolutions. Subscriptions were called for. James H. Lucas offered to be one of three to make up $100,000. John O'Fallon and Daniel D. Page promptly joined him. These gentlemen subscribed $33,000 each and tossed a coin to determine who should have the privilege of taking the odd $1,000. John O'Fallon won it. Thomas Allen, J. and E. Walsh, Joshua B. Brant and George Collier signed for $10,000 each. A subscription list was opened at the Merchants Exchange and committees were appointed to canvass the several wards of the city. Within two weeks, before the middle of February, citizens of St. Louis had subscribed for stock in the Pacific railroad as it was then called to the amount of $319,000.

There were 165 contributors to the bonus of $96,950. These subscriptions were gifts outright, not for shares of stock. James H. Lucas headed

the list with $11,000. Edward J. Gay gave $5,000. One of the subscribers was living until the spring of 1909—J. B. Gazzam, who is a member of the firm of Douglas, Gazzam & Co. The name of Peter Richard Kenrick appeared; the archbishop's contribution was $1,500.

As work progressed subscriptions continued to come in. The building of the Pacific railroad was a popular movement through the ten years before the Civil war. St. Louisans made overland journeys along the projected route and held mass meetings in the counties. In 1855 the individual subscriptions had reached nearly $1,000,000. The city of St. Louis had subscribed $500,000 and the county of St. Louis the same amount. The county of St. Louis had issued $875,000 in bonds to aid the construction. Actuated by the public spirit which attended every step in the building of the first railroad from St. Louis westward, the president of the company served the first year without salary. The next year he accepted a salary of $1,500. After that he resigned, arguing that change of presidents would contribute to maintain popular interest in the project. In four years of the decade beginning with 1850 the people of St. Louis subscribed $6,400,000 to four railroads. About one-half of this amount was voted in corporate capacity. The other half was subscribed by individuals. The four enterprises thus encouraged were the Missouri Pacific, the Iron Mountain, the North Missouri now known as the Wabash, and the Ohio and Mississippi now the Baltimore and Ohio.

The Fourth of July was ground breaking day for the first steam railroad out of St. Louis. Captain Henry Almstedt fired his national salute at sunrise. Shortly after seven o'clock, the military and the civic bodies began to report to Grand Marshal Thornton Grimsley on Fourth street. Flags were flying everywhere—from the engine houses, the newspaper offices, the hotels, the business houses. Shortly after eight o'clock officials of the State, the and his staff wheeled into Washington avenue and the long column started for Mincke's ground on the edge of Chouteau's Pond just west of Fifteenth street. At the head of the procession were escorted officials of the State, the president, directors and engineers of the Pacific railroad, the orator of the day, the judges and officials of the courts, the mayor, the aldermen and city officials and the editorial corps of St. Louis.

Then came the Grays and the Dragoons, and the Missouri Artillery, and the Yagers and the Swiss Guards. The Fire Department and a long line of civic societies followed. At the speakers' stand near the Pond, the band played the Grand Pacific Railroad march which Mr. Balmer had composed for the day. Thomas Allen, the president of the company, told of the popular movements which had led up to the event they were celebrating. His estimate of the cost of the road from St. Louis to Kansas City and of the business it would do is interesting—He said:

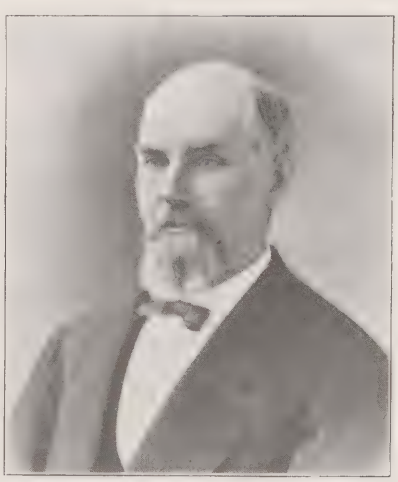
> We have found our distance across the state to be about 300 miles, and our grades easy, the maximum not exceeding forty-five feet to the mile and that occurring only on a short distance. The cost is estimated below the average cost of railroads, at about $20,000 per mile, or about $6,000,000 for the whole completed.

D. R. GARRISON

CHARLES GREEN

GEORGE D. CAPEN

ERASTUS WELLS.



WILLIAM J. LEWIS

FACTORS IN TRANSPORTATION

President Allen said that the investigation made indicated that the road the first year after completion would do passenger business of $457,900 and freight business of $470,200, a gross profit of fifteen per cent on $6,000,000.. It was thought the cost of operation might be forty to fifty per cent of the gross earnings. When Mr. Allen concluded a prologue in verse composed for the occasion by A. S. Mitchell the newspaper man who had become secretary of the railroad company was recited by J. M. Field, the brilliant writer and actor. Edward Bates delivered the oration of the day. He dwelt upon the resources and possibilities of the Mississippi Valley, but before he finished he emphasized the ambition of these first St. Louis railroad builders:

> But whither does it tend? When you have constructed the road to the frontier of the Missouri, what power can stop it there? Beyond lie the extended plains of the Missouri and the Arkansas, New Mexico, Utah, California, Oregon, the Pacific and the old Eastern World.

The governor of the state, Austin A. King, was prevented by illness from being present. To the mayor of St. Louis, Luther M. Kennett, fell the duty of throwing the first dirt. President Allen presented the spade. Saying he would proceed "to make the first cut in the line of the Pacific railroad," the mayor, with the band playing the "Governor's March," led the way to the edge of the pond and began to dig. As the first dirt was thrown the crowd cheered lustily.

From 1850 to 1860 every beginning of a new railroad and completion of a division and every progressive step of consequence in railroad building were celebrated with enthusiasm by St. Louis. The Alton and Chicago,—mark the order of the names,—was opened from Springfield to Alton in 1852. Mayor Kennett and the aldermen of St. Louis went by boat to Alton and thence to Springfield, where a banquet was served in a freight house. When the North Missouri, now the Wabash, was built to St. Charles there was another celebration. When ground was broken in 1852 at Hannibal for the Hannibal and St. Joseph, now the Burlington, a boat load of St. Louisans went up to the barbecue. In those days all men of affairs in St. Louis were holders of railroad stock. They subscribed because it was considered a civic duty. At the opening of the Missouri Pacific to Hermann, ladies attended the feast. When the old North Missouri extension from Macon to Iowa was started Mr. Isaac H. Sturgeon lifted the first shovel of dirt.

Notable days for St. Louis were those of 1852 and 1853 when the first railroad went into operation. On the first day of December, 1852, the first locomotive whistle west of the Mississippi river sounded at seven o'clock in the morning. The locomotive stood on the Pacific railroad track just west of Fourteenth street. Thomas Allen, president of the Pacific, T. S. O'Sullivan, Mr. Copp, secretary of the company, William R. Kingsley, and a few others connected with the road climbed on board for the initial trip. Charles Williams, the machinist, operated the engine. The train was run out to the end of the track laying a short distance beyond the Manchester avenue crossing. This was the beginning of railroad operation at St. Louis.

A little later St. Louis celebrating the formal opening of the first

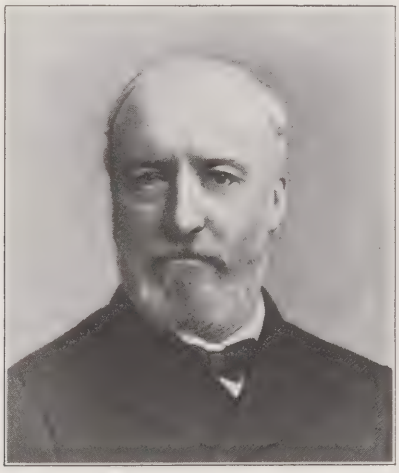
completed section. The directors of the company, members of the legislature who were passing through St. Louis on their way to Jefferson City and a few others were invited to have what was for many of them their first experience in "riding on the rail." The section of road then opened was from the St. Louis terminus to Sulphur Springs as it was then called,—afterwards Cheltenham. Two coaches were occupied by the guests. The distance traveled was about five miles. At Sulphur Springs lunch was served and speeches of congratulation were made. Mayor Kennett, Edward Bates and James H. Lucas made speeches. "For a new road, we may say advisedly that there is not a better built road in the Union," the paper commented next morning.

The next railroad red letter day for St. Louis was the 19th of July, 1853, when twelve passenger cars carried over 600 official guests out to Franklin, as it was then called, to celebrate the opening of the first division, thirty-nine miles long. A couple of months before that the road had been put in regular operation to Kirkwood, named after the first chief engineer. The board of directors had resolved that "the fare for passengers from this time forth is not to exceed three cents per mile, with proper and liberal deduction for in and out passengers." The board also ordered that trains should stop at Rock Spring, "Cheltenham, about five miles; the River des Peres, a little beyond Sutton's; and Webster College, which is two and one-half miles this side of Kirkwood." The St. Louis Grays, with Jackson's band of the Regular army accompanied the excursion train to Franklin, now Pacific. Franklin consisted of a depot buildng in a forest of large trees. Those passengers who had watches timed the journey from St. Louis and expressed their agreeable surprise that the time, allowance being made for all stops, was one hour and fifty-nine minutes. Newspaper history preserves the comment that this was considered "a fair speed for a new, partially unaballasted and untried road." After the banquet there were speeches of course. One of the most significant was made by Hon. Luther M. Kennett, who congratulated the audience that the cars were of S. Louis manufacture and "drawn by a locomotive made in St. Louis and by St. Louis mechanics, Palm and Robertson, to whose enterprise and public spirit the company and the citizens of St. Louis generally are indebted for so important a movement toward our city's advancement to wealth and prosperity." The cost of the construction of the thirty-nine miles Mr. Kennett stated had been "a trifle over $1,600,000."

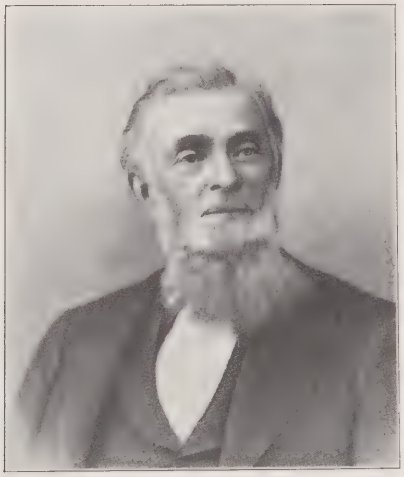
Two years and three months after the July day in the woods at Franklin, the next division was ready for the formal opening. It extended from Franklin to Jefferson City. On the 1st of November, 1855, a train of fourteen passenger coaches left the St. Louis station, carrying the official party to celebrate the opening of the road to the state capital. The company included the military, musicians and St. Louisans representative of the entire city. Fall rains had set in. The day was not pleasant. When the long train reached the bridge over the Gasconade river the wooden trestlework between the east bank and the first pier went down. The fall was about

CHARLES G. WARNER

S. H. H. CLARK



R. P. TANSEY



J. B. MOULTON

JOHN D. PERRY

FACTORS IN TRANSPORTATION

thirty feet. Only the last car in the train kept its place on the rails. Seven of the coaches made a plunge through the broken timbers; others rolled down the embankment. The killed and fatally hurt numbered over thirty. Those injured more or less seriously but not fatally were hundreds. On the engine were Hudson E. Bridge, who had succeeded Thomas Allen as president of the company and Thomas S. O'Sullivan who had succeeded Mr. Kirkwood as chief engineer. The president escaped without serious hurt; the chief engineer was killed. Two of the best known clergymen of the city, Rev. Dr. Artemas Bullard of the First Presbyterian church and Rev. John Teasdale of the Third Baptist church, were among the dead. Washington King, the mayor of St. Louis, was badly cut. When he got back to St. Louis he made "the awful and inscrutable dispensation of Providence" the subject of a proclamation appointing Monday, the 5th day of November "a day of cessation from all labor as a tribute of respect to those who are most deeply stricken by this terrible blow, and a day of heartfelt thankfulness and gratitude to God by and on account of all who are saved from death." Business houses were closed and the churches were opened for worship.

For proper conception of the horror of the Gasconade disaster as experienced by St. Louis, it is to be remembered that railroad travel was just beginning. Those who had ridden any distance on the steam cars were a very small minority in the community. The newspapers had contained accounts of very few railroad accidents up to that time. Richard Smith Elliott's description of the Gasconade disaster was graphic.

I was sitting in the middle car, seventh from front and rear. The train was going at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles an hour. There was a bump, a check to the motion, an exclamation from some one near, "We're gone." Except the fizzing of the engine, there was a moment of dead silence, save the patter of the rain on the roof of the car, and then cries and groans to rend the heart.

The car I was in had gone down after passing the abutment and rested sloping to the left side on dry ground; and another car lapped on the front side of ours, crushing to death fourteen persons. Dr. Bullard, Mr. Dayton and others of the best citizens of St. Louis among the number. I had earlier in the day occupied a seat forward of the middle of the car and relinquished it to a friend who came on at Washington, Elisha B. Jeffries, who was killed. My politeness led to his death. Thirty-one persons in all were killed and a great many wounded.

After the crash the first thing I did was to join others in trying to lift the roof of the car, in order to relieve those yet alive in the front end of it. The absurdity of our efforts, with another car resting diagonally across ours did not suggest itself. There was only a sad feeling that we could for the time do nothing. Soon those of us unhurt got out through the windows. Strong arms were already at work to relieve the wounded but many men were moving about with dazed looks, as if bereft of their senses. Ten cars had gone down but the last three remained on the track and many of their uninjured occupants at once devoted themselves to the sufferers. The shanties near were soon filled with men in agony, to some of whom death came as a relief. Judge Samuel Treat was requested to take command and soon brought about some degree of order. To Captain George West was assigned the duty of getting from the wreck of the baggage car whatever eatables could be rescued and also stimulants for the wounded.

The storm, which had begun with a drizzling rain early in the day, seemed to have reserved its fury for the catastrophe. Fierce blasts of wind and heavy dashes of rain,

with lightning and thunder, added to the horrors of the scene, as darkness came on; and imagination can scarcely picture a night more wretched than that of November 1, 1855, at the Gasconde river.

Next day the dead and wounded were all put on a train of flat and box cars, and started toward St. Louis. The temporary bridge at Boeuf Creek was considered unsafe, and the cars were pushed down by engine to be crossed by hand. As the first car, with several wounded men in it, was about to go on the the bridge, the flodded stream swept the insecure structure away. The train then went back to Miller's Landing to wait for a boat. Another night of wretchedness, during which thirty-one rough coffins were made, and the bodies of the dead put in them. In the forenoon of November 3rd a ferryboat from Washington arrived, the dead and wounded were put on board, and together with the uninjured soon reached Washington and there took cars for St. Louis.

The arrival of the first overland mail made the 10th of October, 1858, a notable day for St. Louis. When the Missouri Pacific train steamed into the Seventh street station, there was great cheering from the assembled crowd. John Butterfield stepped from a car. He was overwhelmed with congratulations. The Honorable John F. Darby delivered an address of welcome. Butterfield responded. The mail was escorted to the postoffice on Third and Olive streets and with ceremony delivered to the postmaster. It had come through from San Francisco in twenty four days, twenty hours and thirty-five minutes, a great achievement for that period. Previously the mail service between the Pacific coast and the states had been by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Shorter time was demanded. The government established the overland mail with Butterfield as agent. The first mail stage left San Francisco September 16, 1858. The route was from San Francisco to Los Angeles, 462 miles in 80 hours; to Yuma, 282 miles in 72 hours, 20 minutes; to Tucson, 280 miles in 71 hours, 20 minutes; to Franklin, 360 miles in 82 hours; to Colbert's Ferry on Red River, 282½ miles in 65 hours, 25 minutes; to Fort Smith, 192 miles in 38 hours; to Tipton, Missouri, the railroad terminus, 318½ miles in 48 hours, 55 minutes; to St. Louis by railroad, 160 miles in 11 hours, 40 minutes.

"Tom, I'll give you twenty dollars and you can go and make your fortune," a man said to his son at the old home in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He had given him a good education. The young man went to New York and became a journalist, while preparing to practice law. His magazine and newspaper work attracted attention. At Washington, a Democratic coterie, hostile to Martin Van Buren, started a paper—the Madisonian. The "conservatives," as those Democrats called themselves, wanted an editor to fight Van Buren's financial policy. The young magazine writer was called from New York to Washington. That was in 1837. Two years later the editor of the Madasonian was the most talked of newspaper man in the country. He had created in the capital an anti-administration paper which was quoted everywhere by the Whig press. When the young men's national convention was held in Baltimore, May, 1840, there was great curiosity to see the man who had made the Madisonian. And so, from the same platform upon which appeared Daniel Webster and William C. Preston, the young editor spoke. He was no inconsiderable factor in the downfall of Van Buren. After the death of President Harrison and the organization of the Tyler administration,

Thomas Allen gave up the Madisonian and came west to enter upon his forty years of usefulness in building up St. Louis.

Nine years later, then a St. Louis member of the Missouri legislature, Mr. Allen fathered an act incorporating the "Pacific railroad," the first legislation in that direction. The following year he traveled on horseback west of St. Louis from settlement to settlement, along what is now the line of the Missouri Pacific telling the farmers what his railroad act meant. He stood under the locust trees in front of North's store at Gray's Summit facing farmers who had come twenty-five miles to hear him. He told them that when the railroad was built they would neither drive, even though they owned horses, or walk to St. Louis. The use of the team for the time required to drive would be worth more than the railroad fare. Mr. Allen said that if a man's wages were only seventy-five cents a day it would be cheaper for him to ride on the cars, than to lose the time, wear out his shoes and pay for food while walking to St. Louis. With such homely illustrations Thomas Allen reconciled the farmers of St. Louis and Franklin counties to the railroad.

Soon after the war, when he had retired as he thought from active life, Thomas Allen took up the building of the Iron Mountain railroad then but eighty miles long.

"I can't stand it," he said, "I must have occupation for all my energies, and I shall find it in extending the railroad."

The question of gauge was one in which all St. Louis felt great interest and to which the St. Louis newspapers gave much consideration. The Ohio and Mississippi people in the earlier years took great pride in their broad gauge—six feet between the rails. When competition eastward set in, they advertised the Ohio and Mississippi as "the only broad gauge" route out of St. Louis.

The builders of the Pacific, now the Missouri Pacific, decided on five and one-half feet as their gauge. The minority protested and urged the adoption of the gauge of George Stephenson, which was becoming general in the eastern states—four feet, eight and one-half inches. This was met by the unanswerable argument that the Mississippi would never be bridged at St. Louis and the city might with entire safety adopt its own railroad gauge. Within a little more than a decade, the bridge was in course of construction. St. Louis was agitated over suggestions of methods to reduce the Missouri Pacific to standard gauge—four feet eight and one-half inches. Daniel R. Garrison—in railroad circles they called him "Old Dan," because there was a nephew Daniel—found the way. And when the thing was done the whole city marveled at the ease of it. The conditions were economy and minimum of interference with business. In a single day the 300 or more miles of track was reduced from the five feet six inches to the standard. Only one rail was moved inward. Before that was started, the track layers drove the new inner line of spikes into the ties the entire distance. Early one morning the tracklayers drew the old inner line of spikes, moved the rail inward

against the new line of spikes and fastened it there. The road was ready for operation before night.

Not long afterward W. D. Griswold, of St. Louis, superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi, repeated the feat of gauge changing, occupying only part of one Sunday for it. His gangs moved so rapidly that when he started eastward from East St. Louis about ten o'clock in the morning sitting with newspaper men on a flat car pushed by a locomotive he traveled without delay over a standard gauge road which had been broad gauge the night before.

The Union Pacific railroad, as congress planned in 1862, was to be a transcontinental line with a fork at the east end. It was to start from Kansas City and Omaha, the two branches uniting at the one hundredth meridian. The company first reaching the junction was to have authority to go across the continent and to receive the subsidies. The rivalry between the Kansas and Nebraska builders was sharp. It went beyond the mechanical problems of railroad construction. The Kansas men came to St. Louis for help. John D. Perry was the first man of means who listened to the appeals. He advanced money. He was joined, in the organization of the Kansas Pacific Railway company, by Carlos S. Greeley, Adolphus Meier, Giles F. Filley, William M. McPherson, Stephen M. Edgell, Robert E. Carr, Sylvester H. Laflin, John How, James Archer and Thomas L. Price. Later George D. Hall and Daniel R. Garrison became associates of the others. It was a St. Louis organization, through and through, even to the messenger boy in the general offices of the company at Lawrence, who was Lilburn G. McNair.

When the St. Louisans reached Fort Riley, they decided not to turn northward to the proposed junction with the Omaha line, at the one hundredth meridian, but to build on through Kansas to Denver. The bond subsidy only aided them to Monument, 400 miles from Kansas City. From that point to Denver the road was completed without government help in 1870. Three years before, Mr. Perry and his St. Louis associates had put surveying parties in the field to run the lines for a transcontinental line through New Mexico and Arizona to the coast. With the engineering information showing the advantages of the route the St. Louisans went to Congress offering to build through to the coast if given the encouragement which had been extended to the Union Pacific. Again influences at the capital, operated in favor of the northern route. If the proposition of Mr. Perry, Mr. Meier, Mr. Greeley and the other St. Louisans had been accepted, the reduction in army expenses would have offset, almost, the subsidies; a southern line to the coast would have been put through ten years earlier than it was. The purpose of the enterprising St. Louisans was to build from some point on the Kansas Pacific, in western Kansas, southwesterly through southern Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona to San Diego and thence to San Francisco. Boston capital subsequently took up the plan and the route and built the Santa Fe. St. Louis waited, through no local fault, for the transcontinental road which she had nursed in 1849.

UNION STATION.

FRONT ENTRANCE

One more act of injustice was done St. Louis when the Kansas Pacific reached Denver and connected with the Union Pacific. The Kansas Pacific was entitled to interchange of traffic. The obligation was repudiated by the Union Pacific management. St. Louis directors carried through the panic of 1873 a floating debt of the Kansas Pacific which would have been taken care of easily if the Union Pacific had followed the act of Congress. Through cooperation of foreign bondholders the St. Louisans bore that burden and the expected sale to which other interests were looking for the acquisition of the road was averted. This arrangement with the bondholders followed a visit of the president of the road, Robert E. Carr, to Europe, and a frank presentation of the situation. In the history of railroad financing in the United States there is no more admirable chapter than that of the handling of the Kansas Pacific by John D. Perry and his St. Louis associates.

When the Kansas Pacific was completed through to Denver, a St. Louisan went up the Kaw valley and over the plains teaching the world that there was no Great American desert. In 1870, Richard Smith Elliott began the series of demonstrations. He broke prairie in Kansas with buffalo staring at him from the dunes. He carried on his little experiment stations where nobody else believed things would grow. He sowed the first grain in a belt which now sends many millions of bushels of wheat to market. He started the tree growing which has since dotted central and western Kansas with groves. Henry T. Mudd and Charles W. Murtfeldt, president and secretary of the Missouri state board of agriculture, Elliott's neighbors in Kirkwood, went out, saw the results of the experiments and reported on them with confidence. Eastern agricultural editors traveled out to Kansas, saw Elliott's green patches on the plains and came back marveling. Their editorials encouraged the migration of tens of thousands to farms west of the Missouri. Elliott of St. Louis was the agricultural pathfinder of the plains.

When Paramore built 700 miles of three-feet gauge road through Missouri and Arkansas and into Texas with only $12,000 a mile bonded debt, it seemed as if standard roads with larger indebtedness could not compete. There was much sentiment in St. Louis favorable to the narrow gauge idea. But it died out and the narrow gauge became standard. Samuel W. Fordyce, first receiver and then reorganizer of the Cotton Belt, as the road was called, worked out the railroad problem demonstrating that a standard gauge was best.

In the evolution of the railroad systems of St. Louis were developed men of talent for managing them. Archibald Alexander Talmage, son of a Presbyterian minister in New Jersey, was a young conductor on the road from East St. Louis to Terre Haute when he began to attract attention. He came to St. Louis in 1871 to be general superintendent of the road running from Pacific to Vinita, now part of the Frisco, and was advanced to general manager of the Missouri Pacific system. It was in Talmage's day that the Missouri Pacific was considered the most valuable railroad property west of the Mississippi.

The first railroad job of President Alfred James Davidson of the Frisco was station baggage master, at Decatur, in Illinois, where he was born. Between trains the seventeen-year-old boy studied telegraphy. He filled twenty different kinds of railroad positions on his way to the top.

An Ohio boy, with a college education, Charles G. Warner, began business life as clerk in an Alton dry goods store. He tried farming after he had served in the Civil war, but got a railroad clerkship. After that a natural qualification for railroad business took him by rapid promotion to the vice presidency of the Missouri Pacific.

Warren Samuel McChesney, Jr., was a plain railroad agent in his native Kentucky before he began to advance by a series of promotions toward the head of the great St. Louis Terminal association.

E. B. Pryor studied theory and practice of railroading through the medium of a private secretaryship to prepare himself to be vice president of the Wabash.

Philip W. Coyle, the traffic commissioner and railroad expert of the Business Men's League, was at the age of fifteen a railroad telegraph operator on the Erie in New York state, where he was born.

A native of Texas and a St. Louisan by adoption is Benjamin F. Yoakum. The Yoakums were old settlers of Texas. Two brothers went out from Tennessee with the pioneers. Dr. F. L. Yoakum, the father of the railroad builder, was the president of the Cumberland Presbyterian College before the Civil war. Henderson Yoakum was a leading lawyer and became an historical writer of authority. Benjamin F. Yoakum first came to St. Louis as a young man in charge of an exhibit of Texas products to be installed at the St. Louis annual exposition on Fourteenth and Olive streets.

Sidney Carter Johnson, one of the St. Louis born and bred railroad general officers, began as an office boy for the Iron Mountain auditor.

From telegraph operator to vice president, Carl Raymond Gray, of Arkansas birth and education, advanced in the Frisco service.

From messenger boy in an Illinois railway telegraph office to vice president and general manager of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway system, Andrew A. Allen passed through the grades of telegraph operator, clerk, ticket agent, train dispatcher, city agent, train master, superintendent and assistant general manager.

John P. Ramsey, a Pennsylvanian, entered upon a railroad career through the engineering department. Before he became a general officer at St. Louis he had seen varied service from the Alleghanies to the Rockies.

All parts of the Union and all kinds of experience are represented in the men who have risen to control of the St. Louis railroad systems.

The terminal problem became important in St. Louis as early as 1872. Barton Bates was president of the North Missouri Railroad, now the Wabash. He wrote a letter to James S. Rollins at Jefferson City, sending with it a bill to enable the railroads to make connections in St. Louis with various

MAIN WAITING ROOM, UNION STATION, ST. LOUIS

warehouses, elevators and industries. He argued the importance of this legislation at considerable length. In the course of his letter he wrote:

> With lines of railroads connecting throughout the city with the private stores or public markets many kinds of business would take advantage of the new arrangement to enable them, with profit, to pay more and sell for less than heretofore, and thus compete with other cities in buying and selling to the manifest advantage of customers throughout the country. In such event not only would grain come to elevators and warehouses without unnecessary and expensive handling, but other productions would reap the same benefit. One of them is the great tobacco interest of the state. It is clearly probable that tobacco warehouses would be so arranged that spurs would run into them from all the railroads, and the heavy expense of hauling be saved. In like manner slaughter and packing houses, board yards, foundries and other kinds of heavy business would have their separate tracks with like benefits. Likewise carloads of goods would pass through the city without the expense of unloading and reloading

At that time the railroads had great difficulty in obtaining permits or ordinances from the city government to cross or to occupy streets.

One of the great days of St. Louis was the Fourth of July celebration of the completion of the Eads bridge thirty-four years ago. With a nine-million-dollar highway spanning the Mississippi the city felt that it was indeed on the map of the eastern part of the United States at last. Within three years the Board of Trade, which met evenings in Mercantile Library hall with Chauncey I. Filley as president, was thundering against the bridge arbitrary. The bombardment continued from various batteries of large and small calibre, with occasional intervals to let the guns cool off, from that time. At considerable intervals some concession was made but the appreciable impression did not come until Mayor Rolla Wells, with little heralding of his purposes, got up a bridge and terminal commission. A body of representative business men proceeded to talk business to railroad men. The results were evident as there appeared new rate schedules in successive editions on various classes of freight and for various zones. The Mississippi counted in them for no more than so much level prairie. The bridge was no longer an arbitrary; it was mileage. The experts figured that through the work of the terminal commission the commerce of St. Louis had begun to save a couple of millions of dollars a year. This came about with so little noise and fuss that many good people refused to believe that it had been done. But the schedules spoke for themselves. There was St. Louis as plain as print on the map and the rates from and to St. Louis and East St. Louis failed to show the arbitrary.

The tunnel was an immense undertaking for its day. It is a little short of a mile in length. Exactly the distance is 4,880 feet. In the construction, streets were excavated from curb to curb. Massive side walls of masonry were laid. That was before the era of concrete. Through the center of the tunnel is a third wall. Practically the tunnel is double. Each half of the tunnel is fourteen feet wide, except at the curves where the width is increased to fifteen feet. Heavy brick arches span the space from the side walls to the center wall. They are of sufficient strength to support the roadway above and the traffic thereon. The interior crown of the arch is sixteen feet, six inches above the railroad track.

To create the tunnel it was necessary to remove 215,000 cubic yards of earth. The stone masonry laid was 50,000 cubic yards. The bricks used in the arches numbered 13,000,000. The cost was about $3,000,000. Like the bridge, the tunnel which was built by a separate company was sold under foreclosure and the company was wiped out. The new company organized with a capital of $1,250,000, and leased the tunnel on an agreement which provided for six per cent on the capital and an allowance of $2,500 a year for office and organization expenses.

Under Eighth street, between Olive and Locust streets, the tunnel widens considerably. It was confidently intended by the engineers and builders that connection should be made on that block with the post office for the delivery and receipt of mail. The plan contemplated the delivery of mail in thirty seconds from incoming trains. That was the time the trains would stop opposite the post office basement for the purpose. The delivery was to be accomplished by placing the mail bags in hoppers. Outgoing trains were to stop the same length of time to receive the mail bags. The tunnel builders had no conception of the growth of the mail service. They did not foresee the smoke and gases which would make the post office connection impracticable. They increased the space on Eighth street between Locust and Olive by putting in great iron pillars. On these pillars rested ponderous sills of iron which, in turn, supported strong lateral girders. Between the girders were built the brick arches which sustained the street above. The west side of the tunnel as first built opened into the basement of the postoffice. As soon as the tunnel went into use, the smoke and gases poured into the basement of the post office. It was realized immediately that the proposed transfer of mail bags was wholly impossible. Communication between tunnel and post office was shut off.

Soon after the completion of the tunnel connecting the Eads bridge with the railroad tracks and yards in Mill Creek Valley, a thoughtful writer congratulated St. Louis in this way:

> In the future, even more than now, will the selection of a location for the bridge, which necessitated a tunnel, be esteemed the wisest that could be made. The great traffic of the railways can go on and the thronging myriads of the city's population will rush along undisturbed by the trains that carry the products of a vast continent underneath the ground."

If St. Louis had it to do over again there would be no tunnel, for steam traffic at the west end of the bridge. Railroads, so far as practicable, have routed passenger trains around by the Levee and over the Merchants' Bridge to escape the tunnel. Two eminent engineers who have given a great deal of study to transit and terminal problems of St. Louis have put themselves strongly on record that the tunnel should be abandoned for steam railroad traffic. They predict that this will be done within the near future and that the present route of the tunnel will be taken into a subway system. This is in their opinion the civil engineering solution of the present situation.

"There is little doubt," say Robert Moore and Albert T. Perkins, "that

the main stem of the first passenger subway will be, or at least ought to be, built under Washington avenue."

These engineers point out forcibly that the downtown loop of the subway should pass "under the square at the west end of the Eads bridge." They would have, as soon as practicable, the Eads bridge relieved of all steam traffic. With the subway built under Washington avenue to Third street, the engineers say, "the trolley lines from the east, by simply transferring them from the upper to the lower roadway of the bridge, can be brought into direct connection with the tracks of the subway—an arrangement which will not only permit of higher speed and greater service by the electric cars, but will have a further and very important advantage of leaving the upper roadway wholly free for wagon and foot traffic."

The engineers condemn the further use of the tunnel for steam traffic. They say:

> Even for light traffic the smoke of this tunnel has always been a source of discomfort and possible danger, both to livestock and passengers. For the dense traffic of crowded hours it is almost intolerable. This great disadvantage, inherent in any tunnel, is heightened by a sharp curve near the center and a grade of one and one-half per cent. against eastbound traffic, both of which limit the load and the speed of trains and lengthen the time needed to pass through. The least time allowed for any train is four minutes; but as safety requires that no train be permitted to enter the tunnel until the train preceding it has passed out, the result is that all trains passing through the tunnel in either direction must be kept at least four minutes apart. This means that the greatest number of trains that can pass in one direction over the bridge in and through the tunnel is fifteen trains per hour. Or to put it in another way, it means that if, as not infrequently happens, a number of trains, say five, meet at East St. Louis, bound for the Union Station, the shortest possible time before the last train can start is sixteen minutes after the departure of the first train—a delay which any derangement or misunderstanding increases. This limitation added to the necessary discomfort of a passage through the tunnel makes a situation which is highly unsatisfactory and which ought not to be borne any longer than is necessary.

The traveling public unanimously agrees with this view that the use of the tunnel for steam cars should cease. Railroad officials have been for years trying to get away from the tunnel. One road sent its passenger trains nine miles additional in order to avoid the tunnel. Two main lines east add five miles to their routes to escape the "noxious gases" of the tunnel. Over the bridge without a tunnel trains could be sent one minute, or even three-quarters of a minute apart. The safe capacity of the bridge is sixty trains an hour for each track. With the tunnel attachment this capacity is reduced to fifteen trains an hour. Railroad managers understand this. Six years ago they had the plans drawn and were ready to let contracts for an elevated levee approach to the railroad tracks on the bridge so that they might turn their trains off the west end without entering the tunnel.

No other city in the country has such an opportunity as is presented to St. Louis to inaugurate a passenger and freight subway system. Such a work can be begun and it will become of utility as it progresses. The subway built in Washington avenue to Jefferson avenue and connected with

the tunnel would afford the beginning of a revenue producing freight subway system.

Nearly sixty years ago the city of St. Louis awoke to the necessity of ending forever the perennial scare that the Mississippi would cut a channel east of Bloody Island and leave this city two miles inland in Missouri. The city of St. Louis went to the Illinois legislature and got authority to invade Illinois for the purpose of building a dyke across the low level between Bloody Island and the mainland. In high water a part of the river flowed over this low level and there was always the danger that the river would cut out a channel and leave a slough or bayou between St. Louis and Bloody Island. The city acted thoroughly on authority. The "St. Louis Cross Dyke" was built broad and high. It ended all possibility of the channel leaving the front of St. Louis. This dyke was an extension of Washington avenue on the Illinois side with a gap caused by the river. The Eads bridge closed the gap. The St. Louis Cross Dyke determined the location and building of East St. Louis. It became the Broadway of the east side. The whole platting and development of East St. Louis is based on the dyke which St. Louis constructed. Broadway, East St. Louis, is a part of Washington avenue, St. Louis, with a line of different state jurisdiction in the middle of the bridge. The interurban cars which converge at East St. Louis should come over the lower level of the bridge and meet a subway system under Third and Washington avenue on this side. The Eads bridge will be demanded very shortly for a highway and for electric cars to the exclusion of steam railroads. "If its use for purposes of this kind be properly fostered and developed," say the engineers, Colonel Moore and Mr. Perkins, "it will be of great and ever increasing value to both cities."

These engineers express the expert opinion that the building of subways for passengers and freight "cannot be very far distant." They add:

"The reclamation for uses of this kind of the streets now occupied by the tunnel is a matter for immediate and serious attention on the part of the city authorities and of the people."

CHAPTER XV.

LAWYERS AND COURTS.

No man without an upright mind, no man who has not preserved his integrity, has ever died leaving the reputation of a great lawyer.—James Overton Broadhead.

Four times the American Bar association has come to St. Louis for its president. With the exception of New York, the bar of no other city has been honored in this measure by the general representative body of American lawyers.

James O. Broadhead,
Henry Hitchcock.
James Hagerman,
Frederick W. Lehmann,—

they have been the St. Louisans selected for the exalted position. This did not come about as a resultant of chance. The legal profession of St. Louis stands for a hundred years of development unlike that of any other city. Conditions which have wrought a composite population for this city have gone even farther in the evolution of the bar. During the century young men have been coming to St. Louis to engage in the practice of law. They have come from all parts of this country and from other nationalities. Many of them, enough of them to produce the effect, have come after receiving not only the higher general education but the professional education in many widely scattered institutions. They have brought to the profession and practice in St. Louis the training and the traditions of all of the great law schools of the United States and Europe. It would be strange indeed if this commingling of men of all sections and nationalities, prepared for their profession by the best teachers everywhere, had not created for St. Louis a legal profession of superior character, of extraordinary standards.

The advice of Edward Hempstead, who began the practice of law in St. Louis in 1805 to a younger brother was this

Fall not into the habit many have of drinking. Be free and sociable with your equals in age and standing, but be circumspect with those older than yourself. Be careful in avoiding a misunderstanding with any man. If, however, it cannot be prevented, when you are right, stick to it to the end.

Touching your profession, close and constant study and reflection are now very necessary, more especially, as you will have to contend with gentlemen of long standing and of high reputation at the bar. Trust more to books for forms and to memory for principles. Let all your declarations and pleadings be taken from established precedents. Encourage no one to commence a suit when he is wrong, nor where he cannot succeed.

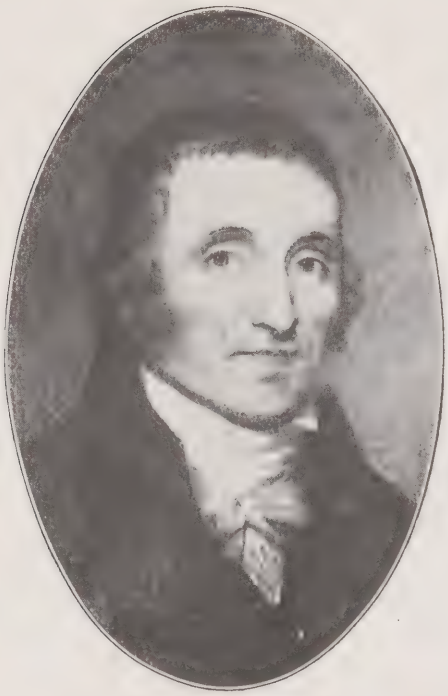
Lawyers of later generations who have looked into the legal procedure in the days of the Spanish governors at St. Louis speak well of the quality

of justice which was dealt. There were very few criminal cases. Not infrequently the habitants brought civil disputes to the governor for settlement. The governor called for arbiters. These arbiters were chosen from among the habitants. Plaintiff and defendant had voice in the selection. The arbitration was sustained by the governor. This course relieved the governor from the responsibility of individual decisions which might have rendered Spanish authority unpopular with French and American habitants. It provided what approached a jury system in civil litigation. It was in keeping with the very liberal, not to say semi-independent, forms of local government with which St. Louis was favored before the American occupation. The case of Pouree against Chouteau is a good illustration.

In 1782 Pouree was a shipmaster on the Mississippi. He started a bateau from New Orleans on the 22nd of March. The cargo was made up of consignments for several parties. At the mouth of the Yazoo near Vicksburg the bateau was attacked by a party of English. Pouree dropped down the river to Natchez to save his boat and cargo. There his men demanded more wages and he had to yield before proceeding. Joining forces with the masters of other bateaux, Pouree went up the river to the mouth of the St. Francis where he met Labbadie's bateau which had been stopped and robbed at Margot's Bluffs. To escape the brigands at the Bluffs, Pouree put into Arkansas Post, about forty-five miles above the mouth of the Arkansas river. There warehouse room was rented, the cargo was stored and the men discharged. Margot's Bluffs was the name in those days for the site of Memphis. After a time Pouree learned that the brigands had departed from the Bluffs, going into the interior to the Chickasaw Nation. Making up another outfit with difficulty, Pouree brought the cargo through to St. Louis. He tried to collect extra charges on the consignments, and met with difficulty. Setting forth the circumstances as narrated, Pouree asked the intervention of the Spanish authority at St. Louis to compel payment. His paper was addressed to "Francis de Cruzat, lieutenant-colonel of infantry, lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of the western part of Illinois," as the Spanish possession west of the Mississippi was then known. It concluded

> But what was the surprise of the plaintiff, after having labored as he had done for the preservation of the said cargo, to see Mr. Chouteau refuse to contribute his part in the expense of said equipment. Is he ignorant that if a shipmaster is obliged by superior force to lay up on the voyage the shippers are obliged to pay to the master the entire expense just as if the voyage had been completed, and if the master makes a second equipment the shippers are obliged to pay the expenses in proportion to that which they had in the ship? Or does he wish to elude by false arguments a payment which is so fairly due to the plaintiff? This is why, sir, the plaintiff has recourse to your justice; for if it pleases you to order Mr. Chouteau to pay without delay his part of the said expenses, that will be justice.

To his prayer, Pouree attached an itemized account of the extra expenses. One of the items was "4 casks of rum for the men at 80 piastres."



J. B. C. LUCAS

LUKE E. LAWLESS

THE FIRST COURTHOUSE AT THIRD AND PLUM STREETS

It was used for some time after the American occupation. It was built in 1770 and inhabited until 1870

The amount claimed from Chouteau was $245. Cruzat passed the paper to Demers, the huissier, with this indorsement:

Make known the present memorial to Don Auguste Chouteau that he may answer to its contents.

Don Auguste did answer. He was a man of exactness in business affairs. He did not write much but his answer covered his side of the case admirably. Having stated the facts of the prepayment on the shipment, Don Auguste added:

The defendant prays you, Monsieur, to please observe that it would be a great wrong to shippers to have to pay a second time the freight upon a venture embarked in a bateau, upon which freight had already been paid before it left port. Wherefore the defendant hopes, Monsieur, that you will dismiss the claim.

Cruzat was wise. He neither dismissed the claim nor found for the plaintiff. He disposed of the case by sending it to arbitration:

Having examined the foregoing, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Pouree and Don Auguste Chouteau each name an arbiter who shall choose a third for this tribunal which shall finally decide and determine the cause according to the right of each party.

The arbiters chosen were Benito Vasquez, J. M. Papin and Cerre. Their decision was communicated to the lieutenant-governor. After stating that they had heard the parties, considered their demands and inspected the accounts, the arbiters report:

We have unanimously decided after mature deliberation that the shippers ought not to pay for freight and portage upon each hogshead belonging to them and shipped upon the bateau of Mr. Beausoleil at New Orleans excepting sixteen livres, four sols and four deniers, over and above the freight accorded to him, for augmentation of freight caused during the time only of his detention at Arkansas.

That was to say that the arbiters believed "Pouree called Beausoleil" was entitled to something for the delay at Arkansas Post, but they did no believe he was entitled to the charges that he made. They reduced his bill to about one-sixth of the original amount. Cruzat endorsed the finding of the arbiters:

Having examined the above, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Pouree and Don Augustin Chouteau conform to the foregoing decision given by the arbiters named.

Demers, the venerable huissier, was called into service again. He made his return:

Made known these presents to the parties; speaking to them in person in their domiciles, making the said declaration.

Not the least interesting feature of this case is the absence of the law's delay. The shipmaster who called himself Pouree and who was called Beausoleil by Chouteau in his answer, presented his petition to Cruzat on the 14th of November. Service was had that day on Chouteau. The arbiters were appointed and held their hearing on the 15th. The decision was confirmed and communicated to Pouree and Chouteau on the 16th.

The bateau, according to Pouree's expense account, had a cargo which made 75 cartloads. The shipmaster estimated the freight as equivalent to 112 hogsheads. To man the bateau a crew of twenty-two men was necessary. The decision of the arbiters settled the case. Pouree was a well known character of St. Louis. His nickname, Beausoleil, meant sunflower.

Very complete and accurate the records of litigation under the Spanish governors appear to be. "All of this was recorded by the methodical and indefatigable Labusciere," writes an early historian who was impressed by the fine clerical work. The huissier was the officer whose position corresponded to marshal or constable of the later day. Demers, the constable, like Labusciere, the notary, was born to official life. He performed his duties with admirable regard for detail and praiseworthy degree of intelligence. For example, Sylvester Labbadie and Alexis Marie had an acrimonious dispute about the boundary between their home lots on the block east of Main and between Chestnut and Pine. Governor Leyba found against Labbadie and gave to Demers, the decision to serve. The constable made return on the papers in these words:

I executed the above decree this 13th of March, 1779, by delivery to Mr. Labbadie in person, at his own residence, a copy of the sentence with a notification to conform thereto, so that he may not pretend ignorance.

Hard nuts to crack the habitants of St. Louis occasionally handed to their Spanish governors. Joseph Marchetaud bought a lot from Claude Tinon and gave in payment a heifer. After three years he discovered that Tinon's title was bad. Lardoise Vochard was the real owner of the lot. Marchetaud asked the governor to compel Tinon to return the heifer, adding "she has now become a mother cow, having had a calf last spring."

"Furnish a copy of this petition to Tinon for reply within three days," indorsed the governor.

Tinon's reply was that Marchetaud was too stingy to pay the costs of getting a deed; that he permitted the fence to go to ruin and that through his negligence the property went back to the public domain. He said it was true he received a heifer but he was also to receive a pair of cart wheels.

"He sees," continued Tinon, "that by his own neglect he has lost his lot, and that by the care of your suppliant the heifer has become a cow and a mother, and this is why he seeks by unlawful means and subtlety to surprise justice."

The case went against Marchetaud. "We decide," wrote the governor, "the cow to be the property of Tinon and direct Marchetaud to deliver to him the pair of cart wheels and to pay the cost of this suit."

The stone row of rooms erected for the Spanish barracks, just north of the Southern Hotel site, became law offices after the American occupation. In one of them Mathias McGirk, who became chief justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri, had his office. Isaac McGirk had his law office in the same locality on Fourth, near Walnut, and died there.

David, Joshua and Isaac Barton had a great deal to do with framing the first laws and organizing the first courts of St. Louis. They were three of the six sons of a Baptist minister of North Carolina. The Rev. Isaac Barton was an associate of John Sevier's patriots who won the victory at King's Mountain, a battle of the Revolution which impressed the British government more than almost any other engagement with the invincible courage of the Americans. David Barton became the first judge of the circuit court of St. Louis; Joshua the first United States district attorney of St. Louis;

and Isaac the first clerk of the United States District court of St. Louis. David was elected to the United States Senate. Joshua Barton was killed in the duel with Rector. Isaac Barton continued clerk of the United States District court more than twenty-one years. The brothers had read common law and were acquainted with the English system. When they arrived in St. Louis they found themselves disqualified to practice under the civil law which had been continued in force. A territorial legislature was elected. The Bartons with the half a dozen other American lawyers who had come to St. Louis had influence enough to wipe out the old code. They got through an act which was made the basis upon which the statutes of Missouri are founded. What they did was to pass an act making the common law of England and certain British statutes, not inconsistent with the Constitution and statutes of the United States, the law of Missouri Territory. That was done in 1816. The American lawyers were then ready for clients.

Circuit judges were authorized to perform the marriage ceremony when the courts were established under American authority. David Barton, the first circuit judge had a form which was marvelously brief. The parties stood up.

„The judge,—"—— ——, do you take —— —— to be your wife?"

The man,—"I do."

The judge—"—— —— do you take —— —— to be your husband?"

The woman—"I do."

The judge,—"The contract is complete. I pronounce you man and wife."

David Barton came to St. Louis just about the time the rangers, who were the rought riders of the war of 1812, were being organized. He joined the command and served with it. Barton was chosen without opposition the first United States senator when Missouri was admitted. The legislature deadlocked on the second place. Barton was allowed to name his associate and chose Benton. Thus it occurred that, although there were several strong men from other States, the two United States senators chosen at St. Louis were from North Carolina.

Barton was known as "Little Red." He got the name when he delivered a speech which made him famous throughout the country. The senate chamber was crowded. Barton had taken sides against the Jackson policies. His arraignment and condemnation of the administration for years ranked as one of the greatest speeches heard in the senate. The audience became intensely excited. At the close, while people were crowding out of the galleries, there came a mighty shout: "Hurrah for the little red!" This was repeated again and again in the corridors of the capitol by the Missouri frontiersman who had been a listener. When the man became calm enough to explain he said the original "little red" was a game rooster he owned which could whip any fighting cock pitted against him. When he heard Senator Barton "putting his licks" in the Jackson crowd and "bringing them down every flutter" he couldn't help thinking of the victories of his "little red." The newspapers took up the application. Barton went by the name of "Little Red."

Brackenridge, who practiced in the courts of the new territory a year or two, about 1810, told the story of a trial before two of the recently appointed judges. The third judge was absent from the bench that day. No jury was required. The case was elaborately presented, and exhaustively argued. The judges retired for consultation. When they came back there was an embarrassing pause. The counsel looked expectantly toward the bench. The judges bent over the papers. At length one of them said: "We are prepared to announce the finding of the court. We've split."

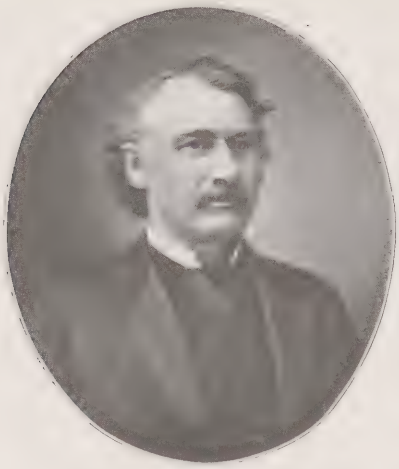
John F. Darby was definite in the details of a somewhat similar experience. When he was a young lawyer he had a case before Justice Patrick Walsh. The court was on Olive street near Main. John Newman was the opposing counsel. Constable Dan Busby went out to get a jury. He reported that everybody he asked refused to come. In those days the constable could not compel attendance. The lawyers offered to waive the jury. Old Justice Walsh said the record called for a jury; he wouldn't try the case otherwise. Constable Busby said he had seen "Big Bob" Moore on the corner; he thought he could get "Big Bob" to serve. The trouble with the rest of the people was they wanted to see the St. Louis Grays, a parade having been announced for that day. The lawyers agreed to go ahead with one man for the jury if "Big Bob" Moore would serve. "Big Bob" was willing. The case was tried and submitted. As the justice had only one room, the court, counsel and witnesses went out on the sidewalk to let "Big Bob" make up the verdict. Time slipped by with no call from the lone juryman. Constable Busby opened the door and asked Moore if he had agreed on a verdict. "Not exactly," replied "Big Bob," The delay ceased to be humorous. The justice led the way back into the room and reopened court. Mr. Moore was called on to explain:

"Squire," he said seriously, "the jury is hung. When I look at one side of the case I think I ought to give it that way; but when I come to look at the evidence on the other side, I see I cannot give the verdict for that side, and so the jury is hung, for I cannot make up a verdict."

"Big Bob" was discharged and the case was continued.

Brackenridge's Indian case gave the St. Louisans a subject for much discussion about 1811. It raised a new question as to jurisdiction of the United States courts over the aboriginal citizen. The case, as Brackenridge described it, was this:

> One day while sauntering along the high ground, or second bank, which overlooked the narrow plain at that time containing the town of St. Louis, my attention was attracted to one of the towers near the old fort, in one of whose ruined barracks the court was still held,—by an Indian who sat near the iron grate, confined as a prisoner for some high offense. The poor fellow beckoned to me to approach, which I accordingly did. He sat between the iron door and the grating with a checkerboard between him, to which he directed my attention, and then asked me with a few broken words, part French and part English, to take a game with him. Willing to gratify him in a request so harmless, I stepped forward and took a seat on a large stone. His only covering was the blanket fastened around his waist, leaving his breast and lower limbs perfectly bare. There was no paint on his body. His head had none of the adornments of the warrior; but his wire tweezers had not been idle, for his beard was plucked as clean as usual. His complexion



RICHARD A. BARRET

CHARLES A. GIBSON

ALEXANDER KAYSER

MELVIN L. GRAY

FREDERICK BATES

was that of very light olive; in some European countries it might pass for white, the consequence of long confinement. The game was played and lost by me. It was played again, and still the same result. Although I was not remarkably expert, I had never been beaten quite so easily.

The Indian was of the Mascoutin tribe, now nearly extinct, and generally living among the Kickapoos. He had married a woman of that tribe, who had gone off with another Indian and left him; but he met her accidentally in the streets of St. Louis. She fled; he pursued, overtook her, and in his fury stabbed her to the heart. He was immediately siezed and committed by the magistrate to this prison. In the meantime the Indian agent had given information of the affair to the government, and requested to be informed whether he should be brought to trial. Eighteen months had elapsed before it was determined to turn him over to the court of the territory to be tried for the murder. In the meantime, in order to pass away the listless hours, he amused himself with the game of checkers, and by dint of practice had acquired such skill in it that persons came on purpose to play with him. The time for his trial was now fast approaching. I informed him that it was my business to speak in favor of people in his situation, when brought before the chiefs at the council about to be held over him, and wished to know whether he wished me to speak for him. He nodded his head with a smile and said he was thankful. "Tell the chiefs," said he, "that I am a warrior and wish to be shot and not hung like a dog."

Brackenridge did not deliver the message. He went into court, defended the Indian and secured the dismissal of the case. Brackenridge's argument was that the courts of the white man had no jurisdiction over crime committed by an Indian against an Indian. The young lawyer urged and the court sustained this point:

He is neither a citizen nor a denizen. By our Acts of Congress, he is expressly excluded from the tax list, militia roll, from the census, and of course from all the duties as well as privileges of citizenship. He may set up his wigwam on a common in the vicinity of a town, or he may establish his village or his hunting camps in the body of a country, without any more notice being taken of him than if he were a thing ferae naturae. So long as he does no injury to the white man, he may live and die in his own way, without attracting the least notice, or incurring the slightest responsibility.

Edward and Frederick Bates were from Goochland county, Virginia. The Quaker descent did not restrain their father from serving under Washington in the Revolution. Neither did it stand in the way of the son of Edward Bates, Lieutenant General John C. Bates, choosing the profession of a soldier and rising to the highest rank in the United States army. When not of age Edward Bates enlisted as a private soldier and served in the war of 1812. After his discharge from the army he came to St. Louis, following his brother, Frederick who had come some years earlier. It is one of the traditions that Frederick Bates was given one of the earliest Federal appointments at St. Louis and was sent here by Thomas Jefferson to watch Aaron Burr and to report confidentially what he was accomplishing in the new territory..

Edward Bates was a seventh son. There were twelve children in his father's family. The genealogical tree of the Bates family in this country went back to the colony at Jamestown. Edward wanted to go into the Navy. His mother opposed him. He compromised with her by serving six months in the army during the War of 1812. When he was twenty he came to St. Louis. With a good academic education obtained at Charlotte

Hall, with but little means, went into a law office, Rufus Easton's on Third street, and studied law. His rise to distinction after his admission in 1816 was very rapid. He had so much to do with the framing of the Organic Act, under which Missouri was admitted to the Union, that for a long time it was called "the Bates Constitution." In 1823 Judge Bates was married to Miss Julia D. Coalter. He had seventeen children. Within a short time after his admission to the bar he was district attorney for Missouri. Among the positions he filled while a young man were delegate to the State constitutional convention, attorney general for the State, member of the legislature, United States District attorney, and Member of Congress. He held other official positions afterwards, but he refused many, preferring to practice his profession. President Millard Fillmore nominated Edward Bates to be his Secretary of War and the Senate unanimously confirmed the appointment but it was declined. Devotion to the cause of the Union prompted acceptance of the place in the Lincoln cabinet. Missouri had presented the name of Edward Bates for the Presidential nomination at Chicago in 1860.

The manners of Edward Bates were most pleasing. In stature the great advocate was not large. He wore ruffles, blue broadcloth and brass buttons in the days when that style of dress was fashionable in the legal profession. He was smooth shaven, had bright black eyes and made friends who were devoted to him. With all of his years at the bar and in politics, Edward Bates never fought a duel or was challenged. When he was in Congress, Bates was the recipient of attention which seemed insulting from McDuffie, the South Carolinian. He sent a demand for an explanation and was given one that friends deemed entirely satisfactory.

The court house block in 1820 was open ground, unoccupied except for a curious structure about ten feet square near the northwest corner. This frame work of stocks was called "the jailer's daughter." Malefactors were put in the stocks and if the penalty called for it they were whipped. The jailer's daughter disappeared after a few years.

Vocations were not closely defined when St.Louis was young. A man who afterwards attained an important position in the community inserted this business announcement in the Missouri Republican of January 31, 1828:

> Clement B. Penrose has removed his office to No. 83 Church street, next door above the Green Tree Inn, where he will thankfully receive employment in his line of justice of the peace, notary public, scrivener and sworn interpreter. He has opened a register for the sale and hire of slaves; for procuring employment for journeymen mechanics and others, and for the sale and rent of property. He will investigate titles to lands and lots. Each registry he will enter for the moderate price of 12½ cents, and all his other charges will be moderate if he succeeds. He will attend daily at Paul's coffee house from 10 to 11 o'clock a. m. to receive orders.

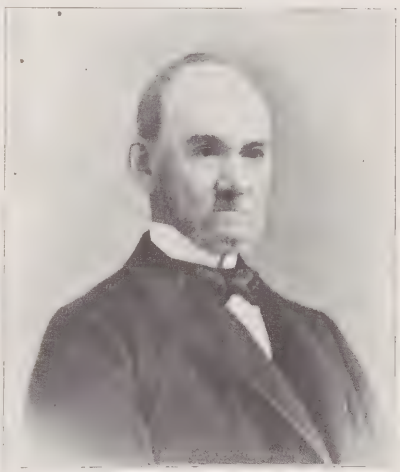
After filling an important position in St. Louis Clement B. Penrose went back to Pennsylvania, became a political leader in Philadelphia and an office holder in Washington.

The bar of St. Louis early came into national prominence through an impeachment trial. Luke E. Lawless, a Dublin University man, who had served in the British Navy and who had been a colonel in Napoleon's army,

JUDGE J. G. WOERNER

GIVEN CAMPBELL

JUDGE PETER FERGUSON



JUDGE SAMUEL TREAT

JUDGE JOHN WICKHAM

THE BENCH AND BAR IN DAYS PAST

came to St. Louis to practice law in 1826. Mr. Lawless felt prompted to publish a criticism of a federal judge, James H. Peck. The judge declared Lawless guilty of contempt of court, sent him to jail for a day and a night, and suspended him from practice for eighteen months. When Congress met in December, John Scott, the member from Missouri, presented a memorial from Lawless, charging Judge Peck with tyranny, oppression and usurpation of power. Articles of impeachment were reported by the House, and the Senate tried the judge. Lawless prepared the pleadings. Half of the lawyers in St. Louis went to Washington to give testimony. The trial lasted six weeks. The judge was acquitted. Precedents as to the powers of the United States courts to punish contempt were established. Lawless seems not to have suffered any loss of popularity through the defeat at Washington. In 1831 he was elected judge of the circuit court and sat three years. The vote of the Senate was 21 for conviction and 22 for acquittal. One of the managers on the part of the House was James Buchanan, afterwards President. The argument of William Wirt is said to have saved Peck.

Judge Peck was a man of eccentricities. He was from the mountains of East Tennessee. While he stood six feet and was of fine physique, he had brothers who towered from six inches to a foot above him. The story followed Peck to St. Louis that because he was smaller than the other members of the family and unable to do as much work as they could on the farm, he was sent to school to become a lawyer. Peck came to St. Louis in 1818. His appointment to the Federal bench occurred just after Missouri was admitted as a state. One of the judge's customs was to appear in court with a large white handkerchief bound around his head, covering the eyes. The handkerchief was put on before the judge left his home. A servant conducted him from his carriage into the court room and to the bench. The judge sat through the session blindfolded. Whenever it was necessary to present a paper to him, the contents were read aloud by the clerk or the counsel. The explanation given for this singular procedure was that the judge believed his eyes were affected and that he would go blind if he exposed them to the light. Judge Peck was a bachelor. He had at one time paid devoted attentions to a lady of St. Louis. There was another man in the case. Peck and his rival met in the street and fought about the lady. The rival was accepted.

Luke E. Lawless had a variety of sensational experiences in his professional career. On one occasion he challenged the right of Judge J. B. C. Lucas to appear in court on the ground that he was not a licensed member of the bar. Lucas had admitted Lawless to practice some time previously when he was a member of the court appointed at Washington. To Lawless' objection Judge Lucas replied: "If the court please, I am licensed. I am licensed by the God of heaven. He has given me a head to judge and determine, and a tongue to speak and explain." After he had spoken at some length Judge Lucas closed his response to Lawless with this: "May it please the court, I did not come to this country as a fugitive and an outcast from my native land. I came as a scholar and a gentleman on the invitation of Dr. Franklin."

The scandal of George IV and Caroline had an echo in the St. Louis courts. The Prince Regent repudiated his wife. He charged her with infidelity. Princess Caroline was living away from England. When the Prince became George IV the first thing he did was to declare his charges against his wife, and to call upon parliament to dissolve the marriage. Caroline returned to England, claimed her royal rights, and appealed to the public. Sympathy was with her. It was stimulated by the methods employed to collect evidence of Caroline's alleged wrongdoing. The prosecution failed utterly and was abandoned. Not long after this there appeared in St. Louis an Englishman who was introduced as William Stokes. He brought with him a credit of 28,000 pounds sterling. That was a great deal of money in the eyes of St. Louis people. Stokes announced that he had selected this as his future home. Through General William H. Ashley and others he began to make large purchases of real estate. Away to the westward of the city as it was then, near what is now Olive Street, he bought two hundred acres of ground. This was laid out as the country home of an English gentleman. Extensive stables and outbuildings supplemented the mansion. Orchard and garden, a tree-bordered driveway, a park were added at lavish cost. Stokes was made welcome. His family was shown the social courtesies which St. Louis people so well knew how to bestow. This family consisted of Miss Stokes, the sister, and a lady who was presented as Mrs Stokes, the wife. Miss Stokes was a young woman of fine education and good breeding. In time she became the wife of John O'Fallon. Stokes had become well settled in St. Louis. Four years had elapsed since his coming. Mrs. Marianne Stokes arrived. She announced that she was the real wife of William Stokes. She told the story of his desertion in England. Her version was that Stokes had been employed by the crown to furnish evidence against Queen Caroline. For this she said his reward had been 50,000 pounds. But the conduct of Stokes, when the evidence was presented, appeared so disreputable that he was compelled to exile himself. He had taken his housekeeper with him. That he was in St. Louis had been learned through the Barings, bankers.

Mrs. Marianne Stokes took board in St. Louis and employed lawyers. She wanted alimony; she also wanted a divorce. Her chief counsel was Luke E. Lawless. Stokes was defended by an array of talent headed by Thomas H. Benton. A jury was summoned to report on the facts. It was composed of George Martin, Gabriel Cerrè, Joseph White, John R. Guy, Joseph Liggett, Jonathan Johnson, James J. Purdy, John Sutton, Dempsey Jackson, William Anderson, James Loker, James B. Lewis.

St. Louis was shocked at the revelations. Stokes was shunned. But there was not much sympathy for Mrs. Marianne Stokes. That lady was too plainly out for revenge. Moreover, she took pains to show that she considered herself very much above the society of St. Louis. It was her custom to carry to the table her own knife, fork and spoon, enclosed in a beautiful case, and to use them in preference to those furnished by the landlady where she boarded.

Lawless pressed the case with a great deal of bitterness. He got an order for $90 a month alimony while the case was pending. The law officers were set upon Stokes every month for the alimony. If there was delay, Lawless would go before a justice and get a judgment; then Stokes would be threatened with arrest unless he paid. The litigation got into the supreme court. An opinion rendered there shows that the course of the prosecution was not viewed as entirely praiseworthy. Judge Pettibone, announcing the decision, said sensibly:

> It appears by the complainant's own showing that she and her husband separated by consent in 1807, and that they had never since lived together; that in 1816 she left the neighborhood in England and went over to France. The laws of England afforded her redress; she was free to seek it there if she wished it; she was under no coercion of her husband, for she lived separate from him; she was not forced away by him before she could have an opportunity to make her complaints. If for nine years she could behold the open adultery and profligacy of her husband, I see no reason why the courts of this country should at this hour be called upon to interfere in her behalf. It is against good policy and good morals to do it. Investigating cases of this kind leaves a bad impression upon the public mind and has a tendency to deprave the public morals, and ought to be resorted to only when the due administration of justice imperiously requires it. Every offense committed within our own country against the morals and manners of society we are bound to notice and punish, whenever we can get opportunity. But it is carrying our comity very far to say that we must investigate the adulteries and family quarrels which took place in England perhaps ten years ago, when the parties had an opportunity of applying to their own courts. And I am unwilling to establish the principle that parties may lie by in their own country under injuries of this kind, and then come here and ask us for the redress which they might and ought to have obtained there.

In the end Marianne Stokes was given a judgment for a considerable sum. Stokes' property was seized and sold. Some pieces went for one-tenth what he had paid. The Mrs. Stokes who had first appeared in St. Louis died. The wife of John O'Fallon died, leaving no children. Stokes died and was buried in a little grave not far from where the mansion stood. For a time the grave was surrounded by a wooden fence. A half century later when grading was being done near the line of Olive street, the workmen came upon a part of a skull and thigh bones. The coffin and other parts of the body had gone to dust. The bones were loaded into the cart, hauled away and thrown into the depression which was being filled. There isn't so much as a grave left as a reminder of the Stokes family tragedy of eighty years ago.

The judge of the circuit court who tried the Stokes case was Nathaniel Beverly Tucker. He was a half brother of John Randolph of Virginia, a fine lawyer, but somewhat peculiar. On his country place in the Florissant valley, Judge Tucker found a great hollow sycamore tree when he bought the farm. He had the tree cut off ten feet from the ground, put on a roof, inserted a door and a window, moved in his desk and law books and made the hollow tree his law office. Judge Tucker loved solitude. He was especially averse to mingling with the "Universal Yankee Nation," as he called the northerners. When the Missouri constitution was in process of formation, Judge Tucker told the framers they ought to put in

a provision to prohibit Yankees crossing the Mississippi river. Edward Bates wanted to know Judge Tucker's idea of the kind of phrasing which would accomplish that. The judge replied that every immigrant presenting himself at the ferry on the Illinois side should be asked to pronounce the word "cow." If the traveler said "keow," he should be turned back.

A useful lawyer of St. Louis in the early days was Marie P. Leduc. He illustrated the adaptability of his profession for public service by holding six offices at one time. Settling in St. Louis in 1799, Mr. Leduc became almost at once prominent in affairs. The Spanish governor, Delassus, made him secretary. This position Mr. Leduc was holding when Captain Stoddard raised the American flag. One of the first official appointments of Captain Stoddard was that of Mr. Leduc to be syndic. This gave the lawyer the supervision of the lands used in common. It also put him in charge of the streets and public places. In brief, Mr. Leduc became a temporary mayor of the brand new American community. William Henry Harrison, the governor of Indiana territory, was sent to St. Louis to organize a temporary government. General Harrison promptly appointed Mr. Leduc judge of probate, recorder and notary public. A little later the board of land commissioners was formed to adjust titles. Mr. Leduc was made translator. When the territorial government was organized, Acting Governor Bates, in 1807, appointed Mr. Leduc justice of the peace and notary. A little later, in 1810, this versatile lawyer from Paris was designated as the proper official at St. Louis to administer oaths. Two years afterwards Mr. Leduc had established such an excellent record that he was made justice of the peace, judge of probate, notary public, recorder and register of boatmen. A little later he became clerk of the court of common pleas. In 1815 he was made clerk of the circuit court. When he resigned, in 1818, the presiding judge gave him a letter expressing "the great satisfaction with which the duties of the office had been discharged." Mr. Leduc served in both the territorial and state legislatures, framing many of the early statutes of Missouri. He retired after having been in office continuously twenty-three years. But in 1825 he was commissioned judge of probate for St. Louis, holding the office until it was abolished. When the county court came into existence, Mr. Leduc was appointed presiding judge. He held this office until 1839, when failing health compelled him to resign. He was seventy years of age when he died. Of the forty-one years of his residence in St. Louis, he was in office thirty-seven of them. He filled twenty different positions. His official life covered the period from Spanish authority to complete American organization of city and state governments. It was a record of most faithful public service throughout.

His devotion to official duties was the measure of life for Marie Phillippe Leduc. When he came from Paris to New Orleans his mother and two brothers accompanied him. Two years before the American occupation Mr. Leduc married Marguerite Papin, the granddaughter of Laclede and Madame Chouteau. Three children born of the union died, one a daughter just completing her education. The wife, mother and brothers of Mr. Le-

Know all men by these presents that we
Dred Scott as principal and Taylor Blow
as securities are held and firmly bound unto John
F A Sandford in the just and full sum of
Two hundred dollars to be paid to the said John
ford his Executors administrators or assigns to
which payment well and truly to be made we
bind ourselves our heirs executors and adminis-
trators jointly and severally by these presents
sealed with our seals and dated this fourteenth
day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand
eight hundred and fifty four Whereas lately at
a Circuit Court of the United States in and
for the District of Missouri in a cause depend-
ing in said Court between Dred Scott plaintiff
and John F A Sandford defendant judgment
was rendered against said Plaintiff and the
said Dred Scott having obtained a writ of Error
to reverse the judgement in the aforesaid
Court and a citation directed to the said San-
ford citing and admonishing him to be and
appear at a session of the Supreme Court of the United States
to be holden at Washington on the first
Monday of December next Now the condition
of the above obligation is such that if the said
plaintiff Dred Scott shall prosecute his writ
of Error to effect and answer all damages and
Cost which have accrued or may hereafter
accrue if he fail to make his plea good
then the above obligation to be void else to
remain in full force and virtue

Dred Scott (Seal)
Taylor Blow (Seal)

Executed before us
approved by Mathew Wells
R. W. Wells

BOND IN THE DRED SCOTT CASE

DRED SCOTT

duc passed away, leaving him for twenty years the last of the Leduc family.

One night in his official experience was deeply impressed upon Mr. Leduc. That was the 30th of September, 1820. The first state legislature of Missouri had elected David Barton one of the two senators. There was a deadlock on the second senatorship. Thomas H. Benton needed another vote to elect him. Daniel Ralls, a Benton member was dying. Leduc was anti-Benton. He had said he would sacrifice his right arm before he would vote for Benton. The election was to take place on Monday. Saturday night some of Leduc's best friends met with him. They were headed by Auguste Chouteau. In the party it is said were John P. Cabanne, Bernard Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, Sylvester Labbadie and Gregoire Sarpy. The issue with these pioneer families was confirmation of the titles to the land that had been given to them by Laclede, St. Ange and the Spanish governors. Leduc was told that Benton was favorable to confirmation by the United States government and could work to that end. As between Benton and Lucas the French people felt their property rights would be safer if the former was elected. All night the conference lasted. About daybreak Leduc yielded to the arguments, and promised to vote for Benton. Soon after nine o'clock Monday morning, the legislature assembled in the dining room of the hotel. Four negro men carried in the bed with Ralls upon it. When the roll was called Ralls voted for Benton; he could not raise his head. This was his last legislative act. At that same session a county was named in memory of Ralls.

By nativity, by education, by previous practice at the bar the circuit judges of St. Louis were widely representative. They brought to the bench temperament, knowledge and experience of great range. These judges have been as cosmopolitan as the legal profession of St. Louis. The first occupant of the circuit bench was a North Carolinian; the second was a Virginian and the third was a Kentuckian. After Benton and Tucker came Alexander Gray, who was a captain in the Twenty-fourth Infantry during the War of 1812, before he entered upon the practice of law in St. Louis. The fourth circuit judge was a Virginian, Alexander Stuart. After he retired from active practice he lived on a farm near Bellefontaine. It was quite the custom for judges and lawyers in the earlier history of St. Louis to resort to country life for recreation.

A movement to impeach a circuit judge was made in 1833. William C. Carr was the judge, having held the position seven years. Investigation showed that the charges were prompted by personal enemies. The legislature went through with the trial and acquitted. William C. Carr was described by those who knew him as being somewhat taciturn in temperament. He was sober and religiously inclined, being looked upon as one of the leading Presbyterians of his day. Having no acquaintance with the French language when he came to St. Louis among the first arrivals after the American occupation, he made rather slow progress in the early years. But he advanced to a high position in the community. He built the first brick residence. He gave a block of ground for a park. He was among

the most active in organizing associations for charitable, agricultural, religious and scientific purposes. When he moved to the suburbs his farm and the mansion thereon were considered one of the show places of St. Louis.

From the early days the bar of St. Louis has held to high standards of professional ethics. In 1837 Luke E. Lawless was the circuit judge. His reappointment by the governor of the State was foreshadowed. A meeting of the members of the bar of St. Louis was called "to get an expression of opinion concerning the judicial qualifications of Judge Lawless." The meeting was presided over by Henry S. Geyer. The secretary was Thomas B. Hudson. This meeting declared belief that valid objections existed to the reappointment of Judge Lawless. These objections were stated as follows:

1. That the said Luke E. Lawless, Esq., is too much under the influence of first impressions, to give to each case submitted to his judgment a deliberate consideration.
2. That he is too passionate and impatient while on the bench, to admit a calm and full examination of cases.
3. That on the trial of issues of fact before juries, his mind receives an early bias, plainly perceivable by the jury, to the prejudice of parties.
4. That he invades the right of juries, by assuming the decision of questions of fact exclusively within their province.
5. That his impatience and arbitrariness lead him to interrupt counsel unnecessarily, and frequently to preclude argument.
6. That he is wanting in punctuality in attending to the duties of the office.
7. That he is imperious, overbearing, and disrespectful in his manner to the members of the bar.
8. That he is indifferent to the faithful recording of the acts of the court wherein he is judge.

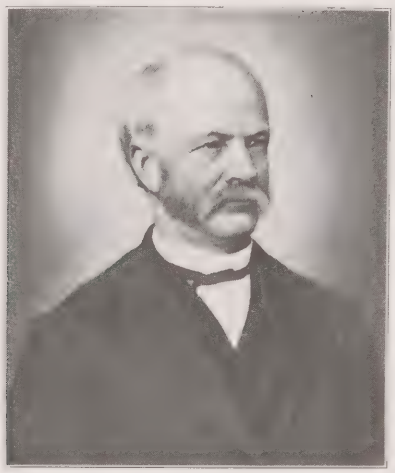
The governor, it seems, took the view that the opposition to Judge Lawless was largely on account of politics. He reappointed him. After serving a part of the term, Judge Lawless retired to private life.

Three professions—journalism, the law and medicine—were concerned in a celebrated case which monopolized public interest for several weeks in 1840. The beginning was a newspaper controversy. In the Argus, which was the Democratic organ, appeared an article criticising severely the participants of a meeting where William P. Darnes was secretary. The Argus was edited by William Gilpin, the owner was Andrew J. Davis. Darnes had been the subject of severe criticism in the columns of the Argus before the publication about the meeting. He wrote to Mr. Davis, asking if the criticism of the meeting was intended to apply to him personally. At the same time Darnes referred to Gilpin with some contemptuous expression. Davis replied sharply. Gilpin came out in the Argus declaring he alone was responsible for what appeared in the paper. He denounced Darnes. This meant physical violence.

Darnes decided to hold Davis responsible, notwithstanding what Gilpin had written. He bought a cane, a small iron rod. Meeting Davis near the corner of Third and Market streets, he struck him upon the head with the cane. Davis was taken to the hospital. Three of the leading physicians of the city were called in. They determined to perform an operation to uncover the brain and to take out any broken pieces that might be found. As a result of the operation, several fragments were removed. Davis died a

BENJAMIN F. THOMAS

MARTROM D. LEWIS



THOMAS T. GANTT

TRUSTEN POLK

SAMUEL N. HOLLIDAY

few days afterward. The medical profession divided upon the question whether the operation was necessary.

Darnes came to trial. He had friends. Supporters of Davis were anxious that conviction should follow prosecution. As the result, able counsel were employed on both sides. Gantt was one of the prosecutors. Geyer defended in a two days' speech. The trial lasted two weeks. It turned on the medical testimony whether Davis died from the blows of the cane or from the surgical operation. Among the doctors who took the ground that the symptoms did not require trephining was Dr. William Carr Lane, the first mayor of St. Louis. The operation had been performed by Dr. Beaumont, who was a surgeon in the United States army and who obtained world-wide reputation as a writer and authority upon the stomach and the functions of gastric juice. About the same number of doctors testified on one side as on the other. The court room was crowded throughout the trial. The jury returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter in the fourth degree. Darnes was fined $500. At that time personal journalism of the most aggravated type prevailed among the newspapers of St. Louis, and editors indulged in very sweeping and bitter criticism of political opponents. It was public comment that the lightness of the verdict against Darnes was due to the fact that editors went too far in their comments.

When Bryan Mullanphy was judge of the circuit court he was charged with oppression. The complaint was made by Ferdinand W. Risque. The judge had ruled unfavorably to Mr. Risque in the case that was pending. The lawyer showed his disgust in the judge's presence. Three times in quick succession the judge imposed a fine of $50. Mr. Risque for the fourth time showed his contempt. Judge Mullanphy ordered the lawyer removed by the sheriff from the court room. On this the lawyer based his charges. The judge was tried before the criminal court and acquitted.

Judge Mullanphy had a keen sense of the proprieties when the honor of the bench was assailed. Information that he had been indicted was brought to him while he was trying a case. The marshal went to the judge and told him he had a capias for him. He asked that as soon as the trial was concluded, the judge come into the office and sign the acknowledgment of the service with promise to appear. Judge Mullanphy promptly declined the courtesy. Interrupting the lawyer who was addressing the jury, the judge said:

> Stop, stop: I can't go any further now,—the court is indicted. Mr. Sheriff, discharge the jury and adjourn the court; the court is indicted. The court will not continue in session one minute after being indicted.

The Risque affair had both comedy and tragedy passages. After the judge had ordered the lawyer from the court room, Risque stood outside the open door, shook his fist and made grimaces at the court. Thereupon the judge told the sheriff to shut the door, remarking that he would not "have the light of his countenance shine upon the lawyer."

Subsequently Judge Mullanphy and Risque met on Chestnut street at the south entrance to the Planters' house. George H. Kennerly, then coun-

ty marshal, was present. Risque struck at the judge. Mullanphy drew the sword from his cane and started towards Risque. The marshall stepped between and "commanded the peace" after the form of those days. "Do you command the peace in your official capacity?" asked Mullanphy. The marshal said he did. "I always obey the officers of the law," said Mullanphy, sheathing his sword in the cane and walking away.

A case to which the Bank of the State of Missouri was a party came before Judge Mullanphy. The lawyer on the other side questioned the legal competency of the court to sit. He said Judge Mullanphy was a stockholder. The judge sustained the point and ruled himself off the bench for that cause. He said that "the court was not a stockholder in the bank; but the court's mother was a stockholder, and therefore he would not try the case."

When Judge Mullanphy was examining a candidate for admission to the bar he asked a number of questions calculated to test the power of recollection. He announced his finding in these words: "You have a very particular memory, sir—very particular, and I shall grant your license with much pleasure." Judge Mullanphy was the seventh circuit judge, succeeding Lawless. He was a native of Baltimore and had been educated at the Jesuit college in Paris, with four years at Stonyhurst, England. Notwithstanding his eccentricities Judge Mullanphy was so painstaking and thorough on the bench that very few of his decisions were reversed. When he died the bar of St. Louis resolved that "all his oddities are but as dust in the balance when weighed against the uprightness of his life and the succession of his charities."

A case was won in the St. Louis circuit court by Henry S. Geyer on a single question and answer. David B. Hill, a carpenter and builder, was put on the stand to testify as an expert. The question was one of defects in the construction of an ox mill which was run by the weight of oxen. Mr. Hill gave his testimony for the plaintiff, going much into detail. He was turned over to the defense for cross examination.

"Mr. Hill," asked Mr. Geyer, "you have discovered perpetual motion, haven't you?"

"Yes sir, I have," replied Mr. Hill.

"Stand aside, sir," said Mr. Geyer.

No testimony was introduced for the defense. Mr. Geyer devoted his time to ridicule of the invention of perpetual motion. The audience listened with keen delight. The jury found for the defendant. Hill outlived Geyer nearly twenty years. To the end of his eighty-three years he was "the man who had discovered perpetual motion." He was a man of respectability and much esteemed in his vocation. His hobby was mechanics and he gave a great deal of time to inventions.

When John Marshall Krum came west from Columbia county in New York state in 1834, with his diploma from Union College, he thought Alton might be the metropolis of the Mississippi valley, and opened a law office. When Alton became a city, Judge Krum—he was probate judge of Madi-

son county—was elected mayor, as a Democrat, over the next most popular man in town, a Methodist minister. In 1840, having concluded that St. Louis was the destined metropolis, Judge Krum declined further honors at Alton and moved down the river. His reputation accompanied him. In three years he was appointed judge of the St. Louis circuit court and in 1848 he was elected mayor of St. Louis. Just before he came to St. Louis, Judge Krum married the daughter of Chester Harding, the most famous artist of his time in the Mississippi valley. While he was on the bench, Judge Krum published "Missouri Justice." In 1872 the unusual record of father and son having sat on the St. Louis circuit bench was made in the election of Chester H. Krum as circuit judge. The second Judge Krum was educated at Washington University and at Harvard.

Ten days after his inauguration as governor Trusten Polk was chosen by the legislature to be United States senator. This experience of 1856 and 1857 was extraordinary in the political history of St. Louis. Trusten Polk came from his native county of Sussex, Delaware, with a Yale education, classical and law, to St. Louis in 1835. He made his impression on his professional associates as one of the mildest and yet most impressive of speakers. He was never caustic or impassioned but at the same time wonderfully effective. When the war came on he elected to go with the south.

Louis G. Picot became an authority at the St. Louis bar in the tenure and title of lands. He had carried on his law studies in the office of Byran Mullanphy after coming to St. Louis from his home in Richmond, Va. This association led to his appointment as trustee under the will of Mrs. Ann Biddle. The estate was a large one. Mr. Picot's management of it developed his taste for legal practice in real estate. Mr. Picot acquired large means. He made one investment which did not prove very remunerative and that was the construction of the historic Broadway hotel near Biddle market.

Charles C. Whittlesey was Connecticut born and Yale educated when he joined the legal profession of St. Louis in 1841. He married a member of an old Maryland family, Miss Groome. Through his contributions to newspapers and magazines and through his law books he sustained a high literary reputation throughout the third of a century he lived here. His book on general practice, his volumes of the Missouri Reports were standard works in the law libraries long after he died. Another member of the profession whose contributions to legal literature have won him national fame is Frederick N. Judson, of historic Connecticut ancestry and a Yale man. Nathan Frank, Illinois bred, educated at Washington University and Harvard, found time in busy practice to prepare and publish a volume which became authority in bankruptcy litigation. Eugene McQuillin, of Iowa birth, reached the circuit bench in 1908 with a well earned reputation as an author of legal textbooks.

Almost a monopoly in litigation at Washington was the law firm organized in 1863 with a St. Louis connection. The partners were Thomas Ewing of Ohio, relative of the Shermans, a senator and a cabinet officer in two administrations; Orville H. Browning, who had been a senator from

Illinois and who was to become a cabinet officer in the Johnson administration; and Britton Armstrong Hill of St. Louis. Mr. Hill was of New Jersey birth. He studied law in New York and was admitted to the bar at St. Louis in 1841. Of splendid physique, of intellectual independence, he became a marked character in the community as well as a great lawyer. There seemed to be no limit on the mental activity of the man. Mr. Hill took up the study of medicine in his omnivorous appetite for knowledge. When the epidemic of 1849 overtaxed the medical profession Mr. Hill became a volunteer among the poor. He prescribed, he nursed, he laid out the dead. The natural bent, encouraged possibly by that cultivation of sympathy through his practical work in the cholera epidemic, prompted Britton A. Hill to become a champion of the masses. The last two decades of his forty-seven years in St. Louis he gave much time to writing and talking on what he conceived to be the dangers threatening the American spirit. He wrote Liberty and Law which attracted attention the country wide. He called a convention on a platform of opposition to monopolies, of government control of railroads. This convention declared for the postal savings bank, for settlement by arbitration of international controversies, for restoration of the land grants. It was far ahead of the times.

Alexander Hamilton, a Philadelphian of Scotch-Irish ancestry sat on the circuit bench of St. Louis ten years. He was twice appointed by different governors and once elected by the people. While he was judge the Dred Scott case came before him. The position Judge Hamilton took was sustained by the supreme court. Nearly half a century Judge Hamilton held an enviable position in the legal profession of St. Louis. He declined to be a candidate for the supreme bench when he would have been elected. The tenth circuit judge of St. Louis was a boy eight years old when his parents moved from Maryland to a farm in St. Louis county. It is a notable fact that James Ransom Lackland who became one of the strongest men in the profession did not enter it until he was nearly thirty years old. With limited advantages in his boyhood, he taught a country school. He clerked in stores. He obtained a deputy clerkship in the court and that gave him the opportunity to read law. Two years after he was admitted he was elected circuit attorney; then judge of the criminal court and next judge of the circuit court. Samuel M. Breckenridge was circuit judge during most of the war period. He was of southern ancestry but a strong Union man. His successor was a northern man but took a position which cost him the judgeship. One of the most hostile against the test-oath was Judge James G. Moody, a Pennsylvanian who came here in 1855 and formed the law firm of Moody, McCellan & Hillyer. In the office of this firm Ulysses S. Grant, before the war, had a desk and tried collection of bills for real estate agents. Judge Moody while on the circuit bench absolutely refused to require jurors to take the test-oath and was removed by the legislature in 1866.

Charles B. Lord of Maine by birth and of New York by education, with ten years' experience at the bar in the east came to St. Louis. Before going on the circuit bench, Judge Lord was judge of the land court two terms. He had the judicial temperament. Samuel Reber was a native of Lancaster, Ohio.

HENRY S. GEYER

BRITTON A. HILL

PEMBROOK R. FLITCRAFT

JAMES O. BROADHEAD

JOHN H. OVERALL

His connection with the bar of St. Louis began in 1842. From the bench of the court of common pleas, in 1856, Judge Reber was transferred to the circuit court bench where he sat until his resignation in 1867. In the latter position Judge Reber sustained the new constitution of the State and especially the feature which was of strenuous controversy in the legal profession of St. Louis—the test-oath. He made one of the ablest and most dignified of the judges.

Hungary was worthily represented on the long and honorable list of circuit judges by Roderick E. Rombauer of noble ancestry. The father of Judge Rombauer was chief of a division in the revolution of 1848-9. For his support of Kossuth, he was exiled, and brought his family to this country. Judge Rombauer had received education in the best schools of Hungary. He followed the calling of civil engineer in his early manhood and was engaged in railroad construction. Later he studied law and graduated at the Harvard Law school. His service as circuit judge was followed by a long period on the court of appeals.

Judge Irwin Z. Smith was the son of a Massachusetts farmer. George A. Madill a Pennsylvanian and a graduate of the Albany Law school, went upon the circuit bench in 1870. He was a young man, only thirty-two years of age. The day he retired from the bench there assembled in his courtroom 300 members of the bar to present an address expressive of their esteem.

James J. Lindley went upon the bench at the same time that Judge Madill did. He was from Ohio, educated at Woodville college, and had served two terms in Congress from a Missouri district before he settled in St. Louis to practice law.

Ephraim B. Ewing only escaped being Missourian by being born in Kentucky a year before his parents moved to this state in 1820. He was secretary of state, attorney general and judge of the supreme court before he was elected circuit judge in St. Louis. He went from the circuit bench back to the supreme court and was one of the justices of that court until his death.

In 1874 came John Wickham one of the two St. Louis circuit judges who were natives of Richmond, Virginia. His grandfather was one of the eminent lawyers of the Old Dominion and his mother was a Carter. Through half a century the University of Virginia has been sending notable contributions to the legal profession of St. Louis. John Wickham was one of the earliest, graduating in 1846 and coming to St. Louis soon after.

Louis Gottschalk was one of several German born circuit judges who maintained the high standard of the St. Louis bench.

Wilbur F. Boyle was one of the young men who were so fortunate as to come under the professional training and supervision of Edward Bates. He came from Virginia with his parents when he was a child and received the finish of his education at Asbury University. His father was the Rev. Dr. Joseph Boyle, one of the upbuilders of Methodism in St. Louis, and his mother was a member of the Gist family of Virginia. When, after six years on the circuit bench contemporaneous with Amos M. Thayer, Judge Boyle announced his intention not to seek reelection, the leading members of the bar without regard to political considerations, united in a pressing call to him to continue.

A notable group of circuit judges was that of about 1885 when Amos M.

Thayer, Elmer B. Adams, Shepard Barclay, George W. Lubke and William H. Horner were on the bench. Judge Thayer was a New Yorker, a graduate of Hamilton college, descended from a Revolutionary family. He came to St. Louis from honorable service in the Civil war. Eight years after he was admitted to the bar Judge Thayer went on the circuit bench. He left that position to become a United States judge and continued on the Federal bench the remainder of his life. The Henry Adams who came over from England with eight sons in 1636 and founded the most famous family in Massachussetts—two of his descendants becoming Presidents of the United States—is represented in St. Louis. Judge Elmer B. Adams is of the Vermont branch of the Adams family. Versed in the law as it was taught at Harvard and practised in New England, he came to St. Louis in 1866. His six years on the St. Louis circuit bench served to illustrate the judicial qualities which commended him for appointment to the Federal bench. Appointed under a Democratic administration to the district bench Judge Adams was promoted to the circuit bench by a Republican President, a mark of strong commendation.

With the last quarter of the legal profession's century in St. Louis came a change. The city began to produce native judges. Shepard Barclay and George W. Lubke were St. Louisans by birth. Lubke was the son of Hanover parents, with the advantage of law study in Henry Hitchcock's office. Shepard Barclay had the advantage of the principal European universities. He went from the circuit bench to the supreme court of Missouri. Another St. Louis born Judge was Daniel Dillon whose parents came from Ireland. Judge Dillon was not only a native of the city but he left his studies to be a Union soldier in a St. Louis regiment and afterwards was one of the earliest graduates from the St. Louis Law school. His service upon the circuit bench was one of the longest tenures.

French, English and Scotch ancestry blended in Leroy B. Valliant. The family settled in Maryland 250 years ago. Judge Valliant was born in Alabama. He graduated from the University of Mississippi and studied for the law at Cumberland University. With the experience of four years in the war, four years as judge of a chancery court in Mississippi and ten years practice in Memphis, Judge Valliant came to St. Louis. Nature intended him for the bench. Judge Valliant went from twelve years on the circuit bench of St. Louis to the supreme court of Missouri. James A. Seddon, a native of Richmond, Virginia, and an alumnus of the University of Virginia, became a St. Louis circuit judge in 1887. His father was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Jefferson Davis, having previously represented the Richmond district in Congress. The Seddons were a Lancashire, England, family. They became Virginians in the colonial period. Of German birth was Judge Jacob Klein, coming to this country with his parents when he was a small boy. His law course was taken at Harvard. Judge Klein practiced law in St. Louis ten years before he formed a partnership, a condition rather at variance with the custom of the St. Louis bar.

A native of Indiana and a graduate of Wheaton College, Illinois, Judge Daniel D. Fisher prepared himself for his profession at Ottawa, a city famous throughout northern Illinois for the standing of its bar. He came to St. Louis

THE COURTHOUSE AT ITS BEST ABOUT 1870.

THE COURTHOUSE AS IT WAS IN 1844, BEFORE COMPLETION

From Daguerreotype of Missouri Historical Society

just after the close of the war. Judge James E. Withrow, a native of Rushville, Illinois, saw hard fighting in the war and received a variety of honorable scars. He read law while he was soldiering, an extraordinary combination of excitement and education. Judge John A. Harrison entered upon the duties of circuit judge in 1892. Judge John M. Wood, a Kentuckian by birth was attorney general of Missouri before he was circuit judge in St. Louis.

Judge Thomas A. Russell came from West Virginia and Judge Pembrook R. Flitcraft was of New Jersey birth. Both were educated at state universities, Judge Russell at Columbia and Judge Flitcraft at Ann Arbor. The former was greatly interested in public education. The latter made a study of Masonry. Judge Horatio D. Wood came of a family distinguished in colonial history. He was an Ohioan, with a Connecticut father and a Vermont mother. True to the traditions of his ancestry Judge Wood dropped his studies in the St. Louis high school to enlist as a private in the Union army where he served until the summer of 1865. He took his professional degree at Harvard.

Judge William Zachritz, Judge Charles Claflin Allen and Judge Daniel G. Taylor swelled the roll of native circuit judges. Judge Zachritz was St. Louis born and St. Louis educated, graduating from the Central high school and from the St. Louis Law school. Charles Claflin Allen prepared for professional life by courses at Washington University, Princeton University and the St. Louis Law school. He served in the legislature, was active in political reform movements and in literary work before he went on the bench. Judge Taylor was educated at Notre Dame University in Indiana and at the St. Louis Law school. His father was the war mayor of St. Louis.

Judge Franklin Ferriss came from New York state immediately after graduating at Cornell. Like many others of the most sucessful lawyers of this generation he prepared in the St. Louis Law school for his profession. Before going on the bench Judge Ferriss was a member of the upper branch of the Municipal Assembly. He left the circuit bench to become general counsel of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company.

Judge George Howell Shields was born in Kentucky and graduated at the Louisville Law school. He performed the difficult achievement of serving as an officer in the Union army and carrying on his law studies during the war. One of the framers of the constitution of Missouri in 1875, one of the freeholders who drafted the city charter, assistant attorney general of the United States in the Harrison administration, Judge Shields brought to the circuit bench extraordinary wealth of legal observation and experience. Judge William M. Kinsey, of Ohio Quaker stock, represented a St. Louis district in Congress before he went on the circuit bench. Judge Jesse McDonald entered the legal profession after a thorough apprenticeship in St. Louis journalism. He came from Indiana and received his professional education in the law department of Washington University. From the newspaper ranks the legal profession recruited Charles P. Johnson and a long list of men who have been successful at the St. Louis bar.

The Pike county contingent has formed no insignificant element in the legal profession of St. Louis. David Patterson Dyer, United States judge, Virginian

by birth but Missourian by education came from Pike to St. Louis in 1875. John B. Henderson, Virginian, settled in St. Louis in 1870 following the conclusion of his service in the United States Senate. With Fessenden of Maine and Trumbull of Illinois General Henderson voted against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. This act cost his reelection to the Senate by the Missouri Legislature. James O. Broadhead, born in Kentucky, practiced in Pike county and joined the St. Louis bar before the civil war. Pike county gave to the circuit bench of St. Louis a representative in the person of Matthew Given Reynolds who had the varied experience of graduating from the Naval Academy, becoming an ensign, going to the Missouri legislature and serving as United States attorney for the Court of Private Land Claims before being elected to the bench. Another native Missourian, who became a circuit judge in St. Louis was Walter B. Douglas, born in Brunswick. Besides gaining recognition for legal attainments, Judge Douglas has become known widely as an authority upon the history of St. Louis and Missouri.

Judge Selden P. Spencer came from Erie, Pennsylvania, a graduate of Yale. He studied for his profession in the St. Louis Law school. Judge John A. Talty was born in Moline, Illinois, coming to St. Louis before he was of age and reading law in the office of Johnson, Lodge and Johnson. Moses Nathaniel Sale was one of Kentucky's contributions to St. Louis citizenship. His parents were natives of Germany who reared a family of six sons and daughters in Kentucky. Educated at the University of Louisville, Judge Sale read the law books four years in the office of James Speed who was for a time attorney general in President Lincoln's cabinet. His connection with the St. Louis bar began in 1881.

The group of circuit judges in 1909 showed, perhaps, the strongest representation of native St. Louisans in the history of the bench. At the same time there was variety of origin, education and experience. In Judges Hugo Muench, George C. Hitchcock, George H. Shields, Matthew G. Reynolds, James E. Withrow, J. Hugo Grimm, Moses N. Sale, George H. Williams, William M. Kinsey, Eugene McQuillin, D. D. Fisher, Charles Claflin Allen the cosmopolitan character of St. Louis citizenship was well illustrated.

A strong legal firm about 1890 was Lee, McKeighan, Ellis and Priest. The head of it Bradley D. Lee was from Litchfield, Connecticut, settling in St. Louis not long after he came out of the Union army and graduated from the law department of Yale. John E. McKeighan was the son of an Illlinois farmer and a graduate of the University of Michigan. Henry S. Priest was born and educated in Missouri. Frederich William Lehmann was a child when his parents migrated from Prussia to this country. He graduated at Tabor college in Iowa and practiced law in Nebraska and Iowa before he came to St. Louis in 1890. There have been few instances of a new comer advancing so quickly to a commanding position at the St. Louis bar.

With few exceptions the duels between St. Louis principals grew out of newspaper publications. Most of the principals in these hostile meetings were lawyers. Almost the last of the duels was between two lawyers; it was the outcome of a newspaper controversy. One of the principals limped through

B. D. LEE

W. C. JONES

J. E. McKEIGHAN

CLINTON ROWELL

JOHN C. ORRICK

the rest of his life. In the campaign of 1856 Blair took the nomination of the Benton men for Congress in the St. Louis district. Thomas C. Reynolds, who had come into prominence as a leader among the anti-Benton Democrats, ran against Blair although it was a hopeless minority he represented. But St. Louis was the center of political interest for the entire state. Two St. Louisans were running for governor—Benton and Trusten Polk. The candidacy of Reynolds was intended to help Polk and it did, for the anti-Benton vote in St. Louis was increased materially that year. The nominations were made in May and the state election took place in August. So far as issues were concerned St. Louis politics were chaotic. The Whig party had gone to pieces. The Native Americans were in no better shape. The Democrats were divided into factions. The Free Soilers and Emancipationists were waiting to see what the proposed republican party would amount to in its first national convention of that year at Philadelphia. There opened one of the most personal political campaigns St. Louis had ever known. B. Gratz Brown printed in the Missouri Democrat an editorial very offensive to Mr. Reynolds. The latter replied through another paper. It wasn't long until Reynolds challenged and Brown accepted.

Selma Hall, the country seat of Ferdinand Kennett on the Mississippi river bluffs forty miles below the city was chosen as the place of rendezvous. There was no interference. Benton and anti--Benton men took sides and counseled the principals. The mayor of the city was John How and the prosecuting attorney was Henry A. Clover. Brown chose for one of his seconds David D. Mitchell who had been superintendent of Indian affairs in the west, a fighter in the Mexican war, and still earlier a fur trader. Brown's other second was Leo Walker, a South Carolinian who had married into one of the old St. Louis families. It was quite well understood that Benton and Blair were sympathizing and advising with Brown.

Reynolds selected for seconds Ferd. Kennett, who was considered the best pistol shot in Missouri and Thomas B. Hudson one of the St. Louis heroes of the Mexican war. He had among his advisors David H. Armstrong, W. A. Linn, a relative of the former senator and collector of customs at St. Louis, and Isaac H. Sturgeon.

Brown and his party went down to Selma Hall on Saturday, the 23rd of August. Reynolds passed the night before he was to leave at the home of Isaac H. Sturgeon in the upper part of the city. He slept so soundly that Mr. Sturgeon had to call him loudly in the morning. With his party Reynolds crossed to the Illinois side by the upper ferry. He was accompanied by Dr. John H. Shore who was to act as surgeon. The Reynolds party reached the Illinois shore opposite Selma Hall on Monday the 25th of August, crossed over and became the guests of G. W. Chadbourne the lead man who had a country home near Selma Hall.

The next day, the 26th, two skiffs conveyed the two parties to a little island about midstream, out of jurisdiction of either state. Both of the principals were young men, Brown about thirty and Reynolds thirty-four. Brown was dressed in black, his coat buttoned. Reynolds wore light gray. The time was soon after sunrise. In fact, the sun was not high enough to give much advantage in the

choice of position which Kennett won for Reynolds by the toss of half a dollar. The toss also gave "the word" to Kennett. While Kennett and Mitchell settled these preliminaries, Walker and Hudson looked on and in a few words wondered if Reynolds' luck would last until the fire was delivered. The distance was twelve paces. When Kennett and Mitchell had paced it, the nearness seemed deadly. Brown and Reynolds were placed by their seconds facing each other at the twelve paces. The pistols were loaded in the presence of all. They were of English manufacture with "London" engraved on the barrels and with mahogany stocks so shaped as to give a firm grip. They had hair triggers and double sights, and they carried ounce balls. The powder was measured with care. Cartridges came later. The pistols were placed in the raised hands with the muzzles upward for the drop shot had been named in the terms. That meant the weapons were to be held pointing upward until the word was given when they were to be lowered and fired. By the terms, the second who won "the word" was to say "Fire—one—two—three—stop!" The principals were not to lower their pistols until the word "Fire" and were not to shoot after the word "stop."

Every detail was arranged with scrupulous exactness by men familiar all of their lives with the code. While the weapons were being made ready the surgeons opened their cases, laid out instruments and unfolded bandages.

The seconds, as soon as the pistols had been handed to the principals stepped into their places. Kennett called out:

"Gentlemen, are you ready?"

"Ready," the answer came back as if from one voice.

"Fire—" cried Kennett. Presumably he finished with—"one—two—three—stop?" but nobody heard or took note of the words.

Reynolds had lowered and fired instantly after the word "Fire" and before the word "one." Brown had followed so quickly that there was scarcely an interval to mark two shots. But Brown was hit. Reynolds stood perfectly still holding his smoking pistol. Brown changed position to relieve one leg. Hudson walked up to Reynolds and said,

"I fear Brown is wounded in the groin."

"You must be mistaken," said Reynolds, "I aimed at his knee."

Reynolds was correct. Brown had been shot in the right leg, the heavy ball splitting the bone just above the knee joint. Brown insisted he was able to go on and demanded another fire. The surgeons took him to one side and administered temporary treatment and declared his condition would not permit of proceeding. The seconds conferred and decided that the duel must stop. They gave their decision to the principals. Reynolds walked over to where Brown was lying and offered his hand. There was a frank interchange of expressions of esteem which a generation unfamiliar with the code might find difficulty in understanding.

Curiously, the first boat up the river after the duel was named the Editor, a packet with passengers from Memphis. Brown was carried on board and placed in a state room. His wound was very painful. The hemorrhage was considerable.

When the Editor reached St. Louis in the afternoon, the mayor and a squad of police were on the Levee, with an immense crowd drawn there by rumors of a fatal result of the meeting. When the mayor ascertained that the duel had not taken place on Missouri soil, he made no arrests. Brown was carried to his lodgings. The others scattered. St. Louis talked that day and the next of nothing but the duel. Both Brown and Reynolds were known to be good shots. With this knowledge the community had anticipated nothing short of a fatal termination for one of the principals. It became known that Reynolds had planned just what occurred. He had practiced, in the presence of William A. Linn, at a retired spot on the marine hospital grounds, schooling himself with the drop shot to fire with rapidity and with low aim. He had explained to Linn that his purpose was to get in the first fire and aim so that the ball might hit Brown about the knee. Linn said this was a dangerous chance in view of Brown's expertness with the pistol.

"I am very sure of my quickness," Reynolds said, "and were it otherwise, I would never consent to take any man's life for a mere political quarrel. If I can disturb Brown's aim by shooting him in the knee first, it will be all I desire."

Kennett always insisted that Brown's shot passed very close to Reynolds' breast and that if it had not been for the rapidity of Reynolds' firing and the wound in the knee, Brown would have hit Reynolds and would probably have inflicted a fatal wound.

The two principals had no further difficulty. They became quite friendly. Brown served in the legislature, was a colonel in the Union army, became a United States senator, governor of Missouri and nominee for vice-president with Greeley in 1872. Reynolds was elected lieutenant-governor of Missouri in 1860, just before the war, went south with Claib Jackson and Sterling Price and when Jackson died was the Confederate governor of Missouri without a capital. He was recognized at Richmond where he spent a considerable part of the war period. After the surrender of Lee, Reynolds went with Shelby and other Missourians to Mexico where he took service with the English company operating the railroad between the City of Mexico and Vera Cruz. Returning to St. Louis, Reynolds resumed the practice of law. In the Arthur administration he was made the Democratic member of the government commission which went to Central and South American countries to investigate and report on opportunities for better trade relations between the United States and those countries. His knowledge of French and Spanish and his previous study of conditions in Mexico enabled him to be of great assistance in the investigation. The report of the commission was made the basis for the development of closer relations between the nations of the western hemisphere. Reynolds came back to St. Louis and resumed professional work.

CHAPTER XVI.

GREAT DAYS OF ST. LOUIS.

Thus you will perceive that you are divested of the character of subjects, and clothed with that of citizens. You now form an integral part of a great community, the powers of whose government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizens extended and secured. . . . If, in the course of former time, the people on different sides of the Mississippi fostered national prejudices and antipathies against each other, suffer not these cankers of human happiness any longer to disturb your repose, or to awaken your resentment; draw the veil of oblivion over the past and unite in pleasing anticipations of the future; embrace each other as brethren of the same mighty family, and think not that any member of it can derive happiness from the misery or degradation of another.—Captain Stoddard's Address, March 10, 1804.

The great days of St. Louis were not the days of disaster, of gloom, of shock. They were the days when the community was at its best. A guest of the nation was to be welcomed. An apostle of liberty was to be honored. The birthday of the city was to be commemorated. From colonists of a king to citizens of a republic the inhabitants passed with the lowering and raising of flags. Battalions returning from victorious expeditions aroused exultant patriotism to the degree of fitting celebration. The coming of the locomotive was an event that justified civic enthusiasm in its fullest extent. Great enterprises were begun with impressive ceremony. The finished work was crowned.

Great days of St. Louis are scattered along the course of the century. They were occasions worthy of the city's observance. The manner of the celebration was fitting. The community gained something with every one of these great days. Solidarity came through the union of effort to make memorable. The keeping of these great days was educational in many ways. It inspired love of country, of liberty. It taught the possibilities of accomplishment when the city arose in its might to concerted action. It broadened he view. It stimulated interest in the rest of mankind.

"Since I wrote you last I have received very important intelligence. It is no other than the entire cession of New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana to the United States."

So the news of the Louisiana Purchase came to St. Louis in a midsummer day of 1803. William Henry Harrison, governor of the great Northwest territory, wrote to Charles De Hault Delassus, governor of Upper Louisiana of which St. Louis was the capital. These two men had jurisdiction from Ohio to the Rocky Mountains' summit. The Mississippi river was the dividing line. East of the river was the sovereignty of the United States. West of the river the flag of Spain still floated although by secret treaty France had acquired the province, but had not taken possession.

Down toward the mouth of the Mississippi relations between the Americans and the Spanish authorities had become so strained that President Jefferson was moved to put forth extraordinary effort through diplomatic channels to avert

actual hostilities. But north of the Ohio and the Arkansas the American governor and the Spanish governor were engaged in frequent interchange of most friendly correspondence.

In the letter by which Governor Harrison conveyed the "very important intelligence" was given an assurance which showed how far the relationship had been cultivated on the part of the American governor whose jurisdiction extended to the river bank opposite St. Louis.

"I do not know what the United States will do with Upper Louisiana," wrote the American Governor who was to become President, not quite forty years later, "but think it probable that it will be annexed to this territory. Should this be the case it may give me an opportunity of serving some of your friends. If this opportunity does offer rest assured, dear sir, that it shall not be neglected."

General Harrison voiced the sentiments of the administration at Washington. He acted well his part in this international statecraft.

This secret Harrison-Delassus correspondence was in harmony with the state papers of the period. About the time that the governor at Old Vincennes was sending these letters by couriers to St. Louis, President Jefferson was writing to Minister Livingston at Paris deprecating the pending transfer of Louisiana territory back from Spain to France.

"There is on the globe" he wrote, "one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans—through which the produce of three-eights of our territory must pass to market; and from its fertility, it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half of our inhabitants."

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," he continued, "fixes the sentence which is to retain her forever below low-water mark."

It was, therefore, "very important intelligence" which General Harrison hastened to send from Vincennes to St. Louis announcing the cession not only of New Orleans but of the entire Louisiana territory to the United States.

This letter is given just as it was written. The original, in the handwriting of General Harrison and loaned for reproduction, is in the Tullock collection of valuable papers relating to the early history of Louisiana territory. It covers two pages of note paper. The postscript is crowded into the lower right hand corner of the second page.

General Harrison occasionally underscored to make his meaning more impressive. For example, toward the end of the letter he drew a line under "perfectly" in the sentence beginning "If you should consider it perfectly consistent with your duty."

Vincennes, 2nd August, 1803.

My Dear Sir: Since I wrote you last I have received very important intelligence. It is no other than the entire cession of New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana to the United States. Our Government has received official information of a Treaty having been signed to that effect on the 30th of April last by our Minister in Paris and a Minister Plenipotentiary on the part of France—enclosed is a strip from a Newspaper containing the information. I give you the earliest information of this event, supposing that it might be material to you in some way or other. Of the truth of it you need not doubt. It is also certain that war was declared on the 16th of May by Great Britain against

Washington 2d May 1803

My dear Sir

Since I wrote to you last I have received very important intelligence from no other than the entire Cession of New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana to the United States. Our Government has received official information of a Treaty having been signed to that effect on the 30th of April last by our Ministers in Paris & the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Port of France. Inclosed is a Slip from a News paper containing the information I give you the earliest information of this event supposing that it might be material to you in some way or other of the Contents of it you will not doubt. It is also Certain that War was declared on the 16th of May by Great Britain against France - Spain was not included in the Declaration, & the King of Great Britain has

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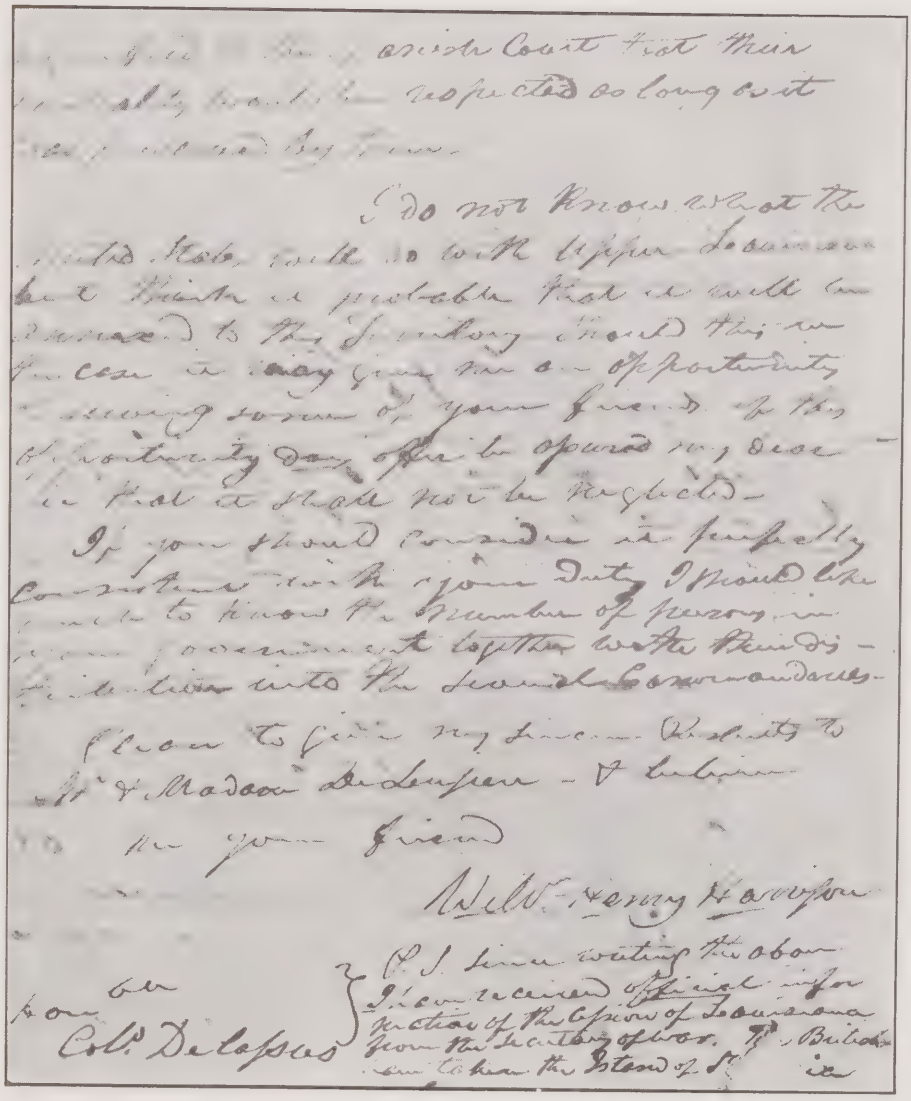

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France. Spain was not included in the declaration, and the King of Great Britain has signified to the Spanish Court that their neutrality would be respected as long as it was preserved by them.

I do not know what the United States will do with Upper Louisiana but think it probable that it will be annexed to this Territory. Should this be the case it may give me an opportunity of serving some of your friends—if this opportunity does offer, be assured, my dear sir, that it shall not be neglected.

If you should consider it perfectly consistent with your duty I should like much to know the number of persons in your government, together with their distribution into the several Commanderies.

Please to give my sincere Respects to Mr. & Madam Delassus, and believe me,

your friend,

(Signed) WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. Since writing the above I have received *official* information of the cession of Louisiana from the Secretary of War. The British have taken the Island of St. ——ia. Honble. COLO DELASSUS.

The relations of Governor Delassus to the transfer of territory were, in a personal sense, very peculiar. Delassus was of French origin, as the name indicates. That he was serving under the Spanish Crown as the governor of Upper Louisiana calls for explanation.

Delassus was born in old French Flanders. He entered the Spanish service in 1782 as a cadet in the Royalist regiment of guards, of which the King of Spain was the colonel. In 1783 at the age of 29, Delassus was a lieutenant colonel. In 1794 he was promoted to be colonel, and was given command of a battalion of the King's bodyguard.

The Delassus family remained in Flanders until the French Revolution, when the father of Colonel Delassus was forced to flee. The elder Delassus took refuge in New Orleans in 1794. Col. Delassus gave up his commission in the Spanish army at home and, on petition to the King of Spain, was transferred as lieutenant colonel in the "Louisiana Regiment," that he might be near his father and of service to the family, and at the same time continue in the service of the King of Spain. He arrived in New Orleans in 1794.

In 1796 Colonel Delassus was made civil and military commander of New Madrid by Baron de Carondelet, who was the representative of Spain in the Mississippi Valley.

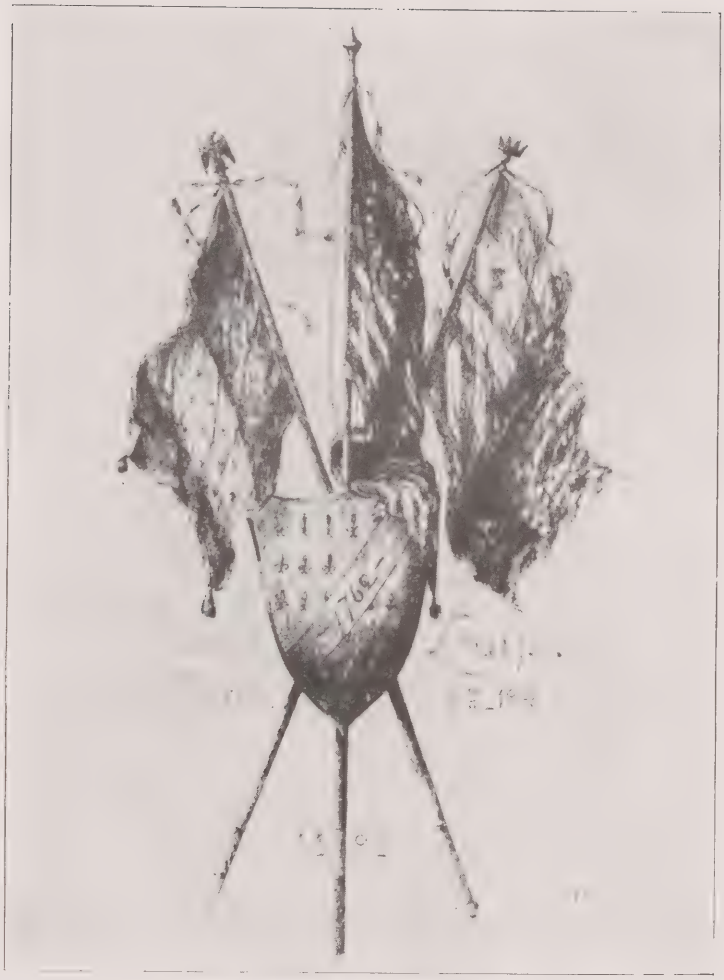
In 1799 Colonel Delassus, on an order proceeding directly from Spain, was appointed lieutenant governor and commandant in charge of the Upper Louisiana province, with headquarters at St. Louis. His father settled at New Bourbon, near Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, and was given an appointment as civil magistrate.

This narrative of the experiences of the Delassus family is essential to an understanding of the very friendly relationship which had developed between General William Henry Harrison and Governor Delassus. The latter, notwithstanding his French origin, had every reason to be loyal to Spain, and was so. From the sufferings of his family at the hands of the French government under the First Consul he was naturally open to the overtures which General Harrison, as the correspondence shows, was making. The letters which passed leave little doubt that if Bonaparte had undertaken to establish and enforce his authority in the Province of Louisiana, Delassus would have thrown all his in-

fluence in favor of American occupation. The letters of General Harrison, with the severe comments upon "the Corsican," take on new meaning in the light of this story of Delassus and his family.

March 10, 1804, was the American birthday of St. Louis. It was celebrated with formality. Three months previous, nearly, the United States flag had been raised at New Orleans. But Upper Louisiana and its capital did not pass with that delivery. Delassus, the Spanish governor, continued in authority. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark had come out to St. Louis to prepare for their expedition up the Missouri and across to the Pacific. Governor Delassus mildly expressed the preference that, as the place was still under the Spanish flag, the American camp of preparation should be made on the Illinois side of the river. Acquiescing, Lewis and Clark went up the Illinois side to the forest on Wood River, below Alton, now the site of a great oil station, and made ready for the expedition. There was no unfriendliness on the part of Delassus but the old soldier was punctilious. He thought it would look better if the Americans remained on the east side until actual transfer of authority. But this did not interfere with frequent visits to St. Louis by Lewis and Clark. St. Louis was deeply interested in the expedition. The fur traders gave all of the information they could concerning the Upper Missouri country. Lewis reciprocated with frank conversations on the coming transfer of authority and the probable policy of the government at Washington toward Upper Louisiana. This free intercourse between Lewis and Clark and their company on the one hand and the habitants of St. Louis on the other during the winter months of 1804 did much to pave the way for a matter-of-course change of government in March. Indeed, as the time approached for the formalities, Captain Meriwether Lewis acted as the American representative in arranging the details with Governor Delassus. The Spanish governor had for a short time a surprising impression, based on correspondence from New Orleans, that, possibly the United States might not take formal possession of St. Louis but might wish to negotiate with Spain to trade the territory west of the Mississippi to Spain for the Floridas. To be sure, the United States had acquired all of Louisiana territory in the treaty of April 30, 1803, but, to the governor's mind, it seemed as if possession of Florida which was still Spanish would be more desirable to the United States than the unoccupied wilds west of the Mississippi. The commissioner of France, Laussat, at New Orleans, went so far as to write a letter in which he said, "it is probable the United States will exchange with Spain the right bank of the river for Florida." In February, Delassus was undeceived. Instructions came to him to get ready to deliver St. Louis. On the 19th of February the governor issued a proclamation to the people of St. Louis notifying them of the coming change.

Laussat, representing France, had received Lower Louisiana from the Spanish governor-general and had turned it over to the United States. The question arose, who shall act for France at St. Louis? Two treaties must be put into effect at one time—San Ildefonso which transferred Louisiana to France, and Paris which ceded Louisiana to the United States. The matter was discussed at New Orleans. Laussat didn't desire the trip to St. Louis to carry out the formalities. Casa Calvo, the Spanish representative, requested Laussat to name



THE THREE FLAGS DAY

somebody to act for him. St. Louisans were discussed. Auguste Chouteau was suggested, but the reply was that he had lived in St. Louis since the founding and must be considered a Spaniard. This applied as well to all of the habitants of St. Louis. At last Commissioner Laussat suggested that it didn't make much difference who represented France on the occasion. Some one said, "Why not let an American officer act?" And so it happened that Captain Stoddard came up the river with the double commission,—first to receive Upper Louisiana from Spain as the representative of France, and second to receive Upper Louisiana from France as the officer delegated by the United States. Stoddard was accompanied by a small force of American soldiers in the old continental uniforms. The party stopped at Kaskaskia and again at Cahokia. Conferences were held by Captain Stoddard with Meriwether Lewis, who brought to Cahokia the latest intelligence from St. Louis. This information was to the effect that Governor Delassus was ready. There was posted on the church door at St. Louis the following:

PUBLIC NOTICE.

We notify the public that tomorrow, the ninth of the present month, between the hours of 11 and 12, we will deliver Upper Louisiana to Captain Amos Stoddard, Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic, in accordance with our public announcement dated nineteenth of February last.

St. Louis of the Illinois, March 8th, 1804.

(Signed) CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS.

Published by the Public Notary. (Signed) JH. HORTIS.

In the morning of the 9th Captain Stoddard and his small command took boats and crossed the river. Captain Meriwether Lewis acted as adjutant of the day. There was no demonstration of force. The soldiers sufficed for a guard of honor. That was all they were intended to do. With Stoddard and Lewis at the head, the little procession marched up from the landing to the government headquarters, the Martigny house, near the corner of Main and Walnut. At the door, an officer met Stoddard and Lewis and escorted them into the house. Greetings were exchanged, after which it was agreed the delivery on the part of Spain should take place at noon.

At government house had gathered, besides the small staff of Governor Delassus, some of the leading habitants, among them Auguste Chouteau, Charles Gratiot and Antoine Soulard. Outside, where the little company of American soldiers was drawn up under Lieutenant Worrall, the St. Louisans filled the street. There was manifestation of interest, but it was quiet and serious. As the hour approached Captain Stoddard and Governor Delassus looked over the papers and placed upon them their signatures. The names of the witnesses were affixed. Just at noon the officials appeared on the gallery and faced the soldiers and the crowd. Advancing to the front, the Spanish governor read with some emotion in his tones this proclamation:

Inhabitants of Upper Louisiana:

By the King's command I am about to deliver up this post and its dependencies.

The flag under which you have been protected for a period of nearly thirty-six years is to be withdrawn. From this moment you are released from the oath of fidelity you took to support it.

The fidelity and courage with which you have guarded and defended it will never

be forgotten; and in my character of representative, I entertain the most sincere wishes for your perfect prosperity.

The order of the Spanish commission directing Governor Delassus to deliver Upper Louisiana to France was presented:

The King, our Sovereign, having determined to retrocede this Province of Louisiana to the French Republic, according to the announcement in the royal order issued at Barcelona on the 15th of October, 1802, to that effect; and having also commissioned us to carry the same into effect, by his subsequent royal order dated at Madrid, the 18th of January, 1803, we have put in execution the intentions of the Sovereign, by delivering up the government of this place, and the command of the Province to the Colonial Prefect, Pedro Clement Laussat, Commissioner of the French Republic, on the thirtieth day of November of the present year, and you are hereby requested to deliver up to the agent or officer of the said Prefect who may be authorized by him to receive from you the command of the post and its dependencies, now under the orders of your Excellency, as soon as he shall present himself before you, under the formalities of an inventory and valuation to be made by skillful persons in that post, upon oath to act with due impartiality, of the buildings which belong to the King, not including the artillery and other munitions of war, which must be remitted entire to this place.

Under the same formalities of an inventory the archives with the papers and documents which concern only the inhabitants of the district and their property shall be delivered, taking for the whole a receipt, in order that there always may be evidence of what has been delivered upon our part to the French Republic and cause the same to appear on the general inventory.

We particularly enjoin upon your Excellency the punctual execution of the foregoing, for which you are authorized to avail yourself of all the means that may be found in the district under your charge."

THE MARQUIS OF CASO CALVO.
MANUEL DE SALCEDO.

To DON CARLOS DELASSUS, Comdte de Illinois.

Next the document of delivery and receipt combined was offered in formal evidence:

In consequence of a letter sent from New Orleans of the 31st of December of last year (1803) by the Marquis de Caso Calvo and Don Juan Manual de Salcedo, Brigadier General of the royal armies and commissaries for his Catholic Majesty, for the transfer of the Colony and Province of Louisiana to the French Republic, addressed to Don Charles Delassus, Colonel in the same armies, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana and Commissioner appointed by the said Caso Calvo and Salcedo for its transfer, according to the contents of said letter requiring him to give full and entire possession of said dependencies, to wit: Pedro Clement Laussat, appointed by the French Republic to take possession of the said colony and Province of Louisiana, or any other persons which may have been named to that effect, according to the treaty of cession, and as by letter also sent from New Orleans, dated 12th of January of the current year, the said Commission of the French Republic appoints, constitutes and nominates as sole agent and commissary in behalf of the nation Amos Stoddard, captain of artillery of the United States of America, for the purpose of demanding and receiving the said Upper Louisiana, comprehending the said post St. Louis and its dependencies in virtue of the respective powers as explained above:

Now be it known that I, the above Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, in quality of Lieutenant Governor of the same, at the requirements duly made to me by the said Amos Stoddard, agent and commissary of the French Republic, have delivered the full possession, sovereignty and government of Upper Louisiana, with the military posts, quarters and fortifications thereto belonging; and I, Amos Stoddard, commissary as such, do acknowledge to have received the said possession on the terms mentioned, of which I

acknowledge myself satisfied as possessed of on this day. In testimony whereof the Lieutenant Governor and myself have signed these presents, sealed with the seal of our arms, being attested with the witnesses signed below, of which proceedings six copies have to be made out, to wit, three in the Spanish and three in the English languages.

Given in the town of St. Louis, of Illinois, 9th of March, 1804.

AMOS STODDARD.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

In presence of: Meriwether Lewis, Captain First United States Regiment Infantry; Antoine Soulard, Surveyor General; Charles Gratiot.

The deed was done. At a signal from the government house soldiers stepped to the flagstaff, in the fort on the hill, one for the retiring governor the other for the representative of France. Slowly the flag of Spain came down and slowly the flag of France went up. The cannon boomed the salute. The excited habitants rushed up to the fort to get as near the flag as possible. Charles Gratiot, the American citizen, the patriot who had given the American government his support from the days of the Revolution, made a wise suggestion. He said to the American captain, as they all called Stoddard, that nothing was to be gained by haste and that it would be well received if the French flag might fly a day. The American captain was not without sentiment. He saw the point. The French flag floated until noon of the 10th. That night, the 9th, the French formed a guard of honor for the flag. They assembled in the church and sang French songs. It is tradition that there was little sleep in old St. Louis during the twenty-four hours the tricolor flew. After the transfer on the 9th, the American soldiers occupied the fort and the Spanish soldiers marched down the hill to temporary quarters in one of the houses. It had been the first intention to let the French flag fly only till 6 p. m., but when the American captain saw the sentiment awakened he followed the suggestion of Charles Gratiot and did not take possession as the representative of the United States until noon of the 10th. There was not much formality the second day. The same officials and prominent citizens assembled at government house. The soldiers paraded. At high noon, the officials came out on the porch and faced the crowd. The Lewis and Clark camp was well represented. No longer was St. Louis foreign soil to Americans. Captain Stoddard announced that as the representative of France and under instructions from the French commissioner, Laussat, he now declared Upper Louisiana a part of the United States. At a signal the French flag came down and the flag of the United States floated above St. Louis. Charles Gratiot, true American that he was, stepped forward and called for three cheers. The daughter of Charles Gratiot, years afterwards, said that the response was not hearty, that many of the habitants seemed rather to take their changed condition seriously than to exult. But there is no record or tradition of any act or manner of hostility toward the American captain and his soldiers that day.

Wise indeed was the advice given to the new Americans by Captain Stoddard when he had taken charge at St. Louis:

Admitted as you are into the embraces of a wise and magnanimous nation, patriotism will gradually warm your breasts, and stamp its features on your future action. To be useful it must be enlightened; not the effect of passion, local prejudice or blind impulse. Happy the people who possess invaluable rights, and know how to exercise them to the best advantage; wretched are those who do not think and act freely. It is a sure test

of wisdom to honor and support the government under which you live, and to acquiesce in the decisions of the public will, when they may be constitutionally expressed. Confide, therefore, in the justice and integrity of our federal President; he is the faithful guardian of the laws; he entertains the most beneficent views relative to the glory and happiness of this territory; and the merit derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, will perpetuate his fame to posterity. Place equal confidence in all other constituted authorities of the Union. They will protect your rights, and indeed your feelings, and all the tender felicities and sympathies, so dear to rational and intelligent creatures. A very short experience of their equitable and pacific policy will enable you to view them in their proper light. I flatter myself that you will give their measures a fair trial, and not precipitate yourselves into conclusions, which you may afterwards see cause to retract. The first official acts of my present station, authorized by high authority, will confirm these remarks.

The order to Governor Delassus to withdraw from St. Louis was quite explicit as to the records. The Marquis Casa Calvo wrote:

I request you to bring with you the correspondence that belongs to the government which may not have any reference to the proceedings, deeds, concessions of lands, or to the fortune and interest of the inhabitants. You will ship the artillery, ammunition and goods that may belong to the King to this capital. As soon as you surrender the establishments, when the legitimately authorized party comes, you will start with the artillery, ammunition and all goods and papers that must not be left with the archives. And the priest of that parish, Don Pedro Jennin must also come.

Having delivered St. Louis to the American captain, Governor Delassus appears to have been very careful to avoid giving offense while making arrangements to ship the soldiers and the Spanish garrison property down the river. He issued an order in which he gave explicit directions as follows:

The flag wil be kept by the second sergeant, Juan Robayna, commander of the picket of the regiment of Louisiana. He will have a guard, composed of a chief and four men, who will keep guard at the door of the house where this picket is. This guard will be uniformed with a blue coat and a cockade in the hat. The one on guard will not permit any one to come into the house without orders from the sergeant. The commander of the picket will watch carefully that the soldiers do not drink, as I have noticed they have been doing recently. If the guards do not take into consideration the respect they should show the nation, they must be severely punished. The drum will not be played except in the morning and in the evening, and that after the drums of the Americans have been played. You must play the drum without going outside of the house.

Governor Delassus had serious difficulty in completing the evacuation of St. Louis. Not only did his superiors at New Orleans seem to be lacking in consideration but the ex-governor found the conditions at St. Louis not what they had been while he was in power. He wrote to Casa Calvo:

I cannot help but tell you how hard it is to see that the certificates of credit are not as acceptable as they should be. Nobody wishes to give anything for them since the last of the year. Every expense that we have been obliged to make has to be paid in cash upon presentation of the bill.

Not only was the retiring governor refused credit but he was so delayed in getting transportation he was compelled to write:

I have tried to hire boats since I first received your orders on June 24 and have been unsuccessful. We could not have left here until fall, as the water is too shallow and will not stand heavy weight. Taking everything into consideration I feel that this is the best revolution and most convenient under the circumstances, and although I may hurry very much I will not be able to leave here until the end of October.

MONROE, MARBOIS AND LIVINGSTON SIGNING THE TREATY OF ACQUISITION AT PARIS, 1803.

By Karl Bitter

Ex-governor Delassus and the Spanish garrison were so slow in taking their departure that in August Mayor Buff, the American officer, addressed to the commander a rather pointed inquiry as to his plans. Nobody would furnish boats. Delassus was compelled to have the flotilla constructed. He did not leave St. Louis until the 16th of October, 1804. With the Spanish troops, he went down the river and crossed over to Pensacola which was still under Spanish sovereignty. In 1810 Colonel Delassus resigned his commission in the Spanish Army and returned to the Territory of Louisiana, where he lived until 1842—the time of his death. The family home was for many years in Southeast Missouri and a town bears the name Delassus. Descendants are today residents of St. Louis. At the banquet given by this city to Lafayette in 1825 the last of the Spanish governors as an American citizen proposed the sentiment "the United States and France."

In his address upon taking the position of first civil commandant Captain Stoddard told the St. Louisans he believed they would very soon enjoy a permanent territorial government. But Congress was slow. In Washington were statesmen who doubted the qualifications of the new Americans for any measure of self government. They assumed that these people who had pioneered the way to self government, who had been given extraordinary freedom by Spain in the management of their domestic affairs were not fit for American citizenship. It was a grievous mistake but it was early evidence of eastern misconception of the western character. From St. Louis and from New Orleans went protests against the treatment accorded by Congress. St. Louis was aggrieved at the apparent disposition to keep Upper Louisiana under the government of officials sent out from Washington and to deny the rights which the treaty of cession promised. A memorial was drawn up and Auguste Chouteau was selected to go to Washington in behalf of the new Americans of Upper Louisiana. He opened correspondence with the good friend of St. Louis—General William Henry Harrison at Vincennes. The latter put Auguste Chouteau in communication with Congressman Eppes of Virginia. At the same time General Harrison made it his business to champion the cause of the people of Louisiana for self government. Auguste Chouteau handled his part of the correspondence so admirably as to hasten a satisfactory settlement by Congress. Congressman Eppes wrote to Auguste Chouteau:

> The liberal and temperate view taken in your first letter of the feelings and rights of the people of Upper Louisiana induced me to lay it before Mr. John Randolph, the chairman of the committee to whom the petition from Upper Louisiana was referred. He unites with me in the opinion that the view you have taken of this question is liberal and correct and that the first grade of territorial government ought to be extended to the people of Upper Louisiana. I have no doubt as to a report embracing all you ask as to form of your government. A general sentiment prevails among the members of the national legislature that the people of Louisiana ought to stand upon the footing of all other American citizens. There is no doubt, also, that a liberal policy as to the land titles of your citizens will be adopted.

More residents of St. Louis saw the sun rise the 29th of April, 1825, than had seen it on any previous morning since "the first thirty" arrived from Fort Chartres with Auguste Chouteau. The evening of the 28th, a man on a pony

galloped up the road from Carondelet. He brought the news that Lafayette had just landed there and would remain over night, reaching St. Louis in the morning. "Lafayette is coming!" The news spread through the community of five thousand. Couriers mounted and rode in haste up Bellefontaine road, out St. Charles road, toward Manchester, over the Gravois Creek hills. As they went they shouted "Lafayette is coming!" All night the candles burned in more than half of the houses of St. Louis. At the earliest dawn people were moving in the streets. When the sun came up across the American Bottom it shone in expectant faces of thousands of people who lined the river edge, crowded dangerously near the limestone cliff, covered the Place d' Armes, and stood in clusters on the house roofs from Main to Fifth Streets.

St. Louis had been preparing for the great day. The Marquis landed in New York in 1824. He was on a visit to the nation he had helped create many years before. He came by invitation. In the midst of the welcome at New York, a messenger from St. Louis was presented. He brought the invitation of his fellow citizens, adopted at a formal public meeting. Lafayette was asked to come to the youngest of the American states, to the city which his fellow countryman, Laclede, had founded, to a community over which the French flag had floated. He accepted. During the closing months of 1824 and the early months of 1825, the friend of Washington visited city after city in the east and the south. He moved leisurely, for those were the days of stage coaches. As the news of the receptions reached St. Louis, interest in the coming of Lafayette grew.

The secretary of Lafayette was Mr. A. Levasseur. After the return to France this secretary wrote a book in which he spoke of the impressions made by the reception at St. Louis:

In the early morning, Gov. Clark of Missouri, Gov. Coles of Illinois and Col. Benton boarded our vessel. All three had come to accompany us to St. Louis. A few minutes later a steamboat, the Plough Boy, loaded with a large number of citizens, ranged itself alongside of the Natchez, and the guest of the nation was saluted with a triple acclamation of "Welcome, Lafayette!" which awoke the echoes of the Missouri forests. Then we weighed anchor, and at 9 o'clock we saw a considerable number of buildings, of a somewhat bizarre style of architecture, rising in the midst of beautiful groves of trees and gardens, dominating, in the distance, the course of the river. It was the City of St. Louis; its name, and the language of a part of its population, soon recalled to us its origin. But if we were struck by the diversity of the languages in which the people saluted the General, not the less were we surprised at the unanimity of their sentiments toward him. The entire population lined the shore of the river, and the people responded with their cries of joy to the resounding salute fired by our two steamers.

At the moment that the General set foot on the shore Dr. Lane, the Mayor of the city, presented himself before him at the head of the city authorities, saluted him and addressed him.

Just as the General was uttering the last words of his reply to the Mayor, an elegant carriage, drawn by four horses, approached the shore, and received him to convey him into the city, through which he was driven in every direction, amid the cheers of the people.

The inhabitants of St. Louis knew that Gen. Lafayette could remain among them for a few hours only, and they hastened to put to the best use the short time at their disposal, to enable him to see all that their city and its vicinity included that might prove most interesting to him.

In the course of the day Lafayette was amazed to see approaching an old man in the full uniform of the French at Yorktown. He was delighted when the old soldier saluted stiffly, but correctly. He was deeply moved when Alexander Bellisme identified himself as a native of Toulon who had come over with him to fight for American independence. Bellissime had become a St. Louisan. He was known to everybody as "Old Alexie." His tavern on Second street, near Myrtle, was the resort of the French boatmen. After Lafayette's departure the veteran who had been embraced by his commander, was more esteemed than ever before. He lived to be eighty-seven. On the great days of St. Louis "Old Alexie" appeared in that well preserved uniform and three-cornered cockaded hat. When "Old Alexie" died in 1833, Captain Easton turned out the crack military company, the St. Louis Grays, and gave the veteran what would have been his heart's desire—a military funeral.

Lafayette was entertained with a reception at Major Pierre Chouteau's mansion. He was given a ride about the city. He visited Governor Clark's Indian museum. Then followed the banquet and after that was given the ball. Of the entertainment Secretary Levasseur wrote:

> We left the table to attend the ball, where we found the most brilliant and the most numerous company, we were told, that ever had gathered together on the west bank of the Mississippi. The splendor of the hall's decorations and the elegance of the ladies who filled it caused us to forget entirely that we were at the entrance of a desert which the Indians themselves consider as insufficient for the supply of their needs, since they never inhabit it, except by accident.
>
> We joined in the pleasures of the evening until nearly midnight, the hour at which we retired on board the Natchez in order to take some rest, while awaiting the return of day which should lighten our departure.
>
> At the moment when we were about to embark several citizens of St. Louis had the kindness to present us with some objects of curiosity, such as a few bows, arrows and garments of the Indians of Missouri; these we accepted with sentiments of recognition of the good will which prompted the giving of them, and these testimonials we have preserved as prized souvenirs of the happy moments passed so far from our country.

At the banquet given to Lafayette was one citizen of St. Louis who, addressing each member of the large staff in turn, conversed with him in the language with which he was most familiar. This was Bartholomew Berthold. He not only spoke in the French, the Spanish, the Italian, the German, but he was fluent and used the idioms of the cultivated of these nationalities. A merchant, Mr. Berthold had the reputation of being the most finished scholar of his time in St. Louis. The city was not without its highly educated citizens. But Mr. Berthold was more than a man of learning. He was of Tyrol birth. On his forehead was the scar of a sabre cut received in the battle of Marengo, where, a youth, Berthold fought in defense of his country against Bonaparte. He came to the United States as secretary to General Willot, when the latter, who had been in opposition to Napoleon, left France. The general went back to France after the downfall of the Napoleonic dynasty, but his secretary remained in the United States, becoming naturalized and settling in St. Louis.

Lafayette Day had its ludicrous scene. Nobody else appreciated it better than John F. Darby. David B. Hill was one of the young men of the town.

With a degree of enterprise which was commendable Hill had brought together a company of young fellows to form a militia company. The name chosen for the organization was "The Marions." By common consent this was corrupted to "The Mary Anns." By that name Captain Hill's company was known long after it became fully equipped and well drilled. On Lafayette Day, the Marions were out for a muster and drill on the court house square. The company had not reached that stage of organization which justified formal participation in the ceremonies of the day but Hill did not propose to let the occasion pass without being seen by the great man. When Lafayette was taken out for a drive, after the first reception to Major Pierre Chouteau's, the carriage was driven down Fourth street past the court house square. Darby told the story of what happened with a detail that would indicate his presence near by if not in the ranks of the Marions.

As soon as Captain Hill saw General Lafayette approaching in the barouche he became very much excited, and began to take snuff. "Gentlemen," said he, "General Lafayette, the great apostle of liberty is coming. You must prepare to salute General Lafayette, the great apostle of liberty, (taking more snuff). Attention company! All you in roundabouts or short-tailed coats take the rear rank. All you with long-tailed coats take the front rank." The captain paused to take a fresh supply of snuff. "Now," said the commander of the company, "all those having sticks, laths, and umbrellas in the front rank exchange them with those having guns in the rear rank." Just then Robert N. Moore, commonly called Big Bob Moore, a noted individual about town, called out to Captain Hill, and said "Capting! Capting! I say, Cooney Fox is priming his gun with brandy." "I'll be consarned," said Captain Hill, "if it isn't a scandalous shame to be guilty of such conduct right in the presence of General Lafayette,—at the most important period of a man's whole life,—when about to salute General Lafayette. If it warn't for the presence of General Lafayette, I'd put you under arrest immediately."

By this time the general had alighted from the carriage, and walked up in front of Captain Hill's company, when the captain ordered the company to "present arms;" after which the visitor withdrew and entered his carriage. It may be suppposed that in all the wars in which General Lafayette had been engaged, he had never encountered a more Falstaffian military organization. This much is due to Captain David B. Hill's military genius, as showing his ready resource of mind in case of an emergency. It is proper to state that Captain David B. Hill had military taste, and that he afterwards organized a fine military company of volunteers, elegantly uniformed, which he paraded on the Fourth of July and other public occasions.

After Lafayette had left St. Louis, the pleasant memories of the occasion prompted the use of his name for many things from hats to an avenue and a park.

The coming of Daniel Webster in 1837 made one of St. Louis' great days. It was long heralded. Mr. Webster was traveling without schedule. There was no railroad to the Mississippi, not even a telegraph wire. The Whig organization had been promised a visit. Only approximately had the date been fixed. Preparations for the reception were completed some time in advance. Then while the committee waited and looked day after day, the Democrats made sport. Their paper, the Argus, declared that the Whigs kept a watchman in the tower of the Cathedral to give notice of the approach of the boat. Late in the afternoon, the lookout reported the boat in sight. The committee of reception headed by Mayor Darby, hurried to the levee. The six pounders began the salute. Front street and the house tops were covered with cheering people. Mr. Webster

Recd d 19. d 9th

Vincennes 12th Nov. 1803

My dear Sir

Since the beginning of September I have been so severely afflicted with an inflammation in the eyes as to be entirely unable to answer the several kind letters which you have written me—

I believe that my trip to your country will be postponed for some time I have been waiting for final orders which I have not yet received but it is not impossible that I may receive orders this very day to go on immediately— Enclosed herewith you will receive the Message of the President to Congress in which he communicates the purchase of Louisiana to that body— The treaty is now before the Senate whose constitutional power it is to advise the President to ratify it or not. That it will be ratified there is little doubt but I cannot say when positive will be taken

There is nothing new from Europe but the probability of a revolt in France— Every thing seems to prognosticate it & should it be successful the restoration of Monarchy is thought to be inevitable— Bonaparte however still threatens England with an invasion & the Esquirk

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straining every nerve to be in readiness to receive Spain. It is said of late however that the First Consul will not command in person because it is supposed that the moment of his embarcation will be the Signal for the Malcontents to rise - Spain has not yet that we know of taken part in the war it is even said that the wishes of the Court are strongly in favour of England - The Northern Powers (Russia particularly) are very much offended at the Operations of the Franchise Canoon - a strong squadron of Russian Ships of war have been put in Commission & were daily expected in one of the British Ports - What their ultimate destination may be is not known - but it cannot be unfavourable to England as they are to use the Ports of Great Britain & Ireland to refit -

6 O'Clock P M

The mail has just arrived & has brought me the intelligence of the Treaty with France having been ratified by the President & Senate of the United States Enclosed herewith you will receive a Copy of the Treaty & Conventions -

I am Sir with public respect your most

was taken in a carriage to the National hotel, later the St. Clair, on Third and Market streets, then the finest hotel in the city. It had been expected that Henry Clay would accompany Mr. Webster but he was not in the party. The crowd surrounded the hotel and cheered until Mr. Webster made his appearance. A ten minutes' talk from the Market street front of the hotel was opened with a local reference.

"In coming up the Mississippi river to day," said Mr. Webster, "about twenty miles below your flourishing city, I passed the mouth of a stream called the Meramec. It is a name sacred and dear to me. I was born upon the banks of the Merrimack in New Hampshire, and whether a man be born upon the banks of the Meramec of Missouri, or the Merrimack of New Hampshire, I am proud to meet him as a fellow countryman, and greet him with the right hand of friendship and fellowship."

Elihu Shepard, writing of the manner in which the address of "the Godlike Daniel" affected his St. Louis hearers, said: "He was frequently cheered by the enthusiastic crowd, who in their frenzy seemed desirous of bearing him aloft, if not to the skies, at least as high as their hands could carry him, and were only restrained from attempting it by a desire to have him continue the flood from the same fountain."

A notable incident of Mr. Webster's visit was his reception at St. Louis University. At eleven o'clock in the morning, the statesman was taken out to the university buildings, then on Ninth and Washington avenue. He was met by the faculty which included Fathers Verhagen, Vandervelde, Ellet, DeSmet, Carroll and Van Nash. The students were assembled in the library hall. They gave Mr. Webster an ovation which seemed to please him very much. One of the students, Oscar W. Collet, stepped forward and delivered the oration of welcome. Mr. Webster in his acknowledgement spoke of his own school days and of his struggles to get a liberal education. Turning to the professors he told them "the sculptor and the painter worked upon marble and upon canvas, materials that were perishable, but to them was given the high privilege of working upon that which was immortal."

During weeks of suspense in 1838 all St. Louis excitedly watched for boats from New Orleans. A crowd flocked to the levee to meet each arrival. "What's the news from Texas?" was the eager question. In the fight for Lone Star independence St. Louis had more than the interest of a city of the American republic. Members of St. Louis families, scores of them, had settled in Texas while it was under the Mexican flag. Austin had led a colony from Missouri. At the opening of hostilities forty young men had gone from St. Louis to help the Texans establish independence. Boat after boat brought bad news. At Goliad there had been slaughter. Houston was retreating, retreating with his front to the enemy. He was covering the flight of the fugitive women and children from Western Texas. He was nearing the San Jacinto. A Mexican army, three times as large as that of the Texans, was pressing eastward. That was the situation on which the interest and impatience of St. Louis reached the crisis. The levee swarmed when the next New Orleans boat came in. A man

with a broad brimmed hat leaned forward from the deck and waving his hand shouted:

"Sam Houston has whipped Santa Anna and got him a prisoner."

Did they cheer? One who was there said that joy coming so suddenly upon anxiety, the first response was a great "Ah!" of relief. The throng pressed forward for details. Texas was free. The Mexican leader was a prisoner. His army had gone back to Mexico. St. Louisans had given good account of themselves in the fighting. Then came the cheering. "Hurrah for Steve Austin!" "Hurrah for Sam Houston!" "Hurrah for Texas!"

"When every other land forsakes us,
This is the land that freely takes us."

The lid of suspense was off. St. Louis celebrated the good news far into the night.

In the summer and fall of 1847 St. Louis was full of "Conquistadores," strange looking, some with long mustaches, some with full beards, all swarthy. The Mexican war was over. Up to that time St. Louisans were, as a rule, smooth shaven men. They came back, outlandish in looks, with new speech, the heroes of the most marvelous campaigning the country had known. Senator Benton, at his best, in welcoming the returning volunteers told them they had even outdone ancient history. Doniphan had eclipsed Xenophon. The Senator said:

> The "Ten Thousand" counted the voyage on the Black Sea, as well as the march from Babylon, and twenty centuries admit the validity of the count. The present age and futurity will include with the going out and coming in of the Missouri Volunteers the water voyage as well as the land march and the expedition of the One Thousand will exceed that of the Ten by some two thousand miles.
>
> You did the right thing at the right time, and what the government intended you to do, and without knowing its intentions.

A form of celebration which came into much popularity with St. Louis during the Mexican War, was the illumination. Citizens determined to honor the victories which had been won over Mexico. Cannon were placed in the vicinity of the Lucas market, which was at Twelfth and Olive streets, to fire salutes. At a signal lights were displayed in nearly every window of the city. Most of these lights were candles placed upon boards. The papers of that time spoke of the illumination of the market house as being especially fine. The boats at the levee participated in the illumination, displaying rows of candles along the decks. The boys built bonfires at the street intersections and on the commons. One of the events of the illumination night took place at sundown. From the office of the "Reveille," the evening newspaper, an eagle was let loose, having attached to one of its legs a brass plate on which was engraved "Buena Vista."

The civic pride of St. Louis found unanimous demonstration on the 15th of February, 1847. That day, eighty-three years before, Auguste Chouteau and "the first thirty" had landed near the foot of Market street. Eight o'clock in the morning of the anniversary, that grandest of grand marhsals in his day and generation, Thornton Grimsley, with a staff of aids and assistant marshals, was at the exact landing place as tradition had preserved it. Holzscheiter unlimbered

My attention I conclude with requesting you to present me in the most respectful terms to Madame & Mr De Lussan & believe me

Sincerely yr friend

Will Henry Harrison

The Hon^ble

Charles De Hault Delafield

&c &c

his cannon, and pointed the muzzles toward the Illinois shore. Henry Pilkington brought Phoenix Fire Company to attention and the banner with a picture of the founding was displayed in front. Leader Barkley gave the preliminary signal to the Washington Brass Band. Drum Major Roquers faced the fifers and drummers with upraised baton. The cannon boomed. Twenty-nine guns were fired in honor of the founding of St. Louis. Two guns were fired for Laclede, two more for Thomas Jefferson and three for the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. From the boat yards which lined the river above Biddle street came answering salutes. The moment the firing ceased, the musicians played "St. Louis' Imperial March," composed for that day.

There had been apprehension that the uncertainties of February temperature might interfere but, according to the newspaper account the next morning, "the morning opened mild, with a hazy and dense atmosphere, not unlike a morning in Indian summer, and the streets generally were dry and the walking pleasant. Nature seemed to have given just such a day as suited the occasion."

The celebration began early with the salute on the levee. It was continued with the procession in the forenoon, the great popular event. Then came Wilson Primm's oration before an assemblage which filled Fourth street in front of the court house. The four Indians who had formed the escort to Pierre Chouteau sat on the platform. Late in the afternoon the banquet was given. Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening the ball began.

The "oldest inhabitants" who were asked especially to participate in the celebration were Pierre Chouteau, Paul L. Chouteau, Gabriel S. Chouteau, Simon Sanguinet, R. Dufrene, Vincent Guion, H. Sappington, Jean Baptiste Hortiz, Jean Baptiste Belcour, John Perry, Antoine Schmidt, L. S. Martin and Louis Lemonde. Chief interest centered in the presence of Pierre Chouteau, the son of Laclede, a small boy when the settlement was founded. The venerable man rode in a carriage, having as a guard of honor four Indians on ponies. He was the president of the day. At the banquet, given in the Planter's House, the presiding officer introduced Pierre Chouteau. In a few words, using his most familiar language, the French, Mr. Chouteau spoke of the purity, simplicity and honesty of the first settlers of St. Louis.

Notable and admirable were the honors paid to Laclede on this celebration. Traditions of the founder were vivid. A picture of the founding which was painted upon one of the banners showed Laclede standing on the site of St. Louis with Auguste Chouteau at his left holding a plat of the proposed settlement. Hunters and trappers stood near. In the background loomed the rocky precipice which faced the river. At the water's edge, the boat was being unloaded. At one side an interpreter was making friends with a group of Indians. A conspicuous place in the parade was given to a large model of the steamboat "Laclede," one of the finest boats on the river in its day, a product of a St. Louis shipyard. Behind this model walked Mayor Peter G. Camden and the other city officers. At the banquet Lewis V. Bogy, afterwards United States Senator, proposed a toast "to the memory of Pierre Liguest Laclede, the founder of St. Louis." The guests arose and drank. The band played the "Laclede March," composed for the occasion. The Laclede banner, made by the ladies of St.

Louis, was presented to Pierre Chouteau. When the guest of honor, the son of the founder, arose to withdraw from the banquet hall, the company stood up and cheered. The band played "Hail to the Chief." In the parade the Apprentices Library Association, marshaled by Joseph F. Schiefer, carried the banner for the committee of arrangements. This banner was a piece of beautiful handiwork. It was of satin, embroidered with the name of "Laclede" on one side and on the other "our city." Thus in manifold ways the memory of the founder was celebrated.

The pageant was the largest and the most interesting St. Louis had seen. It combined historical sentiment with evidences of the city growth. A long line of steamboatmen escorted a model twenty feet in length of the General Pike, the first steamboat which reached St. Louis. The model was on wheels, drawn by eight horses and attended by a crew picked from well known St. Louisans identified with steamboat interests of that day. Captain Throckmorton stood on deck, holding a telescope and giving orders. His crew was composed of George Ransom, mate; Thomas Nelson, pilot; Charles La Barge, steersman; J. C. Burkinbine, starboard deckhand; Charles Connoyer, larboard deckhand; John Lee and N. J. Eaton, firemen on the first watch; Hugh Campbell and John Shaw, firemen on the second watch. The men, all qualified to command steamboats, performed the duties of the humble positions assigned to them. The newspaper account of the procession mentioned especially these features:

> Next came the members of the Hunting Club, enough in numbers, noise and appearance, to frighten all the game for many miles around. They were headed by the president and vice president of the club, Capt. Cohen and Green Erskine. The whole club wore hunter's costume, armed with horns, buck tails and double-barreled shotguns—altogether presenting a very unique appearance. Capt. McDonough's horse supported on his head an enormous pair of buck horns.
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> Next came the Hibernian Charitable Society, preceded by a band of music, and bearing their banner, the Harp of Erin—the members wearing green sashes.
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> Following these came a large company dressed in masques, in carriages and on horseback. This part of the pageant excited no little amusement, from the grotesqueness of the dresses and the variety of the characters.
>
> Following these came a large deputation of brewers. First, a mammoth cask, sufficiently capacious to hold about 18 barrels of beer, mounted on a car, drawn by four gray horses. On this car was a representation of the King of Flanders and Barbaut, fancifully said to be the inventor of beer, dressed in his royal robes and bearing in his outstretched hands an overflowing pitcher of the beverage. This cask was from the brewery of Mr. Lemp. This display showed something of the extent to which this department of business is carried in this city.
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> Next came Mr. Wyman's High School, numbering 175. It will not, we trust, be thought invidious to say that this school presented one of the most interesting spectacles in the procession. The drill of the scholars was almost as perfectly in marching as that of regular soldiers, their deportment was manly and elevated, and everything indicated that they really had been schooled in their duties.

The public schools, then in their infancy, were given a prominent position in the column. School No. 3, with Principal David H. Armstrong, headed this section. On arriving at the courthouse this school sang an ode written for the day and adapted to the tune, "The Old Granite State." Educational St. Louis was further represented by 700 students from St. Louis University and by the Evangelical German Lutheran school. The St. Louis Typographical Associa-

tion had a float with a press in operation turning out copies of an ode which John P. Shannon had written for the printers.

The mass meeting at the courthouse in front of the courthouse was followed by the banquet. No hotel was sufficient to accommodate those participating. The state tobacco warehouse was turned into a banquet hall. Lewis V. Bogy, Thomas Allen, John F. Darby and William C. Carr were among the speakers. The proposing of toasts was a popular practice at public dinners in St. Louis. Sometimes these were prearranged. Often they were informal. They did not necessarily call for responses. When the regular program had been finished, the volunteer toastmasters had a round. N. E. Janney, having in mind the founding of Rome, proposed "Romulus and Laclede." John F. Darby remembered "The Mothers of St. Louis." Nathaniel Paschall was remembered as "One of the Pioneers of the Press of St. Louis." A toast was offered in memory of "Joseph Tayon, the companion of Laclede, who built the first mill in St. Louis."

Henry Clay was a popular idol of St. Louis. His death was the occasion of an observance altogether unusual. "The gallant Harry of the West" died on the 29th of June, 1852. On the 12th of July the whole city of St. Louis paid formal tribute to his memory by a great torchlight procession. Houses were draped in mourning. As customary, Thornton Grimsley marshaled the long column. Following the staff came the military companies, the Grays and the Jaegers, with draped colors. The chaplain of the night was Bishop Hawks, and with him rode Rev. S. S. Gassaway of St. George's and Rev. Mr. Leech of St. Paul. Uriel Wright, the man eloquent of that generation, was the orator. Twenty carriages were filled with honorary pall bearers headed by Thomas H. Benton, who had consistently opposed the Whig leader in the Senate and in campaigns.

The funeral car was attended by three officers of the United Order of American Mechanics, M. B. McLaughlin, J. L. Faucett and J. L. Bailey, by turns carrying the American flag furled and shrouded. The car was drawn by six horses. The mayor and city officers, judges of the courts and officers of the army and navy were escorted by the committee of arrangements. Then came more military—the Union Swiss Guards, the Lafayette Guards and the Washington Grenadiers. The Lafayette Guards were chiefly of French descent. The Grenadiers were Germans. Masons, Odd Fellows, American Mechanics, the Hibernians and the German Benevolent Society had places with the German Gymnastics, the student body of St. Louis University, the steamboat engineers. The St. Louis Printers Union carried transparencies on which were quotations from Clay and epigramatic tributes to his character. The fire companies with decorated engines, the Missouri Dragoons and the Missouri Artillery brought up the rear. To slow music and carrying hundreds of torches, this procession passed down Fifth street to Chouteau avenue, up Fourth street, Locust and Fifth to Washington avenue, up Washington avenue and by way of Eighth, Locust and Olive to Lucas Place, where the bodies were dismissed. The next day before a great gathering on Olive street, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets, in front of Yeatman's Row, Uriel Wright pronounced the funeral oration. St. Louis had witnessed previously no like demonstration of mourning.

In a suite of a dozen or more persons which accompanied Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, through the United States in 1852 were Francis and Theresa Pulszky. They wrote "White, Red, Black." The title page explained that the contents of the book were "sketches of society in the United States during the visit of their guest." The guest was Kossuth. White, Red, Black were the three races of people inhabiting America. It is evident that the foreigners were alive to all information of entertaining character. Somebody in St. Louis supplied a surprising story of the founding of the city. Fortunately the tradition was not wholly accepted by the visitors. The narrative devoted considerable space to the reception accorded Kossuth at St. Louis:

When our boat yesterday arrived at the landing-place here in St. Louis, people jumped from the neighboring steamboats on our deck, and poured into the state-room in such a compact mass, that the captain of the steamer requested Kossuth to proceed quickly ashore to prevent misfortune. Mischief had already been done, panes and lamps were broken. We pushed our way through the crowd and could scarcely escape its pressure by retiring into the next storehouse, not without losing the clogs which remained sticking in the mud. The city authorities shortly afterwards arrived and carried us in procession to the hotel.

Ever since our arrival the rain has been pouring in torrents; yet the people did not like that Kossuth's address should be delayed; they met on Tuesday and thousands of them were drenched for two hours, while listening to his eloquent voice. It was a practical demonstration of sympathy; so much the more as the Jesuits had exerted all their influence to thwart the feeling for Hungary, which manifests itself in very striking incidents: a poor clerk came the day before yesterday to Kossuth, and left his golden watch on the table, as a contribution for European freedom, and when Kossuth refused to accept it, the young man declared he would take this as an insult. A farmer called, shook hands and said: "Thank you that you allowed me to see you. I must return today to my farm, and I was determined to shake hands with you. I set my very life on it for I am a cruel man. I might have killed myself with disappointment. But now I must give you something; I have nothing in my pocket but a poor knife, but this you must keep as a keepsake of a western farmer.

The story of the founding of St. Louis, which the Hungarians did not accept in its entirety, was this:

St. Louis, next to New Orleans and Cincinnati, the most important of the cities in the Mississippi basin, was founded in 1764 by Pierre Laclede, the chairman of a company of merchants at New Orleans, to which the governor of Louisiana had granted the exclusive privilege of the fur trade with the Indians on the Mississippi and the Missouri. He went up the Mississippi, intending to raise a fort and trading point at the mouth of the Missouri But, according to an anecdote, he fixed it thirteen miles below that point, only because the ladies of the party were tired of moving about, and would not proceed farther. Cincinnati, too, is said to have been laid out on its present site, because the officer of the United States forces, posted in Fort Washington, fell in love with the wife of a settler, whose house stood on the bend of the Ohio. The officer, desiring to live near her, transferred the wooden fort higher up the river, where it became the nucleus of the city. But whoever examines the sites of these great emporiums will easily perceive that their romantic traditions are scarcely to be credited; the cities could not be laid out on more favorable points than those they really occupy, nor can their sites be accidental.

Kossuth and his friends were impressed with the prosperity of St. Louis at the time of their visit, 1852:

Shortly after St. Louis had been founded, the country was ceded by France to Spain, and under her dominion the city hardly increased. There was no public school in the whole colony, no regular church; the villages were sometimes visited by missionaries; the

EADS BRIDGE IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION

ORIGINAL ENTRANCE TO THE EADS BRIDGE

EADS BRIDGE NEARING COMPLETION

THE EADS BRIDGE, COMPLETE AND IN USE

currency consisted of deerskins. The French Creoles lived here in such an isolated and primitive simplicity, that though their honesty and hospitality have become proverbial, they could not compete with the Yankees, and soon, when under the rule of the United States, they were "improved off," by sharp Tennesseans and Kentuckians. But even in 1830 the population of St. Louis was but 6,500; in 1850, it had risen already to about 100,000. In the last twenty years the States of Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa have been rapidly filled with an enterprising population, and St. Louis has become the market for a back country more extensive than that of Cincinnati; and yet the land between the Missouri and Mississippi is but scantily peopled; the increase of the "Mound City" is therefore likely to continue on the same gigantic scale as heretofore.

The principal articles of trade in St. Louis are—lumber, tobacco, hemp, flour, salt beef, and pork, whiskey, the lead of Illinois, the commodities and manufactures of Europe and of the Eastern States. Rich iron deposits have been discovered in the state but as yet their working remains unprofitable. The Missourians, therefore, though Democrats, (in St. Louis the Whigs are in the majority), complain of the "free trade tariff," and wish to have their iron industry protected against English competition. There are in St. Louis but few manufactories, principally distilleries and flour-mills. One of the most important and most promising establishments is that for the preparation of the white lead, Shipbuilding is also carried on, on an extensive scale. Missouri has as yet no railways, but several lines have already been surveyed, and the great line to California must touch St. Louis, and will add to the importance of the city.

Railroad Day was the 15th of June, 1857. It celebrated the completion of the first railway eastward from St. Louis. So impressive were the rejoicings over the event that they became the subject of a book. The narrative was written by J. Prescott Smith. Excursion trains starting the day before brought to St. Louis high officials of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. One train did not arrive until the day after the principal celebration. In that case the belated delegations were received with a supplemental address of welcome and were hospitably entertained. City officials came from as far distant as Buffalo. Stephen A. Douglas was one of the guests.

Railroad Day was four days, for that was the period during which St. Louis celebrated the formal opening of railroad communication with the eastern part of the country. As the trains came into Illinoistown on the east bank of the river, the governors, senators and other distinguished guests looked out of their car windows into a forest of pine torches lighting up the midnight scene. A crowd had crossed over from the St. Louis side. The mayor, J. M. Wimer, came forward with a welcome which he made short with a reference to the "bonds of iron" that day forged between St. Louis and the rest of the United States. The excursionists were shown the way down the sandy bank to four of the largest boats on the river, the Reindeer, the Baltimore, most appropriately chosen for the occasion, the Illinois, the Di-Vernon. On these boats the guests were given staterooms for the night. There was little sleep. Across the river in St. Louis cannon boomed, fireworks exploded. The long levee was ablaze with gas lamps, torches, Roman candles, Greek fire and bonfires. Friday morning, June 15, 1857, the St. Louis programme opened formally. After breakfast the boats left the Illinois shore and steamed down to Carondelet and then up the river to the northern limits of the city. William Prescott Smith, describing the scene and the impression, said:

The view was exceedingly fine. St. Louis, with its substantial edifices, public, private and commercial; its numerous church spires; many and extensive factories, from

which tall columns of smoke were wending their way continually towards the black cloud overhead; and its long levee lined for miles with steamers, and piled with every conceivable description of merchandise, exacted the wondering surprise and admiration of all who beheld it for the first time.

As the four boats neared the St. Louis levee the Missouri artillery company began the salute of one hundred guns. At the gang planks were Mayor Wimer, President George R. Taylor of the Board of Aldermen, Chairman John Vogel of the Board of Delegates and Alderman Shore. Between the lines of the St. Louis Grays, the Washington Guards, the Mounted Rifles, the Missouri Dragoons, the Missouri Jaegers and the Union Riflemen, the visitors were escorted to carriages. "The crowd shouted with almost delirious enthusiasm" reads the account written by one of the visitors. "A holiday had been declared. All business houses were closed. The procession was 'several miles long.' The route was up Market street to Fourth, to Olive, to Eleventh street to Franklin avenue, to Grand avenue and to the Fair Grounds. Over two hours were required to move the column. Along the entire route through the city the houses were decorated with flags and streamers, garlands and wreaths, and the roofs, windows, sidewalks and streets were filled with people dressed in holiday attire. The tout ensemble formed a scene of surpassing gaiety and splendor. Amid this exciting pageant the ladies of the 'Mound City' shone with resplendent lustre as they waved their handkerchiefs and smiled a pleasant welcome to the guests."

Charles Keemle, the newspaper man, was the grand marshal of the day. The account of the celebration and the expressions of the eastern visitors are interesting as showing that in 1857 St. Louis had acquired the faculty of entertaining on a municipal scale, and had learned the art of extending hospitality in its most pleasing form.

A graphic description of the Fair Grounds as in existence in 1857 was given by one of the visiting journalists:

> They are, almost unquestionably, the finest arranged grounds for the purposes of agricultural and mechanical exhibitions to be found in the United States. The land, alone, cost $50,000. The grounds have been improved almost without regard to expense. Water, carried to the grounds from a distance, is distributed in pipes wherever convenience requires, and at night the entire place is illuminated by gaslight. The grounds are perfectly level and richly carpeted with blue grass. In the center rises a magnificent amphitheatre, 350 feet in diameter, with a center arena, the diameter of which is 250 feet. This amphitheatre will seat comfortably nearly ten thousand people. Each promenade will hold eight thousand, so that twenty-six thousand people may be sheltered under the roof of this magnificent structure. The cost was nearly $70,000.

A collation was served on tables 300 feet long. The man who arranged to feed that multitude and still have enough to feast another crowd as large was William Wade, the merchant. He was at the head of a committee having that feature in charge. Mr. Wade desired to give the visitors from the Atlantic seaboard something distinctive to illustrate a typical St. Louis luncheon. With

but one or two exceptions the things served were of local production. This was the "bill of fare"—not menu:

Boned Turkey
Ham, Champagne Sauce
Beef a la Mode
Tenderloin Larded
Stuffed Turkey and Oysters
Spring Chicken a la Tartar
Quail Patties
Snipe Patties
Chicken Patties
Marbled Veal
Beef Tongue
Roast Turkey
Spring Chicken Broiled
Lamb and Mint Sauce
Sandwiches

With this array of meats and game, the committee served vegetables and chicken salad, strawberries and ice cream in such abundance that the guests were amazed at the profusion. The committee carried out the idea of showing what St. Louis produced even to the beverages. They had sparkling and still catawba from the press of Glasgow, porter and ale and beer from the breweries of St. Louis.

Before the collation Edward Bates, who was the graceful orator of that period, extended the welcome to the visitors. After the feast came toasts in quick succession to governor and mayors of the states and cities represented. At night there was an illumination. The theatres were opened to the visitors.

Saturday night, the 16th of June, a reception was given in the Varieties theater. The house was thronged. The Honorable James Brooks of New York, a member of the delegation from that city, was unexpectedly called upon to speak. He had stowed himself away in the second tier and was surrounded by ladies. Those were the days of the enormous hoops. Mr. Brooks made his way with considerable difficulty through the throng, and began his remarks after a polite wave toward the toilettes by saying he found himself "in the outskirts of civilization."

Perhaps the speech which found most responsive chord among the St. Louisans was William Pinckney White's remark "that no gratitude was due. The kindness shown was a spontaneous outburst of native generosity which came of itself, and which the givers could not help."

Sunday, the 17th, the visitors went about the city. Monday the new Merchants' Exchange was opened with ceremonies, and Henry Ames, president of the Chamber of Commerce, offered the sentiment:

St. Louis has long been married to New York and Boston—the western people have now adopted the Utah principle, and have taken Baltimore into the alliance.

Judge Z. Collins Lee of Baltimore, responding for the visitors, quoted the prophecy of Henry Clay "that the great center of the United States would be at St. Louis and on the Mississippi."

President Andrew Johnson was escorted to St. Louis September 8, 1866, by a fleet of thirty-six steamboats, which met the party at Alton. With the

President were General Grant, Admiral Farragut, Secretary of State Seward and General Hancock. Andrew Johnson was the first President of the United States to visit St. Louis. After the reception committee had landed at Alton, the presidential party was escorted to the steamboat Andrew Johnson. President Johnson was escorted by Captain Bart Able and John Hogan; then came Secretary Seward with George Knapp; Secretary Welles with Daniel G. Taylor. On the trip down the river there was a welcoming speech by Captain James B. Eads. Following the address, President Johnson visited the room of the St. Louis Press Club on board the boat and was received by President Phil. G. Ferguson. A speech in behalf of the newspaper men was made by Mr. Clement of the "Guardian." One of the incidents was the reception by President Johnson of the survivors of the war of 1812, headed by General Nathan Ranney.

The fleet, headed by the Andrew Johnson, arrived at the St. Louis levee shortly after 2 o'clock, and was received, according to a local account, with "the wildest excitement." There was cheering and cannonading; there was ringing of bells and screaming of whistles.

Escorted by a long procession, the presidential party was taken in carriages to the Lindell hotel. In the column were regular troops from the arsenal, veterans of the Civil war, the Caledonian Society in highland costume, the city councils of St. Louis and Carondelet, the members of the press. The second division was composed of the Masons, Odd Fellows and Andrew Johnson clubs, the Hibernian Society, the Shamrock Society, the United Sons of Erin, the Total Abstinence Society, students of the St. Louis University, Butchers' Association, Draymen's Association, city police, members of the Merchants' Exchange and the fire department.

At the Lindell hotel there was another welcoming address by Mayor Thomas, to which President Johnson responded. This took place on the portico over the main entrance. Then followed a reception in the drawing room, and President Johnson made another speech.

In the evening a banquet was given at the Southern hotel, the menu for which filled a half column in the newspapers.

There President Johnson spoke again at considerable length. These St. Louis speeches were used by the House of Representatives in the prosecution of the impeachment charges. L. L. Waldbridge, who reported the speeches, was summoned to Washington to testify in the trial to the accuracy of the report. The speech which gave the most offense to the Republican party in Congress was one President Johnson delivered from the Walnut street front of the Southern hotel shortly before going into the banquet. Stimulated by enthusiasm and by the encouraging interruptions of the audience, the President used very bitter language in describing his controversy with the Congress. His visit to St. Louis the President described as swinging 'round the circle.

The grandest Fourth of July celebration St. Louis had known was in 1874. That date was chosen to celebrate formally the completion of the Eads bridge. The bridge was opened to roadway traffic on the 23rd of May. The first train

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, DAVID R. FRANCIS

DEDICATION DAY, WORLD'S FAIR

crossed the 9th of June. The committee of arrangements was headed by Barton Able. The grand marshal was Arthur B. Barret.

The celebration began at daylight. Simpson's battery, under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel F .W. Fuchs, marched to the river front and fired thirteen guns for the original thirteen states—the time honored custom of ushering Independence Day. At nine o'clock Colonel Fuchs divided the guns, sending two to the Illinois end of the bridge. Alternately the cannon boomed, Illinois answering Missouri; one hundred guns were fired.

The procession was an impressive demonstration of civic magnitude and strength. It moved immediately after the nine o'clock salute of one hundred guns. Huebler and the police led the way eastward down Washington avenue from Jefferson. United States cavalry, the National Guards, the Uhlans and the uniformed secret and benevolent societies formed a showy division. Officers and members of the Merchants' Exchange made one of the few appearances on parade in the history of the organization. They rode in carriages and displayed a banner with a picture of the Exchange. The German singing societies, headed by Professor Egmont Froelich, marched 600 strong, carrying banners. The Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Exchange, with Henry Milburn as marshal, demonstrated the building trades with a long line of floats, illustrating the different kinds of work required to build a complete house. There were architects, excavators, masons, stonecutters, brickmakers and bricklayers, iron-workers, carpenters, stair-builders, roofers, tinners, lightning-rod men, plumbers, plasterers, gas fitters, painters and glaziers, paperhangers, grate and mantel manufacturers. President James Luthy and other officers of the Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Exchange, rode in carriages. The custom house officials escorted a full rigged brig, the James B. Eads, drawn by eight horses and commanded by Henry P. Wyman. The postoffice carriers accompanied a float illustrating the evolution of mail carrying from post rider to railway. King Gambrinus, personated by Jacob Schorr, had a retinue of brewers. Members of the city council were in carriages. The fire department was the last division. The movement of the procession occupied nearly four hours.

A special train crossed the bridge and delivered at the reviewing and speaking stand on Third and Washington avenue Governor Silas Woodson of Missouri, Governor Beveridge of Illinois, Governor Hendricks of Indiana, United States Senator Lewis V. Bogy and a large number of official guests escorted by the committee of arrangements. Three governors spoke; also Mayor Joseph Brown of St. Louis, Ex-Governor B. Gratz Brown, who two years before had been the nominee for vice president; J. and Thomas W. Ferry of Michigan. In the course of his address James B. Eads, the designer and builder, said this about the permanence of the construction:

> I am justified in declaring that the bridge will exist just as long as it continues to be useful to the people who come after us, even if its years should number those of the pyramids. That its piers will thus endure few will doubt, while the peculiar construction of its superstructure is such that any piece of it can be taken out and examined, and replaced or renewed, without interrupting the traffic on the bridge. The effect of temperature upon the arches is such that in cold weather the lower central tubes and the upper abutment tubes composing the spans are so relieved of strain that any one of them may be uncoupled from the others and easily removed. In hot weather

the upper ones of the center and the lower ones near the piers may be similarly removed. In the completion of the western span two of the lower tubes of the inside ribs near the middle of the span were injured during erection and were actually uncoupled and taken out without any difficulty whatever after the span was completed, and two new ones put in their place within a few hours. This is a feature in its construction possessed by no other similar work in the world, and it justifies me in saying that this bridge will endure as long as it is useful to man.

The baptism of the bridge was one of the events of the day. When Grand Marshal Barret and his staff reached the dedication stand at the west entrance, the president of the company, Gerard B. Allen, introduced Mrs. Julius S. Walsh, daughter of Charles K. Dickson, the first President and one of the chief promoters of the bridge. This lady proceeded to baptize the bridge and said:

With the waters of the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Gulf, the Lakes and the Mississippi commingled,—emblematic of the union effected by these mighty spans—I christen this structure, the Illinois bridge, and invoke the blessing of the Almighty on it, its builders and the commerce to which it is henceforth and forever dedicated.

A feature of the procession were the junior aides on ponies. Grand Marshal Arthur B. Barret was attended by a staff of fifty aides, dressed in black coats and trousers, with blue neckties, white hats and vests, narrow black bands around the hats, white linen gloves and blended red and white silk scarfs. David R. Francis was one of the aides thus attired. Others known to this generation were W. H. Thomson and Charles W. Knapp. Following the aides were the twenty-five junior aides, who were dressed in short black coats, white trousers, white cravats, white straw hats with black bands, white gloves and red silk scarfs. Among the juniors were Malcom McDonald, James Eads Dickson, George Bakewell, Frank O'Fallon, James Farish, Thomas Scudder and Sylvester Taylor. The juniors performed cavalry evolutions during the parade.

During the day all steamboats in the harbor joined in a novel movement called "the rainbow plan." They formed in three lines facing the bridge, the small boats in front, the largest in the rear. The night feature of the celebration was the burning of thousands of dollars worth of fireworks on the bridge. The spectacle drew to the boats and to the river front a large proportion of the city's 300,000 population.

The Eads bridge was tested in June, 1874, previous to the formal opening. Fourteen locomotives of the weight of that day, which ranged from thirty-five to fifty-one tons, an average of forty tons, or five hundred and sixty tons in all, were made in two trains under the direction of Captain Eads. They traversed the bridge, making stops on each span until the effects of the load could be carefully noted. With these fourteen locomotives stopped upon a span the deflection was only two and one-half inches on the center span and two and one-eighth inches on the side spans. Ten locomotives were coupled together and run over first one track and then the other in such a manner as to place the strain first on one side and then on the other side of the bridge. The results were of the most satisfactory character.

In 1872 James G. Blaine, then Speaker of the House of Representatives; Secretary Boutwell of the Treasury, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, nominee for Vice President, visited St. Louis. They were escorted to various points

of interest by Mr. Henry T. Blow. The Eads bridge, then nearing completion, amazed the visitors. Mr. Wilson said: "Mr. Blow, I had no idea that American ingenuity—that American skill or that engineering skill of any man in America—had ever conceived and accomplished anything so magnificent as this bridge."

Then Mr. Boutwell took up the conversation and remarked: "Sir, I see nothing of this bridge in your newspapers; it is the grandest work of modern times."

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, James G. Blaine, voiced the impression made upon him in this way: "Mr. Blow, show me the engineer of this bridge."

The great seal of Government sponsorship was placed upon the certificate of Dedication of the Universal Exposition of 1904. It was attested with the formality of diplomatic etiquette by the nations of the globe. More impressive, more official, more enthusiastic the dedication ceremonies could not have been.

"I dedicate these buildings" said the President of the United States. The joint committee of Congress, the ambassadors and ministers and commissioners of more than thirty foreign governments, the governors and representatives of more than forty States and Territories by their presence acknowledged and approved.

A nipping frost whitening the earth was a most extraordinary beginning for the 30th of April, 1903, centennial day of the Purchase of the Louisiana Territory. It threatened to chill early enthusiasm but was quickly forgotten in the inspiration of the morning military pageant. Those spectators who looked westward from Grand Avenue or eastward from Kings' Highway saw a spectacle not surpassed in military pomp or splendor even by the parades of Inauguration Day in Washington.

Lindell boulevard with its parkings, its rows of trees, its fronts of stately mansions and club houses, with its gentle summits at King's Highway and Grand avenue and the gradual dip between, has passed into history with the dedication of the Universal Exposition as having furnished the setting of one of the most impressive and most perfect military scenes in time of peace that the United States has known.

When the head of the long column had passed through the mile of park between the masses of spectators, had traversed the triumphal way, had saluted the chief magistrate of the nation on the reviewing stand, the waves of armed humanity with crests of gleaming steel were still rolling along the entire length of Lindell boulevard.

The President shook his head with strenuous emphasis to the suggestion that he retire to the refreshment tent while the column was passing. That was a spectacle and an experience, a revelation of the might of arms of the nation to make the commander-in-chief oblivious to the pangs of hunger.

The next scene in the Palace of Liberal Arts! Humanity pressing forward eager and insistent for sight and hearing! Best laid plans for order

and precedence of guests swept away in a few moments of good natured scramble by the thousands! Ushers engulfed and lost in the surging masses! Here and there the helpless helmet of a policeman afloat in a human sea! It was a sight for a lifetime. The twenty-eight hundred voices of the chorus sounded harmonious but not sonorous. As if a Sunday-school class was chanting in the roar of the surf! President Roosevelt and Ex-President Cleveland were seen, were cheered again and again.

Shivering and shouting one hundred thousand people saw the stars come out and fade utterly in the brilliancy of the fireworks.

A day of functions varied and crowding was the first of May. In the Palace of Liberal Arts another throng more orderly, more in keeping with the dignity of the occasion assembled. The Ambassador of France and the Minister of Spain spoke words which will be historic, about the parts their governments took in that "Deed of the Pen," which made the United States to rank among the great nations of the earth. The diplomatic reception, the dinner to the press, the meeting of the National Civic Federation, the Colorado reception, the sports and amusements of visiting troops, the evening fireworks, each of these was an event sufficient to engross the attention of the city and its guests.

On the third day, the day of the states, the public entered with a sense of continued interest. Lindell boulevard saw another sight. A second grand marshal, without sword, without insignia of military rank, raised his hat to the governor of the state and to the mayor of the city and to assembled officialdom. Then followed for hours with steady step and unbroken ranks the demonstration of the city's organized strength in capital and labor, in industries, in civic and educational institutions and in municipal utilities. It was such a civic parade in character and in numbers as made the heart of St. Louis throb with pride for its solidarity and such as prompted unstinted praise from the stranger.

Again the people assembled in the immense auditorium. Again the chorus lifted up its twenty-eight hundred power voice and blended with the one hundred instruments of brass.

The Empire state of the Louisiana Purchase spoke through its governor to the Empire state of the whole country and the Empire state of the United States responded. Two chief executives of two great states, men in the prime of life, of opposite political parties, rose to the occasion and vied in patriotic speech to express the significance of that day to all of the states of the Union.

When the living streams poured out of the Palace of Liberal Arts they divided and going in many directions formed human pools among the trees, laying corner-stones, driving stakes, breaking ground and raising flags to dedicate the sites of the state buildings. The Saturday sun went down on the finished work of dedication, such dedication as has presented no other exposition in the long series of these "timekeepers of progress."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

Doctor Saugrain gives notice of the first vaccine matter brought to St. Louis. Indigent persons vaccinated gratuitously.—Missouri Gazette, March 26, 1809.

Science and humanity have gone hand-in-hand with the medical profession of St. Louis. When the first doctor died, it was found that 232 people owed him for services. The doctor was Andre Auguste Conde. He came to St. Louis from Fort Chartres the year after Laclede founded the settlement. He established a high standard of ethics and the doctors of St. Louis have lived up to it 144 years. Frederic L. Billon, the authority on St. Louis antiquities, concluded, after some investigation, that Conde's list of debtors was almost a directory of the families of St. Louis and Cahokia for the ten years the good doctor lived here.

The second doctor that came to St. Louis was Jean Baptiste Valleau. He was French but was in the Spanish service, being surgeon of the force which Ulloa sent to build forts at the mouth of the Missouri in 1768. Dr. Valleau, evidently, intended to stay; he applied to St. Ange to assign him a lot and entered into a contract for the building of a house. The site given him was on Second and Pine streets where the Gay building was erected long afterwards. Dr. Valleau furnished the iron and nails. Tousignau, the carpenter agreed to supply the posts and do all of the work on a house eighteen feet long by fourteen feet wide for $60. In the performance of his professional duties Valleau made frequent trips to Bellefontaine on the Missouri where the Spaniards were building the forts. Exposure to the hot sun brought on sickness. Within a year after his coming, Dr. Valleau made his will and died. One of the principal assets of his estate was a box of playing cards, a gross of packs. Martin Duralde, the executor, had considerable trouble in disposing of the cards. The number of packs depressed the market. He waited two or three years and held an auction. In the history of St. Louis Dr. Valleau's will is the first recorded. The village was four and a half years old when he died.

After Valleau came Doctors Antoine Reynal, Bernard Gibkins, Claudio Mercier and Joachim Gingembre. These were residents for varying periods under the Spanish governors. When Doctor Mercier died, he freed his slave and gave $100 to the poor.

In 1801, responding to several successive appeals, the Spanish authority at New Orleans, concluded that St. Louis had attained the importance justifying a hospital and a government physician. Morales wrote to Delassus:

In accordance with what the Marquis of Casa Calvo agreed with my predecessor regarding a hospital and physician for the town of San Luis de Illinois, it is determined

that a physician shall be appointed and that he shall have a salary of $30 a month. The appointment shall be given to Don Antonio Saugrain. A comfortable room shall be arranged in the quarters designed for a hospital. This accountant's office is to supply everything necessary for twelve beds and from this capital (New Orleans) all of the medicines that will be required will be sent. Don Antonio Saugrain will not get his salary until you have appointed him. He must keep account of all of the medicines used annually and the statement must be sent to this office written in Spanish. The medicines will be used only by the troop and marine of the king who may enter the hospital. If other people should be admitted to the hospital they must pay for the medicines at the existing prices in the market.

To St. Louis, in 1800, came a physician and scientist who was to leave his impression on the community. Dr. Antoine Francois Saugrain may be called the father of the medical profession of St. Louis and the profession may feel honored thereby. He came to the United States on the advice of Benjamin Franklin when the latter was minister to France. The young Frenchman, born in Versailles, highly educated and with developed taste for scientific investigation impressed Mr. Franklin as the kind of a man to make a valuable American. His first experience in this country was rather disheartening. After living nine years with the unfortunate French colony of Gallipolis on the Ohio river, Dr. Saugrain floated down the Ohio and made his way to St. Louis four years before the American occupation. With the Saugrains came the Michauds of Gallipolis. Dr. Saugrain had married Genevieve Rosalie Michaud, eldest of the daughters of John Michaud. Two little girls, Rosalie and Eliza Saugrain, made the journey. They became the wives of Henry Von Phul and James Kennerly, the merchants. Other daughters of Dr. Saugrain married Major Thomas O'Neil of the United States army and John W. Reel, the St. Louis merchant. Descendants of the Saugrains and Michauds are numerous in this generation of St. Louisans.

Possibly the reason that the medical profession had attracted so little attention up to the coming of the Saugrains was because of the good health which the community enjoyed. The eldest daughter of the doctor remembered that when the family first came to St. Louis there were few cases of sickness. When Dr. Saugrain came, he discovered that the habitants were accustomed to go to Father Didier, the priest, when they felt bad. Father Didier would fix up teas from herbs and give simple remedies, without professing to be educated in medicine. Dr. Saugrain was a botanist. He depended largely upon vegetable compounds and upon brews from herbs which he grew in a wonderful garden that surrounded his house, or gathered in the wild state.

The first case of smallpox appeared in St. Louis the year after Dr. Saugrain came. With it came a problem that appealed to the scientific mind. The virtue of vaccination was accepted by Dr. Saugrain. As soon as he could supply himself with the material, Dr. Saugrain began a campaign of education. He published cards in the Gazette explaining the preventive. He informed "such physicians and other intelligent persons as reside beyond the limits of his accustomed practice that he will with much pleasure upon application furnish them with vaccine infection." But especially noteworthy, and

characteristic of the medical profession in St. Louis in all its history, was the philanthropic postion taken by Dr. Saugrain toward those so unfortunate as to be unable to protect themselves. "Persons in indigent circumstances," he wrote to the Gazette, "paupers and Indians will be vaccinated and attended gratis."

From the days when St. Louis chose a doctor for the first mayor of the new city, the medical profession has done for St. Louis far more than to prescribe for physical ails. That first mayor, Dr. William Carr Lane, in his inaugural message, 1823, said: "Health is a primary object, and there is much more danger of disease originating at home than of its seeds coming from abroad. I recommend the appointment of a board of health to be selected from the body of citizens, with ample powers to search out and remove nuisances, and to do whatever else may conduce to general health. This place has of late acquired a character for unhealthfulness which it did not formerly bear and does not deserve. I am credibly informed that it is not many years since a fever of high grade was rarely, if ever seen. To what is the distressing change attributable? May we not say principally to the insufficiency of our police regulations? What is the present condition of yards, drains, etc.? May we not dread the festering heat of next summer?" If this early warning had been heeded, St. Louis might have escaped or minimized the series of terrible cholera epidemics which began in the next decade.

Progress in sanitary conveniences was shown by the newspaper announcement in 1829 that "the new bathing establishment of Mr. J. Sparks & Co. has about thirty-five visitors, and of that number not one has experienced an hour's sickness since the bathing commenced; we should, for the benefit of the city, be glad there were more encouragement, and as the season is partly over, tickets have been reduced to one dollar the season."

The distinction of being the first American physician and surgeon to establish himself permanently west of the Mississippi belongs to Bernard Gaines Farrar. Born in Virginia and reared in Kentucky, young Dr. Farrar, on the advice of his brother-in-law, Judge Coburn, came to St. Louis to live two years after the American occupation. He was just of age. Dr. Charles Alexander Pope described Farrar as a man of most tender sensibilities, so tender-hearted that he seemed to suffer with his patients. And yet, before he had been in St. Louis three years, Dr. Farrar performed a surgical operation which for a generation was a subject of marvel in the settlements and along the trails of the Mississippi valley. The patient was young Shannon, who had made the journey to the mouth of the Columbia with Lewis and Clark. Going with a second government expedition to find the sources of the Missouri, Shannon was shot by Blackfoot Indians. He was brought down the river to St. Louis, arriving in very bad condition. Dr. Farrar amputated the leg at the thigh. Shannon recovered, went to school, became a highly educated man and served on the bench in Kentucky. He never failed to give Dr. Farrar the credit of saving his life. The St. Louis surgeon went on performing what in those days were surgical miracles. Older member of the St. Louis profession always believed that Farrar ante-

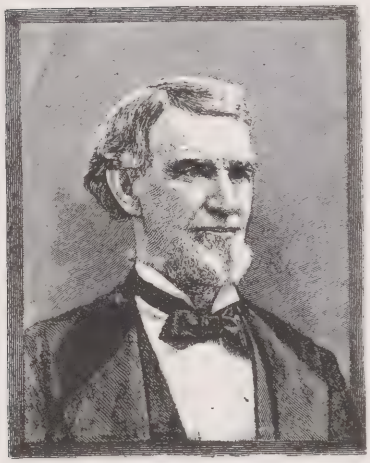
dated Sansom in the performance of a very delicate operation on the bladder, although Sansom, by reason of making publication first, is given the credit in medical history. Dr. Farrar died of the cholera in the epidemic of 1849. He was the man universally regarded as the dean of the medical profession of St. Louis in that day. It was said of Dr. Farrar that he was the physician and surgeon most devoted to the duties of his profession; that he took very little recreation; that he did not indulge in the sports of fishing and hunting which were common. Dr. Charles A. Pope pronounced before the medical association a eulogy in which he declared that the acts of benevolence and the charity performed by Dr. Farrar at the time when there was no hospital or asylum in the city were "unparalleled."

"Patent medicines" followed the American flag into St. Louis. They were here when Colonel Charless began to publish the Gazette. Within a month after the inaugural number, the Gazette was advertising cough drops, balsam of honey, British oil, bilious pills, essence of peppermint. Four years later, Dr. Robert Simpson, a young Marylander who had come to St. Louis as assistant surgeon in the army, opened the first drug store in St. Louis, associating with himself Dr. Quarles. Dr. Simpson became postmaster and in the fifty years of his life in St. Louis had a varied experience. He went into local politics and held the offices of collector and of sheriff. In his more active years it was said of him that he knew personally everybody living in St. Louis and most of the people in the county. He engaged in mercantile life, was cashier of the first savings bank, the Boatmen's, was chosen comptroller of the city several times and went to the Legislature.

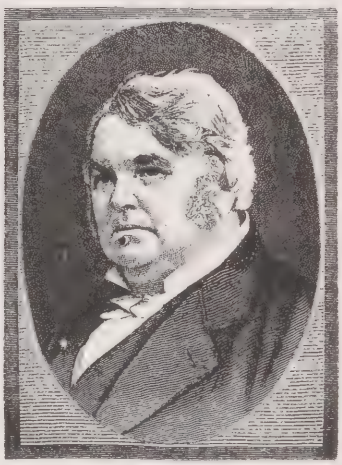
The first medical student west of the Mississippi was Meredith Martin. He was a young Kentuckian who came to St. Louis and read medical books in the office of Dr. Farrar in 1828. There was no medical school here. After he had read the books, Martin went to Philadelphia and took a degree. He came back to St. Louis to practice and had a strenuous beginning. Almost immediately he was given a commission to go to the Indian Territory and vaccinate the Indians. This was a work of months. Dr. Martin returned to St. Louis to find the city passing through its first terrible visitation of cholera. He lived to be one of the oldest physicians in St. Louis and was three times elected president of the St. Louis Medical society.

A highly educated son of Maryland who joined the medical profession in St. Louis, a representative of one of the families of Revolutionary patriots, was Dr. Stephen W. Adreon. He came in 1832. After some years of practice he, like many other members of his profession, took an interest in civic matters and served as a member of the city council under three mayors, Kennett, King and Filley. As president of the board of health, Dr. Adreon had much to do with the development of that department of the municipal government. He was also, toward the close of his active career, health officer and one of the managers of the House of Refuge.

Connection with the army brought to St. Louis notable members of the medical profession. The most distinguished of these, probably, was a surgeon of Connecticut birth. Dr. William Beaumont had been a surgeon in



DR. CHARLES W. STEVENS

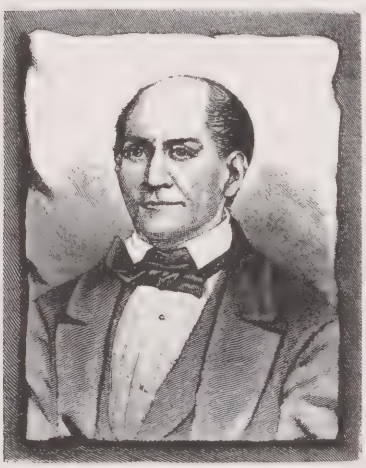


DR. JOHN B. JOHNSON

A DOCTOR'S OFFICE IN 1909

McDOWELL'S COLLEGE
at the outbreak of the Civil War

DR. PHILIP WEIGEL



DR. B. G. FARRAR

the regular army about twenty years when, after being stationed for some time at Jefferson Barracks and the arsenal, he resigned and made his home in St. Louis. That was about 1832. While he was living here Dr. Beaumont brought out a book which gave him worldwide fame. He called it "Physiology of Digestion and Experiments on the Gastric Juice." That wasn't a title to arouse much curiosity among laymen but when the story got into circulation, interest was not confined to the profession. During the time that Dr. Beaumont was at an army post on the Canadian frontier he was called upon to attend Alexis St. Martin, a boatman. Martin had been shot in such a manner as to leave a hole in his stomach. The wound healed but the hole did not close. Dr. Beaumont carried on a long series of experiments. He observed the operation of digestion under many conditions. St. Martin ate solids and drank liquids under the doctor's directions. The doctor looked into the stomach, watched and timed the progress. He was able to give from actual observation the effects produced by various kinds of foods and drinks upon the stomach.

Some of these young physicians who settled in St. Louis combined sound business qualifications with professional standing. Dr. Alexander Marshall, who was born eight miles from Edinburg, Scotland, made a careful tour of observation of American cities before he decided upon St. Louis in 1840 as his permanent location. He had $600 when he came here and gave himself six months to live on that while making acquaintances. But before the half year of probation was up, Dr. Marshall had not only become self-supporting on his practice but had added $600 to his nestegg. He continued to practice in St. Louis and accumulated an estate of $300,000.

Henry Van Studdiford was intended for the ministry by his New Jersey relatives but his natural bent and education took him into the profession of medicine. He came to St. Louis, in 1839, invested the surplus earnings from his practice in real estate. He did this so judiciously that he became one of the wealthiest members of his profession in this city. He married a daughter of Colonel Martin Thomas, the army officer who established and commanded the St. Louis arsenal.

The first medical lecture delivered west of the Mississippi was by Dr. John S. Moore, from North Carolina. On the basis of a fine classical education he started for Philadelphia, at that early day the center of medical education in the United States, to complete his studies and "get a diploma." Meeting Dr. McDowell, he was induced to stop in Cincinnati, and became a member of the first class of the Cincinnati Medical college, graduating in 1832. As the youngest member of the faculty of the medical department of Kemper college, with which medical education began in St. Louis, Dr. Moore delivered that first lecture.

Charles W. Stevens was a member of the Kemper college medical faculty. He was one of the first graduates of that institution. Coming west from his New York home to be a civil engineer and surveyor, when he was about of age, Stevens found that profession unpromising and took up the study of medicine. Diseases of the nervous system became his specialty

and he was superintendent and physician of the St. Louis Insane asylum. Kemper college was located where the asylum was afterwards built. Dr. Stevens went to his charge of the city's wards on the same hilltop in southwest St. Louis where he had studied medicine and had lectured a quarter of a century before. The first class of young doctors graduated at Kemper included Dr. E. S. Frazier, a young Kentuckian, who married a sister of Dr. John S. Moore and joined the profession in St. Louis.

Dr. Edwin Bathurst Smith, a Virginian, member of an old family of that state, before he came to St. Louis had been one of the founders of the Louisiana Medical college. He had been the first physician to give yellow fever patients cold drinks to allay the fever. He went through the first cholera epidemic of this country, that of 1832, and won high reputation as an authority. After settling in St. Louis he devoted the most of his attention to the sciences and was one of a coterie which half a century ago gave St. Louis worldwide fame in scientific matters.

The cholera epidemics developed heroic qualities in the medical profession of St. Louis. Dr. Hardage Lane, a cousin of the first mayor of St. Louis, Dr. William Carr Lane, devoted himself day and night to cholera patients in 1849, until he was overcome with physical exhaustion, dying after a brief illness.

In the fall of 1838 Dr. Joseph N. McDowell began to lecture to the students of Kemper college. His subject was the history of man. He illustrated his talks with skulls of the different races. The lectures were fascinating. Students wanted more. Dr. McDowell built a medical college, not the great pile of masonry which looked like a massive fort; that came later. The first McDowell college was a small brick building. There the young men of St. Louis flocked to him for medical education. Architecturally, McDowell's college was as original as the founder. A large stove in the amphitheater of his first college building gave Dr. McDowell the suggestion of an octagon building. This plan was carried out as far as means would permit. The octagon building was to be eight stories in height. It was started with foundations eight feet thick but never reached the height designed. In the center was a column of masonry which was to form the peak of the roof. In this massive column Dr. McDowell intended to have niches in which to place the copper cases containing the bodies of members of his family.

From the Christian Brothers' academy, northward toward the city was open space. It extended toward Mill Creek and the famous mill. The creek ran under a culvert where Seventh street crossed. This open space Dr. McDowell appropriated for his patriotic celebrations. He encouraged his devoted medical students to make much of Washington's Birthday and of the Fourth of July. Several cannon were included in the equipment of McDowell's Medical college. They had been obtained originally for moral effect at a time when popular prejudice was easily inflamed against dissecting rooms. And when a national holiday came around, the head of the institution took evident satisfaction in showing the community that he and

his constituency knew how to shoot them. The cannon were not mounted upon wheeled carriages but that did not deter Dr. McDowell. Wearing a three-cornered hat of the continentals, with feathers bristling from it, having a large cavalry sabre strapped to his waist, McDowell would lead his students carrying the cannon to the vacant space. The guns were placed on sawbucks for support. Dr. McDowell superintended the loading and firing. In loud and emphatic language he gave his orders, encouraging much cheering and telling his followers to "make Rome howl." That was one of the doctor's favorite forms of appeal.

Those days of patriotic outburst by Dr. McDowell and the medical students were observed in very different spirit by the Christian Brothers and their pupils. Brother Jasper was in charge of the playground. The coming of the medical body was the signal for Brother Jasper to assemble the students of the academy and to marshal them to a place of safety. The Brothers, viewing the reckless manner in which Dr. McDowell conducted the salutes in honor of the day, had no doubt there would sometime be an explosion, with loss of life or limb. There was strong suspicion that the evident apprehension of the Brothers stimulated Dr. McDowell to louder and more violent language and to greater demonstrations on his holidays. The more marked the disturbance of the Brothers became, the greater seemed the satisfaction of the doctor. And yet it was not malevolence, for Dr. McDowell would speak well of his neighbors. One day returning from the celebration on the vacant space, the doctor thrust his head in at an open window of the academy and loudly declared with unquotable emphasis that if he had a boy young enough to go to school he would send him to the Brothers.

Dr. Warren B. Outten, the surgeon, was a boy student at the Christian Brothers' academy, as it was called in the decade of 1850-60. His recollection of the militant head of McDowell's Medical college remained vivid through all of the years that followed:

> He was a tall, slim man, with clean cut features and cleanly shaven face. His hair was gray and combed straight back from his forehead after the manner of Calhoun. Dr. McDowell was to each and every student of the academy a marked and wonderful character. His intensity and tendency toward profanity, his high pitched voice, his swaggering and independent bearing made him always interesting, awesome and peculiar. I can well remember how the brothers viewed him. To them he was a vice regnant deputy of His Satanic Majesty. Brother Valgen, who was master of dormitory for fifty years, a man of mild, timid character, if he could see Dr. McDowell a square off, would cross himself and hunt for cover."

Great reputation locally as an orator, had Dr. McDowell. His language was always picturesque and often lurid. His commencement addresses drew to his college large audiences. The late Dr. Montrose A. Pallen could describe graphically one of these commencement days at McDowell's college, for he was present although a student of another institution. The manner and words of McDowell made a lasting impression on Pallen's memory. On that commencement day, Dr. McDowell came down the center aisle of the amphitheater, carrying his violin and bow. When he reached

the amphitheater table he turned and facing the expectant throng began to play. After several tunes, he laid down the violin and spoke in his high pitched voice:

Now gentlemen, we have been together five long months. Doubtless, some of these months have been very happy months, and doubtless some have been very perplexing ones. Such is the eternal fate of workers and students. But now, gentlemen, the saddest of all sad words must be uttered, namely, farewell! Here retrospection takes her sway, either gladdened or saddened, as idiosyncrasies hold the mind. We have wandered in the labyrinthian way of anatomy. We have floated in the ethereal atmosphere of physiology. We have waded knee deep, nay, neck deep, into a sea of theory and practice; ground, filtered, pounded and inspected elements of materia medica, and slowly pounded in the endless crucible of chemistry. As we say farewell! it is needless for me to say that I hope God may, in His infinite mercy, bless you as you deserve. But remember that labor omnia vincit. No man under God's blue sky need hope that success can, or will come without labor, for God has ordained that all of us must earn our living by the sweat of our brow. Nature only recognizes the laborer, and eternally damns the rich man, by satiety and disease.

Doubtless one of your number, in this class, will come back to the great city of St. Louis with the snow of many winters upon his hair and walking upon three legs instead of two, as Sphinx has it. As he wanders here and there upon its streets amidst the crowded and eager throng, noting the wondrous improvement here and the change there, suddenly, gentlemen, it will occur to him to ask of one of the eager passers-by, 'Where is Dr. McDowell?" "Dr. McDowell? Dr. McDowell?" he will say, "what Dr. McDowell?" "Why," he will tell him, "Dr. McDowell, the surgeon?" "Oh! yes, Dr. McDowell, the surgeon. Why! He lies buried close to Bellefontaine."

Slowly, gentlemen, he will wend his way thither, and there amidst the rank weeds, he will find a plain marble slab inscribed, "J. McDowell, Surgeon." While he stands there contemplating the rare virtues and eccentricities of this old man, suddenly, gentlemen, the spirit of Dr. McDowell will arise on ethereal wings and bless him, aye! thrice bless him. Then, suddenly, gentlemen, this spirit will take a swoop and as he passes McDowell's college he will drop a parting tear. But, gentlemen, when he gets to Pope's college, he will spit upon it. Yes, I say he will spit upon it.

Into his peroration Dr. McDowell would throw almost frenzied emphasis. When he concluded there would be a hurricane of cheers and yells. Dr. Pallen was a student at Pope's college, but, as did many of the students of the rival institution, he went to hear Dr. McDowell's address to his graduates.

Very strange were the ideas Dr. McDowell had about the disposition of the dead. When Dr. McDowell thought he was going to die, he called to his bedside Dr. Charles W. Stevens and Dr. Drake McDowell, his son. He exacted from them a solemn promise that they would place his body in a copper receptacle and fill the space with alcohol. The receptacle, they were to suspend in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, permission to do this, the doctor claimed he had already obtained. This eccentric demand was not a great surprise to Dr. Stevens. Coming to McDowell's college to study medicine, Stevens had learned quickly something of his preceptor's strange fancies. A child of Dr. McDowell died a few days after Stevens entered the college. The coffin was lined with metal. The body was placed in the coffin. All space remaining was filled with alcohol and the coffin was sealed tightly. A year or so later, the body of the child was removed from the coffin, and placed in a large copper case. This was Dr. McDowell's

DR. THOMAS O'REILLY

DR. JOHN P. BRYSON

MISSOURI MEDICAL COLLEGE AND CHRISTIAN BROTHERS COLLEGE ON EIGHTH STREET BEFORE THE WAR.

method of treating the bodies of his children. No religious service of any kind was performed. The copper cases were carried at night attended by a procession formed by the medical students and friends of the family. Each person carried a torch. The place of disposition was a vault in the rear of the residence. The thought of a natural cave as a final resting place was a favorite one. Dr. McDowell bought a cave near Hannibal. He had a wall built across the opening and placed in it an iron door. The vase or case containing one of the children in alcohol was taken from St. Louis to this cave and suspended from the roof. Vandals broke open the iron door and the vault became accessible to the curious public. Dr. McDowell gave up the notion and made no further use of the cave. He purchased a knoll or mound across the river, not far from Cahokia, in view with a glass from the cupola of the college. There he constructed a vault in which he placed the body of his wife. Years afterward Dr. McDowell and his wife were buried in Bellefontaine.

McDowell wore his hair in an iron gray mane thrown back and falling almost to the shoulder. He had great natural power as an orator, but he cultivated rather familiarity than dignity. Standing at the front of the courthouse to address a public gathering he was greeted by some one in the crowd as "old sawbones." "Yes," he answered back, in his high pitched voice, "I am 'old sawbones' and look out that I don't saw your bones."

Dr. McDowell was a fascinating lecturer. He had stories to illustrate every assertion. His students were in the habit of saying that Dr. McDowell could tell a story to go with every bone, muscle, nerve and vessel of the human body. Dr. McDowell was not a successful business man. The college passed through financial straits. The doctor held St. Louis University responsible for his money troubles because the faculty permitted another medical college to be organized under the auspices of the University. He lectured against the Jesuits. And then he professed to feel that he and his college were in danger of attack. Wearing a brass breastplate made according to his own design and carrying arms, Dr. McDowell turned his medical college into a fortress. He bought 1,400 condemned muskets from the United States government, paying $2.50 apiece for them. These he stored in the basement of the college. From old brass, which he bought, and from the college bell Dr. McDowell had cast for him six cannon. He talked of recruiting from his students a force to march across the plains and capture some Mexican territory. When the Civil war came Dr. McDowell went south and gave his cannon to the Confederacy. He died in 1868.

Altogether unlike McDowell was that other dominant figure of early medical education in St. Louis, Charles Alexander Pope. In leisure hours, Dr. Warren B. Outten attained marked facility with the brush. He painted a portrait of Dr. Pope, under whom he had been a student when Pope's college was known throughout the country. Dr. Outten has given a pen picture of Dr. Pope. He describes him as "a very handsome man, about five feet, nine inches tall, having a well shaped head with dark blue eyes,

well turned eyebrows, an expression of thoughtful gentleness about the eyes. It was a face such as to win anyone on first sight. Dr. Pope had a general appearance of elegance and culture. His voice was quick, incisive and agreeable in tone. His movements were quick and graceful. Dr. Pope was unconsciously polite and courteous. He was in my estimation, in every respect, a most perfect gentleman. He never descended to anything little, petty or mean. No one ever heard a vulgar or profane word come from his lips, nor did he ever utter abuse or gossip about a professional confrere. Always eager to commend and always full of good advice and encouragement, he made the world around him better for his having been in it."

From such a picture of Dr. Pope it is not difficult to understand the strong and lasting impression he made upon his profession in St. Louis. Dr. Pope was from Alabama. He had studied under Drake at Cincinnati, had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, had spent several years in medical schools in France, in England and in Ireland, coming to St. Louis in 1842. Within a year he entered the faculty of the St. Louis Medical college as professor of anatomy. In 1846, Dr. Pope married Caroline O'Fallon, the daughter of John O'Fallon. Proud of his brilliant son-in-law, John O'Fallon built on Seventh and Spruce streets the medical college which in its architecture and appointments was without equal in the United States, outside of New York and Philadelphia. Around him Dr. Pope drew a faculty of great strength. In 1854 he was elected president of the American Medical association.

Coming back to St. Louis from Europe in 1870, Dr. Pope received a reception such as has been given to few citizens after an absence. To the faculty, newly organized, of the St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons, at a banquet, Dr. Pope made an address in March, 1870. Fourth months later, this man of splendid faculties, with a record of inestimable usefulness to his profession in St. Louis, was dead by his own hand. It was one of St. Louis' mysteries.

Pope's College" survives, with its strenuous traditions and its honorable record in the history of medical education of St. Louis. It has been, in its lifetime, the medical department of two universities. It has stood alone as the St. Louis Medical college. Uniting with the Missouri Medical college, it was merged in the Washington University medical department.

The decade 1840-50 gave to the medical profession of St. Louis notable characters. These men were not only strong personalities but they brought to their practice and to the educational work in which they engaged the advantages of study and observation far beyond the ordinary. And this inheritance of knowledge and thought they passed down to the thousands of young men who came to the medical schools of St. Louis. To these physicians and surgeons, coming from other countries and from various states, St. Louis owes much for her foremost position among cities in the philanthropy which has to do with physical ails.

S. Gratz Moses, born in Philadelphia, had enjoyed classical educa-

tion and medical training before he went to Europe as physician to Joseph Bonaparte, the eldest brother of Napoleon. His connection with the Bonaparte family brought him into friendly relations with the great men of his profession in Paris. Returning to this country, Dr. Moses came to St. Louis in 1841. The next year he, with half a dozen young men in his profession, started something that was new in this city and one of the first of its class in the United States. That institution was a dispensary for treatment of those unable to employ physicians. Mrs. Vital M. Garesche suggested this dispensary and worked zealously for its establishment. The support came from churches and private subscriptions. The Mullanphy family gave generously toward this as they did toward other movements to relieve the unfortunate. At that time the Unitarian church was on Fourth and Pine streets. With his spirit of cooperation in all public spirited enterprise, Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot gave rooms to the dispensary office in the basement of his church. Associated with Dr. Moses in this work were Dr. William M. McPheeters, Dr. J. B. Johnson, Dr. Charles A. Pope, Dr. J. L. Clark, Dr. George Johnson and others. These men carried on the dispensary for seven years until the city assumed this as a municipal function and opened a public dispensary.

Those were primitive times. It is said that the only one of these practitioners in the early forties who rode in a buggy to visit his patients was Dr. Clark. The others rode horseback. Dr. John B. Johnson was of Massachusetts birth and of Harvard education. He came from the position of house surgeon of the Massachusetts General hospital to enter practice at St. Louis. A man of splendid appearance and fine manners, Dr. Johnson obtained almost immediately a professional standing among the leading families. One of his earliest friends was Theron Barnum, who kept the City hotel in the days when the leading hotelkeeper of St. Louis ranked close to the mayor in public estimation. It was said of Dr. Johnson that for many years he did not send a bill for services, relying upon his patients to come around and settle when they felt so disposed.

Dr. Moses M. Pallen, the head of the Pallen family in St. Louis, was a Virginian by birth, educated at the University of Virginia. He practiced in Vicksburg several years before coming to St. Louis in 1842. He was a student of the sciences as well as a physician and was one of the coterie which gave high character to the St. Louis Academy of Science in its early days.

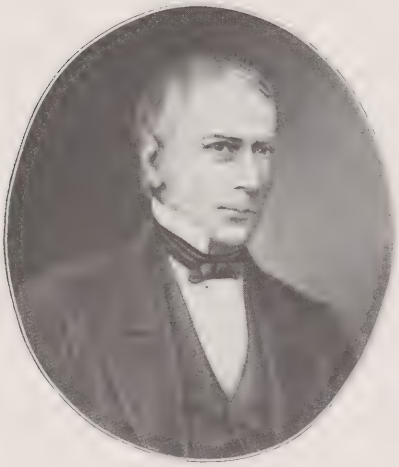
From Prague, in Bohemia, came to St. Louis, in 1845, a highly educated specialist in the person of Dr. Simon Pollak. He had already given study to the branch of medicine which was to place him among the leaders in ophthalmology. Joining the coterie of physicians and surgeons who had established the dispensary, Dr. Pollak pioneered the way for what has become one of the city's most beneficial institutions. In 1852, Dr. Pollak started the movement which by private subscriptions founded the Missouri Institution for the Education of the Blind. This was supported five years by the contributions of citizens and was then made a State institution.

In 1845, according to the Medical and Surgical Journal published here, St. Louis had 146 "persons who are endeavoring to obtain a livelihood by the practice of the healing art in this city, which includes the homeopathists, botanics, Thompsonians, etc." The population was 40,000. There was a doctor of some kind for 274 people. The Journal stated that about one-third of these doctors enjoyed lucrative practice and that many of the others were leaving and settling in surrounding towns.

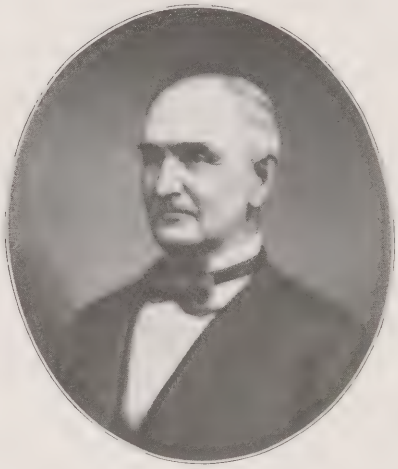
Distinguished among the writers on medical subjects in this country was Dr. R. S. Holmes, a native of Pittsburg, who left the position of army surgeon to make his home in St. Louis about 1849. Dr. Holmes not only contributed a great deal that attracted attention in medical literature but he became widely known as a magazine and newspaper contributor. He popularized subjects more or less connected with his profession. He wrote on "Beauty," "Use of the Hair Among the Ancients," and like topics. He contributed "Sketches of American Character." His great work in his profession was his study and treatment of malignant, climatic fevers. He led in the use of large doses of quinine to overcome malaria. Visiting Europe he brought home to St. Louis the finest microscope that had been seen here and entered upon minute researches with the powerful lens.

The medical profession of St. Louis early became composite as to nationality and as to education. One of the German patriots of 1848 who became prominent in the medical profession of St. Louis was Dr. G. Fischer. Edward Montgomery from near Belfast, Ireland, settled in St. Louis in 1849 to practice medicine. He became widely known as a writer on medical subjects. About the same time, three other young men established themselves as physicians in St. Louis, coming from widely separated parts of the world. Louis Ch. Boisliniere was from the Island of Guadeloupe, descended from one of the oldest families of that West Indian paradise. He had been educated in France, had traveled extensively in South America and had been for some time a guest of Henry Clay and other eminent Kentuckians before he chose St. Louis as his permanent home. Under the auspices of the Sisters of Charity Dr. Boisliniere took prominent part in giving St. Louis the honor of establishing the first lying-in hospital and foundling asylum in the United States. He was the first physician to hold the office of coroner in St. Louis. That was in 1858. Dr. Boisliniere's recreation was singing. He delighted in classical music and those who heard him in the rendition of church masses never forgot the fervor with which he sang. Dr. F. Ernst. Baumgarten began to practice in St. Louis contempo raneously with Dr. Boisliniere. He was from the kingdom of Hanover and had edited a surgical journal in German before he came to St. Louis. He became one of the founders of the German Medical society of St. Louis, a very strong professional organization. The third of these young doctors was Thomas O'Reilly, who came from County Cavan, Ireland, with the best medical education that Dublin could give him. All of his life in St. Louis was devoted to the political advancement of his native island.

The Hotel for Invalids was the name chosen for a private hospital



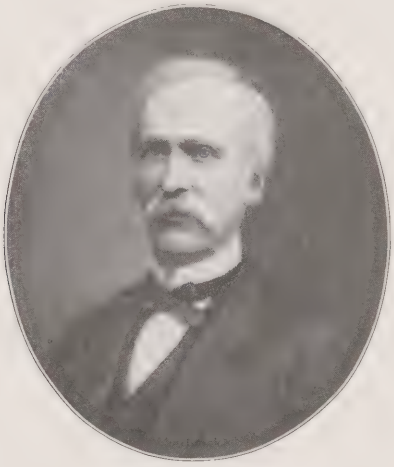
DR. EDWIN B. SMITH



DR. HENRY VAN STUDDIFORD

DR. CHARLES A POPE

DR. RICHARD F. BARRETT



DR. S. GRATZ MOSES

started in the Paul house at Second and Walnut streets in the summer of 1848. The institution was short lived.

Strikingly unlike his preceptor, McDowell, was John Thompson Hodgen, who was born in a rugged part of Kentucky near the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. After he graduated under McDowell, Dr. Hodgen became first demonstrator and then professor in the institution. When the war came and McDowell's college was turned into a military prison, Hodgen was chosen surgeon-general for the Western Sanitary commission. Later he was surgeon-general for the state of Missouri. He tried to keep alive the old medical school but finally joined the faculty of the St. Louis Medical college. The American Medical association drew upon the St. Louis profession repeatedly to fill the office of president. One of those drafted was Dr. Hodgen.

The beloved surgeon of St. Louis in 1870-80 was John T. Hodgen. He used but few words. He accepted no familiarity. Addressed as "Doc," he would respond, "If you want me to answer you politely, don't call me 'Doc.' There is no such word. Call me 'Doctor' and there will be no trouble, but I will not answer to the call of 'Doc.'" And no man once receiving this rebuke required another warning. Dr. Hodgen could put an astonishing effect into his few words. His assertions uttered before his students were remembered and quoted for years afterwards. One who studied under him, said: "He could say 'I don't know,' in such a manner as to convey the idea that there was a profundity of knowledge back of it."

Men of strong sympathy, fine sensibilities and great charity have ennobled the medical profession of St. Louis. It is told of Dr. Hodgen that in driving up to the residence of a patient, where the case was desperate, he would sometimes say to the one with him: "Look out and see if crape is on the door. I am afraid to look." If crape was on the door the doctor drove on quickly; if not, Dr. Hodgen was out of the buggy in a hurry and with a bright face, his lips forming for a pleasant little whistle showing the pleasure he felt, he went into the house.

Students of Dr. Moses M. Pallen, a member of an old Virginia family, who came to St. Louis in 1842, were given an impression of professional obligation which was far more than scientific. Dr. Pallen held the professorship of obstetrics for more than twenty years. He taught thousands of students "that the doctor when at the bedside of the woman in labor almost meets his God, and that duty, the stern daughter of God, must be evoked every moment and hour in her travail. Give your strength to the laboring mother. Fill her with hope; it may be light diet but it will be very stimulating; it awakens courage. If the doctor ever is at the service of any one he must be at the absolute service of the lying-in woman. Be thoughtful of her in her agony of pain. Encouragement is everything. It well becomes God's most exalted creature. To relieve distress is not only human but it is Godlike; and thrice blessed is that man who relieves a single maternal pain." That was the character of Dr. Pallen's teaching as one of his pupils, Dr. Warren B. Outten, described it long years after his own graduation.

The medical profession of St. Louis before the Civil war drew upon Kentucky born men for some of its strongest characters. Besides Joseph Nash McDowell and M. L. Linton, John T. Hodgen, E. H. Gregory and E. S. Frazier were from Kentucky stock. Dr. Moses L. Linton came from Kentucky in 1842. A graduate of Transylvania University, perfected in his profession by study abroad, he had a short time before moving to St. Louis announced his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Then had ensued a sharp controversy between Rev. Robert Grundy, a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and Dr. Linton, running through a series of pamphlets and attracting a great deal of attention. Dr. Linton wrote with much spirit and in an attractive style. The high standard of medical education in St. Louis owes a great deal to that farmer's son in Kentucky. Dr. Linton took a course in Europe at a time when few American doctors did that. He was associated in his studies abroad part of the time with Dr. Charles A. Pope. That association had much to do with Dr. Linton's decision to settle in St. Louis, where he was invited to take a chair in the faculty of the medical department of the St. Louis University. The St. Louis Medical Journal, established in 1843, owed its beginning to Dr. Linton more than to any one else. Dr. McPheeters was associated with Dr. Linton in the editorial management of the Journal. "Outlines of Pathology" was the title of one of the first medical books published by an author west of the Mississippi. In that book Dr. Linton gave to the profession what served for students in the way of general instruction many years.

Between 1850 and 1860 St. Louis began to produce her own physicians. One of the first of these was Dr. T. L. Papin, a descendant of the founder of the settlement. In 1852 he became a member of the faculty in the Missouri Medical college. The greater part of his career he was a teacher of medicine. St. John's Hospital owed its origin to Dr. Papin and the connection of the medical college with the hospital was largely brought about by him. The Nidelets, James C. and Sylvester, were descended from the Pratte family. They completed their education in St. Lous and entered the medical profession here. The father of the Nidelets was of San Domingo birth, but of French descent. He was Stephen F. Nidelet. He came to this country while a boy and became a merchant of Philadelphia. While on a visit to St. Louis he made the acquaintance of Celeste E. Pratte, a daughter of General Bernard Pratte and a belle of the decade of 1820-1830. Marriage followed. Some years afterwards the Nidelets removed from Philadelphia to St. Louis and made this their home.

Dr. E. H. Gregory, born, bred and educated in Kentucky, joined the profession at St. Louis in 1852. He became the surgeon-in-chief of the Sisters' Hospital. That was the first hospital west of the Mississippi. Sister Francis Xavier, with three other members of the order of Sisters of Charity, which had been founded at Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1809, came to St. Louis in 1828 and started the hospital in a modest way on a strip of ground 100 feet wide running from Fourth to Third street along the south side of Spruce. The lot was a donation for the purpose by John

Mullanphy, who set a fine pace for philanthropy in St. Louis soon after the American flag was hoisted. The first building was small. It left room for an orchard and a garden. The institution grew until crowding commerce prompted removal, July, 1874, to a large block of ground on Montgomery street east of Grand avenue. Around him Dr. Gregory gathered a staff composed of such specialists as N. B. Carson, Paul Y. Tupper, S. Pollak, W. C. Glasgow, L. L. McCabe.

The German patriots, who added elements of great influence to the population of St. Louis, included some characters born to make war on the existing order whether in politics or in the professions. One of these was Dr. Adam Hammer. He was a man of medium height, slender, sallow. Below a high round forehead were a long sharp thin nose and a pointed chin, emphasized by chin whiskers. Dr. Hammer had keen black eyes. Members of the profession said Dr. Hammer looked like the pictures of Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood. Hammer had been well educated in German universities. He came here with considerable reputation as a surgeon. He had performed some wonderful operations. So long as he resided in St. Louis he was the chief figure in frequent professional disputes. At the meetings of the Medical society, Dr. Hammer could be depended upon to start something before the evening was over. These scenes at last became so disagreeable to the other members that the presence of the reporters was dispensed with. Dr. Hammer was for a time the dean of the Humboldt Medical college, which was located opposite the city hospital. Afterwards he was offered a chair in the faculty of the Missouri Medical college. It was something of a relief to the profession in St. Louis when Dr. Hammer, after dividing his time between this country and Germany, decided to take up his permanent residence in the fatherland.

To the third generation of a family of medical practitioners in St. Louis belonged Dr. John Charles Lebrecht. His father was Dr. John Lebrecht. The grandfather on the maternal side was Dr. Valentine Ludwig. John M. Youngblood was of Tennessee birth. He was southern in type but like many other St. Louisans who came from Southern states, especially Tennessee and Kentucky, he took the Union side. When he went back to his native state during the war, he was the surgeon of a Missouri regiment of United States volunteers. After the war Dr. Youngblood's practice included free service to a great many poor people. When he died in 1879 there was presented the touching scene of his office thronged with men, women and children who had been befriended by him.

The grandfather of Dr. Mordecai Yarnall, although of old Quaker stock, fought under Commodore Perry and helped to gain the victory on Lake Erie. For his gallantry New York and Pennsylvania gave Lieutenant Yarnall medals and Virginia bestowed upon him a sword. After service in the Confederate army with Stonewall Jackson, Mordecai Yarnall came to St. Louis and joined the medical profession. Dr. Adolphus Schlossstein

came to St. Louis in 1867, with not only the classical education of the gymnasium, but after having taken courses at several universities; he was fresh from study in the hospitals and practice as a surgeon in the German army. He practiced his profession and at the same time became interested with his brother, George Schlossstein, in the manufacture of window glass. The Schlossstein family was of Bavarian descent.

In the decade of 1880-1890 a new generation took up the traditions and carried forward the prestige of the medical profession of St. Louis. Medical education for which St. Louis had won widespread fame was still farther advanced. The St. Louis Post-Graduate School of Medicine, the first institution of the kind in the country was established. Its purpose was to encourage the graduate to go on with his study and researches. A moving spirit in this development was Herman Tuholske, who had come from his home in Berlin, with a classical education in the gymnasium to enter upon professional life in St. Louis not long after the Civil war. Graduating from the Missouri Medical college, Dr. Tuholske perfected himself by study in the schools of London and the European capitals. He attracted much attention by the reforms he instituted as the physician in charge of the St. Louis dispensary. He went through epidemics with credit for his personal courage and professional skill. When he began to agitate the movement for advance in the standard of medical education in St. Louis he was joined by such men as Robinson, Michel, Steele, Hardaway, Glasgow, Spencer, Fischell and Engelmann. In response to this St. Louis movement the State of Missouri required three years' attendance upon lectures for license to practice.

St. Louis had at one time eleven medical colleges. Going east in 1893 to address the alumni of a medical college, the then chancellor of Washington University, Dr. W. S. Chaplin, gave this testimony to the progressiveness of medical education in St. Louis:

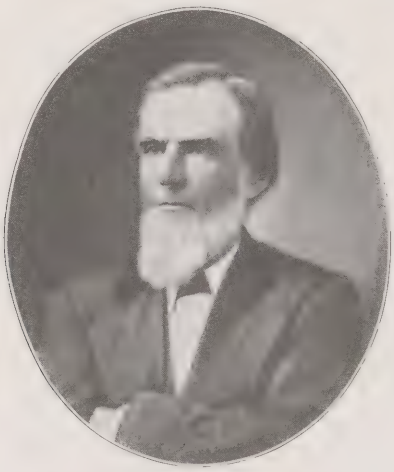
> Some thirty years ago the faculty of one of these medical schools formed an organization which was a hard and fast agreement that they would turn over every dollar of profit to a fund, put it out of their control entirely and devote that fund to furthering medical education. As a result of this they built one the very best educational buildings I know of. It has large laboratories; it has splendid lecture rooms. It has every feature of the most modern methods of teaching. And that has been built and equipped out of the self-sacrifice of members of the medical profession. I believe it is a lone example of such self-sacrifice. I know of no other profession that can boast of such an example; nor do I know of any other school in the medical profession that can show it.

Upon Dr. John Green, the chancellor bestowed, in large measure, the credit for the movement.

The St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons came into existence in 1879. The movement was of considerable strength and resulted in the erection of a modern college building. The Beaumont Medical college cultivated close relations with hospitals, the Alexian, St. Mary's and the Missouri Pacific. It had its origin with a group of younger members of the

DR. GEORGE J. BERNAYS

DR. L. H. LAIDLEY



DR W. M. McPHEETERS

DR. A. C. BERNAYS

DR. JOHN T. HODGEN

profession, desiring to spread the benefits of hospital experience. Marion-Sims Medical college was started in 1890 and the Rebecca hospital was established in connection with it. The Barnes Medical college was inaugurated with a board of trustees including some of the most prominent citizens of St. Louis. For this institution was erected a handsome five-story building on Garrison avenue and Chestnut street, very complete in appointments. The medical colleges of St. Louis have for several years graduated from 600 to 750 students annually.

Alfred Heacock, who came from Pennsylvania, after a few years' practice in Ohio and Indiana, lived to be the oldest practitioner in St. Louis. When he was eighty years of age, the St. Louis Medical society made him a member for life without payment of dues. In earlier years before the days of railroads, Dr. Heacock crossed the Mississippi by the upper ferry and attended patients in the American Bottom and as far east as Collinsville, making the travel on horseback.

At a meeting of the Alumni Association of the Missouri Medical college, Professor C. O. Curtman, in 1895, introduced the X-ray discovery to the medical profession of St. Louis.

The surgeon-general who developed the Marine Hospital Service into its latter day importance was born in St. Louis. General Walter Wyman, son of Professor Edward Wyman, graduated at Amherst and at the St. Louis Medical college. He entered the Marine Hospital service as an assistant surgeon in charge of the St. Louis Marine hospital in 1876 and almost immediately began to attract more than local attention by his efforts to improve the conditions of the deck hands of western rivers. Congress was prompted by the movement which General Wyman fostered to pass a law for the better treatment of deckhands. Then came the enlargement of the Marine Hospital service to meet the problems of epidemics with government authority—first cholera, then yellow fever and plague. To General Wyman's fearlessness and intelligence the country has owed its escape from threatened visitations of contagious diseases. The surgeon-general's successful conduct of the service encouraged Congress to transfer, step by step, to this department the various government functions relating to the public health. The quarantine system grew into its effective status under General Wyman's investigations and recommendations. With the Spanish-American war, the service came into greatly increased responsibilities. It was extended over Cuba and Porto Rico. General Wyman aimed at control of the yellow fever situation in the West Indies and he achieved it. He promoted the establishment of a great sanitarium for the treatment of consumptives on the plains of New Mexico. The extension of American influence in the Pacific brought the study of leprosy, and of the bubonic plague within his jurisdiction. The greatest public health officer in the world today is a St. Louisan, born and bred.

"The students' friend," Dr. Robert Luedeking was called. He was a native St. Louisan. When he died in 1908, at the age of fifty-five, he had

honored his profession and his city. The title bestowed upon him had been earned by his devotion to the cause of medical education. Dr. Luedeking received the very best of advantages at Heidelberg, where he studied in association with another St. Louisan who became eminent in the profession, Dr. A. C. Bernays. He endeavored to advance the standards in his teaching which began with a professorship in the St. Louis Medical college and was concluded with several years of invaluable service as dean of the medical department of Washington University. Dr. Luedeking was more than an instructor, he was the adviser and helper of the young men who came to St. Louis to prepare themselves for the profession. Through Dr. Luedeking's efforts and influence, Adolphus Busch was inspired to lend his aid to the material increase of facilities for instruction in St. Louis—facilities which placed this city with the best of centers of medical education.

The Academy of Medical and Surgical Sciences was one of the forms that the motive to raise the standard of the profession of medicine took. This association was formed in 1895 by Drs. James M. Hall, Wellington Adams, Emory Lamphear and others.

The coming of the Alexian Brotherhood to St. Louis was just fifty years ago. Five members of this order arrived here in 1869 to establish a monastery and a hospital. The institution has grown to possess buildings which cost $250,000, in which 1,500 patients are cared for yearly.

Dr. John T. Temple, a Virginian by birth, a graduate in medicine of the University of Maryland, introduced the practice of Homeopathy in St. Louis in 1844. He participated in the founding of the Homeopathic Medical college of Missouri in 1857. Dr. J. T. Vastine came from Pennsylvania in 1849. His son, Dr. Charles Vastine, succeeded him. A homeopathic physician who early achieved general acquaintance in St. Louis was Dr. Thomas Griswold Comstock. He was descended from one of the Mayflower families which settled in Connecticut. Dr. Comstock studied and graduated in 1849 at the St. Louis Medical college. In 1851 he went to Philadelphia and studied Homeopathy. He practiced a short time in St. Louis and then went to Europe, where he spent several years in the medical schools of the continent. Returning to St. Louis in 1857 Dr. Comstock, while classed as a Homeopathic physician, was an independent practitioner. He was early recognized as one of the most learned and best read men in the medical profession of the city. He was perhaps the most proficient linguist here for years. The Comstock residence, on Fourteenth and Washington avenue, contained some of the choicest works of art as well as one of the finest private libraries in St. Louis. Riding behind one of the best carriage teams of the city was Dr. Comstock's recreation.

Dr. Augustus H. Schott was an infant in arms when his parents left Hanover, Germany, in 1851, to come to America. He was educated at

Shurtleff college and at the Homeopathic Medical College of Missouri. After several years' practice at Alton he came to St. Louis and soon after took a professorship in the Homeopathic Medical college. Dr. E. C. Franklin came from Dubuque, Iowa, in 1857, and soon after joined the coterie engaged in carrying on the Homeopathic college. About the same time Dr. William Tod Helmuth came from Philadelphia. Helmuth, a dozen years later, went from St. Louis to become famous as a surgeon in New York. Franklin joined the faculty of the Homeopathic medical department of the University of Michigan. Dr. George S. Walker was of Pennsylvania birth. He did not become a homeopathic practitioner until eight years after he made his residence in St. Louis in 1852.

The Eclectic school of medicine in 1873 founded the American Medical college. The leaders in the movement were George C. Pitzer, John W. Thrailkill, Jacob S. Merrell, Albert Merrell and W. V. Rutledge. The college graduated about 1,000 students.

Dentists began to announce their presence in St. Louis within two years after the first newspaper was published. One of them advertised in 1809 that he was prepared to do "extracting, cleaning, plugging and strengthening the teeth." With the coming of Dr. Isaiah Forbes in 1837 the dental profession took on a new character. The year after he came Dr. Forbes constructed upon plans of his own a dental chair which was a great improvement on those in use. A dental society was formed. A dental journal was published. St. Louis dentists advanced new ideas and invented new methods. Dr. John S. Clark of St. Louis was one of the first, if not the first, in the country to use rolled cylinders of gold foil for filling teeth.

One of the most noted fathers of the dental profession in St. Louis was Henry J. McKellops, a New Yorker, who came here in 1840. He was a page in the Missouri Legislature and with the money thus earned attended the State University at Columbia. He became famous in his profession all over the world as the introducer of that instrument of torture—the mallet—to pound into solidity the fillings. That was over fifty years ago. At the time, the profession was not organized. Dr. McKellops led in a movement which established national, state and local associations of dentists throughout the country. In his years of travel and investigation he assembled what was regarded as the most complete dental library in the world.

The Morrisons, brothers, became noted among dentists in 1870-80. Dr. James Morrison invented a dental chair of iron with a wonderful range of motions, which came into quite general use. He devoted a great deal of attention to a dental engine. William N. Morrison contributed to the science of dentistry some valuable ideas in crown work.

The Missouri Dental college was organized in 1866. It required the students to take certain regular courses of study in a medical college in addition to the dental course. Other dental colleges adopted this St. Louis

idea. Dr. Forbes was the first president of the dental college. Down to the present day the dental profession of St. Louis has maintained the progressive spirit and the high standards which characterized these pioneers. In 1909 the American Dental association, the organization representing the profession throughout the country, looked to St. Louis for a president—electing to that high position Dr. Burton Lee Thorpe, not only a practitioner of repute but a contributor of national reputation to the literature of the profession.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PRODUCTIVE COMMERCE

"The culture of hemp has occupied the attention of our farmers, and a rope-walk will shortly be erected in this town. Thus we have commenced the manufacturing of such articles as will attract thousands of dollars to our territory; thus we will progress in freeing John Bull and Jack Ass of the trouble of manufacturing for us."—Missouri Gazette, March, 1809.

Just a century ago the first newspaper, not nine months old, began to urge the importance of home manufactures upon St. Louis. "Manifest destiny" was a favorite theme with writers, but the men who made St. Louis never overlooked the importance of supplementing natural advantages with enterprise. In the early days the supremacy of the settlement, town and city depended upon distributive commerce. St. Louis was a distributing center. Fortunes were made and the city waxed rich and powerful through the bringing of all kinds of manufactured products and their distribution to great and growing sections of the country. But the permanence of St. Louis' prosperity, the enduring growth of traffic, came with a new character. As productive commerce became more and more important St. Louis was builded for the generations to come.

In its issue of January 31, 1811, the Missouri Gazette announced: "An event not viewed as of public importance itself may yet be highly interesting from the reflections to which it gives rise. An English gentleman, Mr. Bridge, of considerable capital, arrived here on Tuesday evening last, with his family, for the purpose of establishing himself in this place. We understand he has brought with him the machinery of a cotton factory and two merino rams. Such an immigrant is an important acquisition to the country."

The water power mill on Chouteau's pond ran without competition for years. A saw mill was established at the foot of Ashley street, on the ground overlooking the river. It was the first saw mill west of the Mississippi. In connection with it the owner, Sylvester Labbadie, operated a grist mill. The power was a tread mill on which patient oxen walked slowly, by their weight making the wheel go around. The age of steam had not arrived for St. Louis. Manuel Lisa, at a later period, ventured some of his profits, made at fur trading, in a mill on the river bank. Slowly but surely St. Louisans of the old and new stock felt their way into the industrial field.

When St. Louis became a town the north boundary was described as "beginning at Antoine Roy's mill, on the bank of the Mississippi." Years afterwards the landmark was called "Roy's tower." Tradition had it that the tower was built as part of the fortification of St. Louis. The great, circular, stone tower stood on the river bank, above high water, at a point between Morgan and Ashley streets. The tradition that the tower was built for military purposes seems to rest on the similiarity to Spanish construction of that character. Truth of history seems to be that the tower was inspired by industrial activity in St.

Louis. Antoine Roy was one of the pioneer millers. He operated by wind power. His was probably the first wind-mill built in St. Louis. The great arms projected from the stone tower in such manner as to catch the full strength of the wind blowing up the river. St. Louis had two other mills at that time—Auguste Chouteau's and Gregoire Sarpy's—but they were run by water. Antoine Roy was one of the well-to-do citizens of St. Louis. His name appears on the first tax list made after the American flag was raised. The valuation put upon his holdings was $3,000. The tower was still standing in the days of the daguerreotype, forty years after it was first listed by an American assessor. It was one of the most interesting relics of St. Louis when the picture was taken, about 1847. Antoine Roy was also known as Roi. He was twice married, first to Felicite Vasquez and later to Mary Louise Papin.

In 1815, the 11th of November, Christian Smith informed the people of St. Louis that on the next evening "the first batch" of crackers and biscuits would be "drawn" from his "bake shop," and the citizens were "invited to send and make trial." The town had been incorporated about six years when the trustees passed an ordinance that "no loaf of bread shall be vended at a price greater than twelve and one-half cents."

The Grimsleys were Virginia people, a large family of them. Nimrod Grimsley, the head of the Kentucky branch, moved to that state. Thornton Grimsley was not born until after the family settled in Kentucky. He came out to St. Louis in charge of a stock of goods while he was still apprenticed to a saddlery manufacturer at home. That was in 1816, when Thornton Grimsley was eighteen years of age. When he reached the age of twenty-one and the end of his apprenticeship he took six months of schooling with the proceeds of extra work done by him during his apprenticeship. At the end of that time he became the representative of his employer in charge of the St. Louis branch, and three years later he went into business here for himself. Recognizing the demand which must come in the southwest for what he knew most about, Grimsley opened a small saddlery shop. He invented the dragoon saddle. The government adopted the Grimsley saddle, and for many years would have no other. Grimsley's saddle factory became one of the institutions of the west. It did more government work than any other factory in the country. Thornton Grimsley was of striking appearance. He was of large frame and wore side whiskers at a time when that style was exceptional. In the brilliant militia uniforms of the period his figure was imposing. There was rarely a great celebration in St. Louis during the second quarter of the century, with which Thornton Grimsley was not associated as grand marshal.

James Richardson, who came from Virginia much earlier than Grimsley's arrival, and settled north of the city, was a saddler. He constructed a side saddle and presented it to one of the Spanish governors for his wife. The governor was so well pleased that he gave Richardson a grant of a thousand arpents of land.

The French habitants of St. Louis raised tobacco in their common fields. Tobacco was manufactured in only crude forms until after the American occupation. In 1817 Richards & Quarles had "a tobacco manufactory" on the cross street nearly opposite the postoffice. About 1840 the newspapers spoke of tobacco as

WILLIAM SCHOTTEN

THE OLD ROY TOWER AND LEVEE IN 1850
From a Daguerreotype, Missouri Historical Society

"another item of our trade which is swelling every year into much greater importance." Missouri was raising 9,000 hogsheads of tobacco in 1841 and sending all but 500 hogsheads to St. Louis. As a tobacco market St. Louis grew until the receipts in 1876 reached 29,204 hogsheads.

The Catlin family had much to do with the development of the tobacco industry. The first of the St. Louis Catlins came from Connecticut and brought with him a valuable knowledge about the manufacture. He was Dan Catlin. He established in North St. Louis a factory which was one of the most important local industries of its day, 1840. Dan Catlin had two sons, Daniel and Ephron, both children when the family moved from Litchfield. Daniel Catlin grew into the management of the tobacco manufacturing, and taught other St. Louis manufacturers how much there is in putting products with attractive brands on the market. The Catlin tobacco company expanded into an institution giving employment to more than 400 people. Ephron Catlin, three years younger than Daniel, chose the drug business in preference to tobacco manufacturing. The brothers, both men of splendid physiques, were conspicuous in a community where stalwart young manhood was not exceptional. They married sisters, Misses Justina and Camilla Kayser, daughters of Henry Kayser, one of the foremost civil engineers of the west.

Christopher Foulks came from New Jersey about 1820, with a knowledge of tobacco manufacture. He became one of the pioneers in that industry. Joseph Liggett was a Londonderry man who settled in St. Louis and married Elizabeth Foulks, daughter of the pioneer tobacco manufacturer. The son, John Edmund Liggett was born in St. Louis in 1826. He was one of the pupils of David H. Armstrong in the first public school of St. Louis, and afterwards attended Kemper college in the southwestern part of the city. At eighteen, John E. Liggett left school to go into the tobacco factory of Foulks and Shaw. The head of the house was his grandfather. The junior partner was his stepfather. When the grandfather retired, the grandson became a partner, and the firm was Hiram Shaw and Company. A brother, W. C. L. Liggett, bought out Mr. Shaw, and the new style was J. E. Liggett and Brother. Henry Dausman bought out the brother after five years. The tobacco manufacturing went on, growing under Liggett and Dausman. In 1873 George S. Myers bought out Dausman. Hiram Shaw Liggett, son of John E. Liggett, grew into the business. Through four generations the plant grew into one of the great industries not alone of St. Louis but of the country. A vast fortune was built up with the profits of carefully conducted manufacturing. In the family through the generations was always a devotion to the cause of education which found expression in princely gifts to institutions.

Before the Civil war St. Louis was selling manufactured tobacco in every State and territory of the United States. The Lewis brothers, who started in Glasgow, Missouri, in 1837, had ten years later removed to St. Louis, and developed greatly their business, keeping a branch at Glasgow. They manufactured annually millions of pounds of fine cut and plug. They exported to Europe as well as supplied a home market, which included all of this country. Twenty years after the war St. Louis had become the second largest tobacco manufacturing center, being surpassed only by Jersey City. In 1908 St. Louis was maintain-

ing the position it had held for years as "the place where more tobacco is manufactured annually than in any other place in the world." That year of depression in some industries showed an increase in the products of St. Louis tobacco factories to 75,750,000 pounds, as compared with the 65,980,000 pounds of 1907. The product of the six tobacco manufacturing establishments of St. Louis in 1907 was valued at $21,127,654.

The Drummonds were of Scotch ancestry. James Drummond was born in Scotland. He was a soldier in the Revolution. His son Harrison moved west from Virginia and settled on a farm in St. Charles county. James T. Drummond was born in St. Louis in 1834. His brother, John Newton Drummond, was born on the St. Charles county farm two years later. While they were young men, the Drummonds became interested in tobacco manufacture. John Newton Drummond left the farm to work in a factory. James T. Drummond, after teaching school and being a traveling salesman for his father-in-law, James Tatum, put his savings into a small tobacco factory at Alton about the beginning of the Civil war. His brother joined him. After the removal to St. Louis, the business grew to immense proportions.

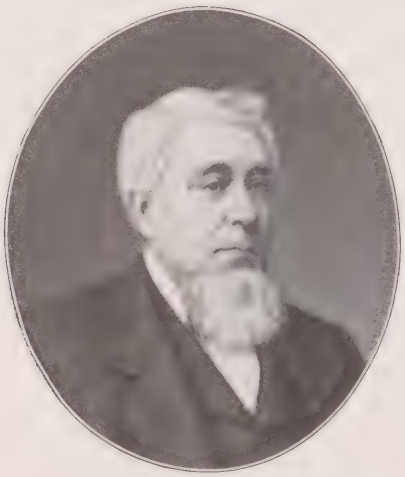
Sam Gaty was an orphan eleven years old when, taking an old shot gun which had been his father's, he left the people with whom he had been placed, made his way to Louisville and bound himself as an apprentice in a foundry. When he had learned the trade, with a companion named Morton, he came to St. Louis. That was in 1828. Martin Thomas had the foundry of the city and James Newell was the expert blacksmith. McQueen was managing the foundry. Gaty and Morton asked for work. McQueen refused to hire them, saying he must have competent men and was going to get them from New York. The steamboat Jubilee, fortunately for Sam Gaty, broke a shaft about that time. To make a new one seemed to be beyond the mechanical resources of St. Louis. Newell, the blacksmith, heard about the trouble. He suggested that Gaty might be able to turn out a steamboat shaft. McQueen was incredulous, but he sent for the youth from Louisville. Gaty said he could make a shaft. "How will you do it?" asked McQueen. "That is my business," replied Gaty. He was given the opportunity and turned out the shaft, the first one manufactured in St. Louis. Later Sam Gaty made the first steam engine built in St. Louis or west of the Mississippi. His fortune after that was a matter of industry and persistent attention to business.

The way in which Gaty prepared for his shaft-making excited great interest in St. Louis. There wasn't a geared lathe in the place. Hunting up two cogwheels of different sizes. Baty bolted the larger to the face plate of the lathe and the smaller one he put on the center shaft. He arranged his machinery in such an efficient manner that he turned the new shaft in a day and a half. There was a brief controversy over the price of the job. McQueen asked Gaty before he began how much he was going to charge. "One-half of your whole price," said Gaty. McQueen demurred. Gaty, recalling the way in which he had been refused work, said, "Get your skilled workmen from the east to do it." McQueen thought it over and told Gaty to go ahead.

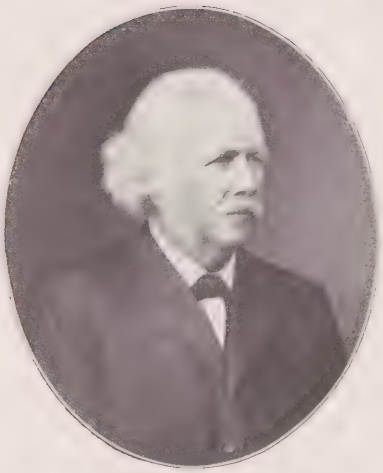
On the reputation acquired in the steamboat shaft incident, Gaty started a foundry. The three partners had a capital of $250. The money was absorbed

AUGUST GAST

THOMAS R. PULLIS



SAMUEL GATY



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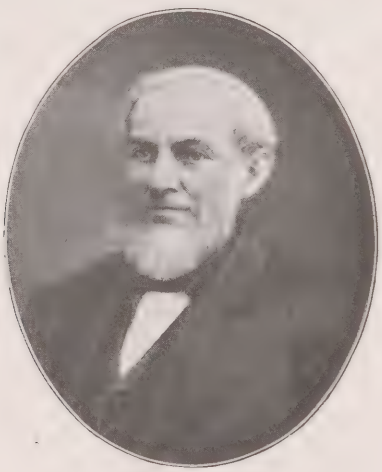


GILES F. FILLEY

MECHANIC PRINCES OF ST. LOUIS

before the business was well established. Mr. Gaty took a place by the day at $1.25. He went into partnership with his employer and built up one of the largest of the early industries of St. Louis. In his old age he was very wealthy, his success being ascribed to the fact that he stuck to the business and had never risked anything in speculation. In 1840 Mr. Gaty married Miss Elizabeth Burbridge. He was the father of thirteen children.

Philip Kingsland learned the manufacture of iron in his father's shop at Pittsburg. He was put through an apprenticeship which was not only thorough but showed him no favors because he was the son of the proprietor. In 1835, at the age of twenty-six, he came to St. Louis and started a foundry and machine shop. His brother George joined him. The Kingslands later engaged in the manufacture of agricultural machinery.

A steamboat,—hull, engines, tackle and all of St. Louis make,—came to the wharf on the 25th of April, 1842. Citizens began to talk of a manufacturing city. Hundreds of boats were built here after that. Not one of them made the public impression that the St. Louis Oak did when she steamed down from Captain Irvine's boatyard.

To the Kentuckians who flocked to Missouri about 1830 this city owes the origin and the rise of its hemp market. And with the raw material came the manufacture of rope and gunny cloth and allied products. In 1853 the 63,450 bales of hemp received here were worth $300,000. McClelland, Scruggs & Co. and Douglass & Bier joined with others in the manufacture of rope and hackled hemp under a new patent, and utilized from 2,000 to 3,000 tons of the raw material yearly. Near the shot tower on north levee John L. Blaine conducted large rope works. Just below Park avenue Johnson, Bartley & Lytle had a large rope manufactory. R. B. Bowler came from Cincinnati and organized the St. Louis Rope and Bagging Company.

St. Louis became a great market for flax seed and a center for the manufacture of oil. This was a development promoted by the white lead industry. As Henry T. Blow increased the manufacture of white lead, he encouraged the production of flaxseed and castor beans by importing the seed and the beans and making distribution to farmers who would plant.

Long before the first railroad was built westward St. Louis received by wagon haul of forty miles shipments of gunpowder. The place of manufacture was Gallagher's Mill in Franklin county. John Stanton, for whom a town was named later, was the pioneer manufacturer. He utilized the nitrous earth found in the caves of the foothills of the Ozarks.

Ellis N. Leeds, the son of a New Jersey farmer, laid many thousands of brick in the first ten years he had lived in St. Louis. The journeyman became a director of the Merchants Bank, of the St. Louis Gas Light Company, of the Cheltenham Brick Company, of the Vulcan Iron Company, and retired a capitalist after thirty years of active business life.

Nicholas Schaeffer with his three brothers walked over the Alleghany Mountains on his way to St. Louis. The young men and their mother came to America in 1832. They bought a horse and wagon at Baltimore and started to drive to Cincinnati. At Hagerstown, the horse was stolen. The mother was given a place to ride in a freight wagon. The sons walked to the Ohio river at

Wheeling. Nicholas Schaeffer mixed mortar for seventy-five cents a day, worked in a tannery at fifteen dollars a month, was steward in a hotel, tried flat boating before he came to St. Louis in 1839 and made the beginning of what was to be for forty years the largest soap and candle manufactory in the west. He came from Alsace, then in France, now a German province.

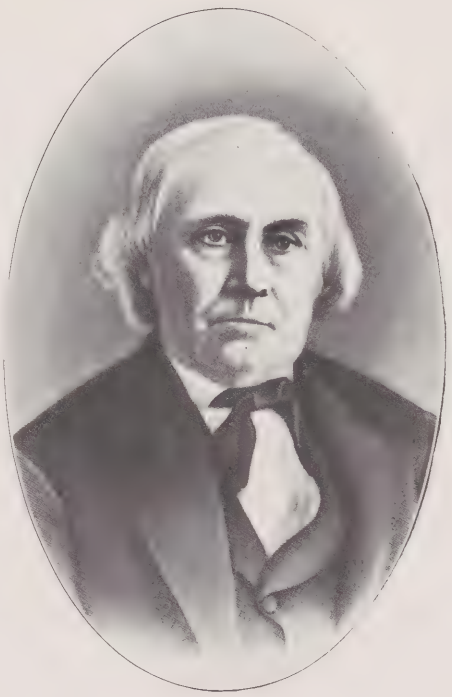
Gerard B. Allen was the son of a manufacturer in Cork, Ireland. He came to St. Louis a young man in 1837 and engaged in contracting and building. From manufacturing lumber he went into iron and established the Fulton Iron Works.

The Garrisons were New Yorkers, sons of Oliver Garrison who ran some of the earliest packets long before railroad days between New York city and West Point on the Hudson. Daniel R. Garrison, with some knowledge of steam engine construction gained in shops at Buffalo and Pittsburg, came to St. Louis in 1835 and was put in charge of the drafting for the Kingsland, Lightner & Co. foundry and engine works. He was just of age. In 1840 Daniel R. Garrison and his brother Oliver began to manufacture St. Louis steam engines. With the rush to the gold diggings Daniel R. Garrison went to California. Oliver Garrison remained in St. Louis building steam engines and shipping them to his brother. Of the first lot of three engines Daniel R. Garrison sold one to the Hudson Bay Company. He went to Oregon to deliver it. The main couplings were lost overboard. There was no time to send back to St. Louis for new parts. Daniel R. Garrison, with Indian guides, went 100 miles into the Willamette wilderness, dug some iron ore, built a temporary furnace, smelted the ore and made new couplings. This is said to have been the first manufacture of iron on the Pacific coast. The engine which Daniel R. Garrison built for the boat is said to have been used on the first steamboat constructed on Pacific waters. The Garrisons retired with fortunes from the foundry business. Daniel R. Garrison took up railroad building and management first with the Ohio and Mississippi, now the Baltimore and Ohio, in the fifties, and then with the Missouri Pacific during the war. After the war the Garrisons took up and for ten years carried on the great iron manufacturing industry, the Vulcan and Jupiter works, at the south end of Carondelet.

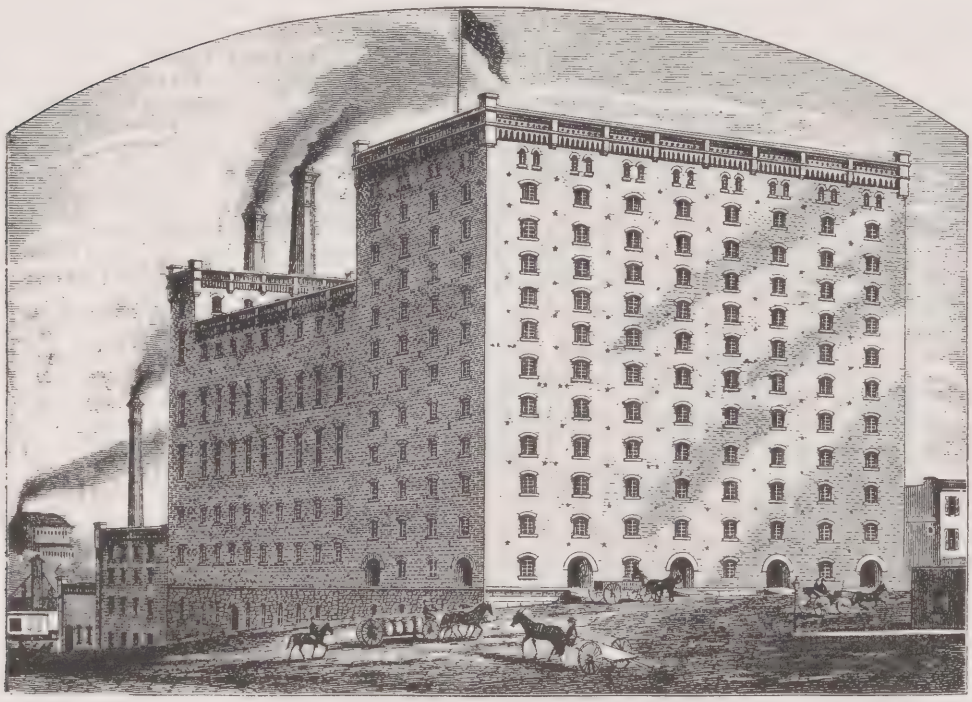
The original Plymouth Rock stock sent its representation to the upbuilding of St. Louis. Warren A. Souther and E. E. Souther, who established a house dealing in iron, about the Civil war period, descended from Nathaniel Souther, the first secretary of the Plymouth colony. A branch of this numerous New England family settled in Alton in 1842. From Alton the Southers came to St. Louis. Out of the iron business established by the Southers grew the Souther Iron Company and later the Missouri Bolt and Nut Company.

One of the chief surprises of a fair held in 1842 was "a St. Louis manufactured stove." This was the initial effort of the Empire Stove Works established by the Bridges. Hudson E. Bridge and his brother began the manufacture of stoves in a modest plant up town. By 1848 they were occupying half a block at Main and Almond. Six years later they had spread to the levee. They were melting ten tons of iron a day and turning out 11,000 stoves a year. That was in 1854. The Empire was one of four stove-making establishments in St. Louis at the time.

ALBERT HARIG



TOBIAS SPENGLER



THE BELCHER SUGAR REFINERY

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

The Excelsior Stove Works of Giles F. Filley & Co. had been in operation since 1850. This establishment had finished 20,000 in the third year of operation, using 4,000 tons of iron. These stoves had been shipped to all parts of St. Louis trade territory. They had given the stove manufacturing center of the country, Albany, its fatal shock. A fireproof pattern safe assured the community that the Excelsior Works had come to stay. This safe was like no other in the United States. It had massive brick walls without windows, three stories, an iron roof with an iron shutter which could be opened to let in the light and air. There the patterns of the many varieties of stoves were kept secure from fire.

A scientific discovery which revolutionized stove manufacture is credited to Giles Franklin Filley. It was of the useful, homely character which might be properly associated with Mr. Filley's middle name. The discovery came about through Mr. Filley's experiments to find something better than the close iron door which covered the feedhole to his iron furnace. The iron of the door became so hot when the cupola was fired that it soon burned out. The workmen couldn't stand in front of it. Mr. Filley tried a wire screen covering. Rather to his surprise this held the heat within the furnace, did not become so hot as the iron door and lessened the amount of fuel necessary for smelting. It was a saving of expense in the operation of the cupola furnace. At that time the stove manufacturers of the country claimed great improvement in the construction of oven doors which were close-fitting on cookstoves. They went so far as to make double doors with non-conducting material between the plates. The object was to keep all of the heat in the oven. Having observed the efficiency of the wire screen over the cupola door, Mr. Filley tried a gauze wire door to the cooking stove. He discovered it gave a more even temperature; that baking and roasting could be done with less fuel. But perhaps, more than all, the cooking with the gauze wire door did not burn and destroy the savory odors.

For a full generation after the cooking stove became general in St. Louis homes, lament was loud and universal that things did not taste as well as they did when done in the old way. The local scientists wrestled with the problem. John H. Tice, who was known locally as the philosopher of Cheltenham, stated the indictment against the cooking stove:

> Those whose remembrance runs back half a century, when cooking stoves began to come into use, will recall the fact that their sainted mothers while lavish in praises of the handiness, convenience and general performance of the innovation, uniformly made one objection to it, namely that in baking and roasting it did not come up to the old standard. All persons who have passed the meridian of life recall with zest the fine and delicious flavor of the tender beef, pork, lamb, turkey, etc., roasted before the open fire, and hence their own experience can bear testimony to the maternal objection.

The gauze doors determined that it was far better that the ovens should not be airtight for baking; that excessive heat meant annihilation of the distinctive odors of meats and other things. The local scientists agreed that 212 degrees was about the proper standard to accomplish the best oven results and that Giles F. Filley's gauze wire doors operated to maintain such a standard with a saving of wood or coal. A higher range of heat, it was agreed, injured the baking.

Hitchcock & Co., in the southern part of the city, also made stoves, and by way of variety turned out 3,000 plows a year. The south as well as the west, before the Civil war, was looking to St. Louis for agricultural machinery.

The immediate vicinity of St. Louis became famous for its fruit. Pomology had its professors seventy years ago. In 1837 the wife of Peregrine Tippet, a Marylander, who called his farm in St. Louis county Cedar Grove, planted apple seeds. She was Susanna Lee, the mother of Mrs. Martrom D. Lewis. From that seed planting came the apple popular several generations ago as "Aunt Susan's Favorite." Norman J. Colman, after much investigation, decided that no part of the United States offered such encouragement to fruit growing as the vicinity of St. Louis. When the Civil war came Mr. Colman had the greater part of what is now known as the Cabanne section covered with a young nursery. He had planned to supply young trees for the starting of thousands of orchards in Missouri and Southern Illinois. The war paralyzed the industry. Mr. Colman was the first Secretary of Agriculture.

As early as 1835-40 several St. Louisans became deeply interested in the subject of wine growing. One of them was Kenneth McKenzie. He made a trip to Europe for the purpose of getting information as to vineyards and as to wine making.

Amadee Berthold brought over from France while he was there a cutting of a celebrated grape. He placed it in a tin pan with earth. At that time a certain allotment of water was made to each passenger crossing the ocean. Mr. Berthold cut down his allotment until he actually went thirsty in order that he might use the water to nourish the cutting. That vine, for it had rooted when Mr. Berthold reached St. Louis, was planted back of the Berthold mansion on Fifth and Pine streets. It grew to very large size and bore enormously.

Thomas Allen, afterwards the railroad builder, took up grape culture and established a vineyard on the Russell place, near where the McKinley High school is located. Mr. Allen had made for him a grey blouse, such as was worn in the vineyards of Germany. He donned this blouse and attended to his grapes daily. He wrote charmingly of the opportunities St. Louis presented for horticulture. In a St. Louis newspaper of September 29, 1846, appeared this acknowledgment: "Thomas Allen of Crystal Springs farm in the southern part of the city has presented us with ten varieties of peaches raised this season on his grounds. Mr. Allen has a heavy crop of apples, of which there are thirty varieties; also a large crop of grapes, of which he has twenty varieties."

There were great expectations from 1845 to 1860 that St. Louis would become one of the principal wine markets of the United States. Extensive vineyards were planted. Much careful study was given to grape culture and wine making. One of the experts who passed upon the condition here was a minister, Rev. Mr. Peabody. He claimed that in climate and soil the advantages of the vicinity of St. Louis were superior to any part of the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains. An estimate gave 15,000,000 acres in Missouri tributary to St. Louis suitable for vineyards.

Alexander Kayser was one of those who anticipated great development for the wine industry of St. Louis and vicinity. In 1848 he offered three premiums of $100 each for "the best specimens of Missouri wines, the vintage of three consecutive years." The competitors numbered twen-

ELLIS N. LEEDS

PHILIP KINGSLAND

HUDSON E. BRIDGE

JAMES A. WRIGHT

GERARD B. ALLEN

MECHANIC PRINCES OF ST. LOUIS

ty-seven for the third year. The premium went to Jacob Romel of Hermann on "a wine of pure Catawba grapes."

Gustave Edward Meissner joined the viticulturists of St. Louis. He was a relative of the Roeblings, the famous bridge builders of New York, and before coming to St. Louis had given a great deal of study and investigation to grape growing. Finding the vicinity of St. Louis ideal in respect to soil and climate for viticulture, Mr. Meissner made this his home. He acquired an island in the Mississippi a few miles below the city, called Meissner's Island. There he established a vineyard of 600 acres. At one time his vines were producing 100 varieties of grapes.

A fact that encouraged the St. Louis wine-makers was the discovery of six fine varieties of grapes that seemed to be native to the soil of Missouri, and proof against disease. These early experiments produced wines which experts pronounced excellent in flavor and keeping quality. The grapes grown in the vicinity of St. Louis were declared to yield a "must full of body and having saccharine enough to prevent acetic fermentation."

But notwithstanding all of the natural encouragement for grape growing and wine making the St. Louis market in 1853 received of native wine only nine casks, seven barrels and eight boxes. A hundred years before Cahokia and Kaskaskia across the river were making more wine than that. The wine product of St. Louis in 1870 was $800,000.

The brewing of lager beer in St. Louis began in 1840. Adam Lemp came to this country from Germany. Two years after settling in St. Louis he started a small establishment on Second street between Walnut and Elm. Twenty years later "Lemp's" had become one of the institutions of the city. Upon Second street was a large public hall where people gathered and drank their "lager" as they called it. In the rear of the hall were the manufacturing departments and the vaults where the beer "lagered."

St. Louisans commenced drinking beer in 1810. St. Vrain opened a brewery north of the city and put it in charge of a German brewer named Hab. He made two kinds, strong and table beer. Strong beer he sold for ten dollars a barrel and table beer for five dollars a barrel. These prices were cash. If produce was taken, St. Vrain charged twelve dollars a barrel. About the same time Jacob Philipson made beer which was retailed "at twelve and one-half cents a quart at the stores of Sylvester Labbadie and Michel Tesson and at various other convenient places." Ezra English made malt beer and stored it in English's cave where Benton park is now. Then the firm of English & McHose was formed to manufacture beer on a large scale for that day. The rising tide of German immigration made lager beer familiar to St. Louisans before 1850.

In 1860 the Mississippi Handels-Zeitung gave a list of forty breweries in operation in St. Louis, making 23,000 barrels of beer a year with a capital of $600,000. The magnitude of the business seemed amazing to the American newspapers. The statistician of the Missouri Republican figured that the consumption in St. Louis was 658 glasses for every person

in the course of a year. In 1908 the breweries numbered twenty-seven and the production of malt liquors was above $20,000,000.

In 1854 St. Louis had "a cotton factory, the thread of which had almost superseded all other yarns in the St. Louis market." This industry had not only survived the fire of 1849, but had grown from a little shop near Main and Chestnut to one of the largest plants in the city. It was located on Menard, Soulard and Lafayette streets. It was working up from 1,500 to 1,800 bales of cotton a year and turning out 400,000 pounds of cotton yarn, 90,000 pounds of carpet warp, 40,000 pounds of candlewick, 60,000 pounds of cotton twine, 740,000 yards of cotton sheeting, and 120,000 pounds of cotton batting.

Why St. Louis did not become a cotton manufacturing center has never been made clear. The first spinning mill west of the Mississippi was started here in 1844. It had 800 spindles. A new building was erected. The number of spindles was increased to 1,600. The mill ran steadily and with apparent success until 1857, when it was entirely destroyed by fire. Adolphus Meier inaugurated the industry. He had come from Bremen with a fine education and with some capital in 1837. His father was a man of high standing as lawyer and held the office of secretary of the Supreme court. After seven years in other business in St. Louis, Mr. Meier and his relatives established the cotton mill. When the mill burned, a charter was obtained from the state and the St. Louis cotton factory was built, Mr. Meier becoming the president. Most of the stock was taken by his firm.

Adolphus Meier was one of the pioneers of manufacturing in St. Louis. He did much more than start the first cotton factory west of the Mississippi. He inspired extensive and expensive experiments to make coke from soft coal in the Belleville district. He establishd the Meier iron works of East Carondelet. He assisted in building at St. Louis the largest tobacco warehouse in the United States. The Peper cotton press was equipped with hydraulic presses, in part the invention of Edwin D. Meier, the son of Adolphus Meier. This revolutionized the handling of cotton bales. Christian Peper backed the working out of this problem liberally. There was almost no manufacturing problem to which Adolphus Meier did not lend his aid. The fact that his investments were not always profitable did not dishearten him. One thing Mr. Meier did for manufacturing in St. Louis was of great consequence. He made evident to those who came after that fuel could be laid down cheaper at St. Louis than at any other manufacturing center in the country. A part of this demonstration Mr. Meier brought about by the construction of a turnpike in Illinois from the mines to the bank of the river opposite St. Louis. This was done in 1848. It made possible the transportation of coal to St. Louis through the winter and spring months in which, previously, the supply had run short, with the result that prices soared. Later Mr. Meier headed a company which built and operated the Illinois & St. Louis railroad for the purpose of carrying coal to St. Louis.

M. M. BUCK

ALVAH MANSUR

J. K. CUMMINGS

LUCAS PLACE IN 1859
RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM M. MORRISON
BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

In a little shop on Walnut street, across from the Cathedral, William Schotten ground out spices with a hand mill. That was in 1847. Under thirty years of age, he had come from Nuess, near Duesseldorf. St. Louis was a Mecca for the Germans coming to America in that period. Schotten came because others of his countrymen were en route here. The little factory he established was a beginning. The founder with his own hands turned the crank of the mill. Then he went out and made the rounds of the grocers, selling his stock. Before he died, in 1874, he saw his business grown to $200,000 a year. In 1897, the house he had established celebrated a semi-centennial anniversary when the annual business amounted to a volume of which the founder had never dreamed.

The development of the sugar refining industry of St. Louis in 1850-60 was enormous. In 1851 the refined sugars shipped away from St. Louis had reached 21,893 barrels, according to the government report. Within four years after that time the amount of sugar refined and shipped from St. Louis was over 100,000 barrels. In three months of 1854 the sales of sugar, molasses and syrups at the St. Louis refinery were over $800,000. In 1850-5 St. Louis imported five times as much sugar as Cincinnati did. St. Louis refined sugars were famous. In 1853 St. Louis imported 50,774 hogsheads, 13,993 barrels and 40,217 boxes and bags. The refining of sugar was one of the principal industries. Of the entire Louisiana sugar crop St. Louis received more than went to all of the Atlantic ports from Maine to Florida. This was the sugar manufacturing and distributing point for the interior of the country.

One manufacturing industry meant others. As the refining of sugar grew in magnitude cooperage became important in St. Louis. The cooper shop was an adjunct of the Belcher refinery. It employed 125 men and occupied a large stone building. In 1853 this shop turned out 121,000 pieces, chiefly barrels and half barrels to carry the sugars and syrups refined and manufactured by the refinery. This product required 2,000,000 staves, lumber for headings and 800,000 hoop poles and twenty tons of hoop iron. The city that year had a coopers' society with 600 members. So rapidly did the business of the refinery develop that a considerable proportion of the cooperage work was given to outside shops. There were times when the coopers of St. Louis working ten hours a day could not keep up with the demand for barrels and other pieces of cooperage.

The first type foundry in St. Louis was established by A. P. Ladew, the son of an Albany, New York, merchant, who came here in 1838. August Gast landed in St. Louis, in 1852, without a penny in his pocket. Leopold Gast brought over with him a press and a limited lithographic outfit. The Gasts were natives of Lippe-Detmold, Germany. They had learned the trade of lithography in Germany. They started a little shop on Fourth street where the Southern hotel is. In 1854 St. Louis had a type foundry and St. Louis papers were printed with St. Louis type which sold at New York prices. An entire newspaper outfit could be furnished in St. Louis in twenty-four hours. The city had six lithographic, printing and engrav-

ing establishments, four steel and copper plate engraving and three wood engraving. There were six book binderies and eight book and job offices. The art preservative was worthily and strongly represented. Much of reputation St. Louis gained as a center of type manufacturing, the city owes to a German who came from Dresden. He had served a six years' apprenticeship with a great printing and publishing house in his native city; he had worked in the foremost type making shops of Prague, Munich and Frankfort-on-the-Main; he spent some time in England; he came to this country and studied in Boston. In 1874 Carl S. Schraubstatter came to St. Louis and with James A. St. John established a type foundry which became famous throughout the country for the excellence of the product.

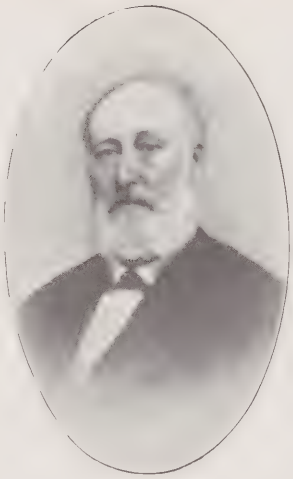
When the St. Louis Ice company was organized in September, 1854, the capital consisted of 1,000 shares of $25 each. The plan of organization contained the following provision: "No one person to be allowed more than eight shares." This met with great popularity. In six days all of the stock was subscribed. When the stockholders organized they chose for trustees such prominent citizens as Asa Wilgus, Kenneth McKenzie, William M. McPherson, John J. Anderson, William W. Greene, W. Patrick, Edward Brooks, John McNeil, T. E. Courtenay, L. Dorsheimer, John B. Carson, George Knapp and B. F. Stout. The company located an ice house on the Levee between Plum and Cedar streets.

Stephen A. Douglas came to St. Louis shortly before the presidential campaign of 1860. He emphasized in an impressive way the opportunities for manufacturing development presented to St. Louis:

> I have said that I am glad to be here in your great State, and I am not impolite when I say you are unappreciative of your powers here at this place. I have considered your natural resources; with you nature has been more than lavish, she has been profligate. Dear precious dame! Take your southern line of counties, there you grow as beautiful cotton as any section of this world; traverse your southeastern counties and you meet that prodigy in the world of mineralogy,—the Iron Mountain married to the Pilot Knob, about the base of each of which may be grown any cereal of the states of the great Northwest, or any one of our broad, outspread western territories. In your central counties you produce hemp and tobacco together with these same cereals. Along your eastern border traverses the great Father of Waters like a silver belt about a maiden's waist. From west to east through your northern half the great Missouri pushes her way. In every section of your state you have coal, iron, lead, and various minerals of finest quality. Indeed, fellow citizens, your resources are such that Missourians might arm a half million of men and wall themselves within the borders of their own State and withstand the siege of all the armies of this present world, in gradations of three years each between armistices, and never a Missouri soldier stretch his hand across that wall for a drink of water!

About 1855 glass works went into operation at St. Louis. The industry was established at Broadway and Monroe streets by G. W. Scolly & Co. The sand was found a few miles from the city. The lead was here. The pearlash was obtainable from asheries on the Upper Mississippi. Only the clay for pots to stand the intense and prolonged heat was wanting. About that time Charles Semple in digging a well on his farm a few miles out on the Natural Bridge road found just the clay that was required.

J. T. DRUMMOND



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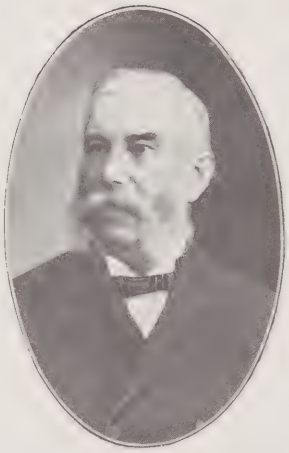

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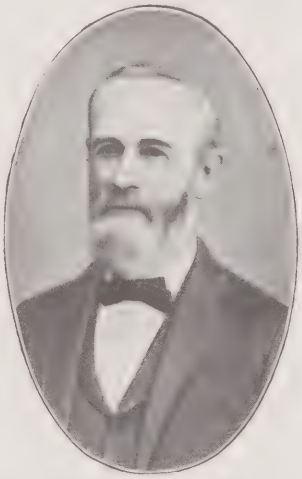
A. W. FAGIN

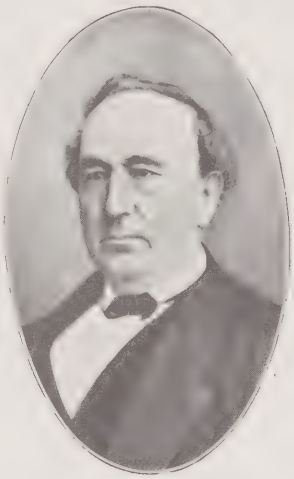
HENRY AMES



J. E. LIGGETT

WILLIS J. POWELL

JOSEPH SCHLANGE



JOSEPH UHRIG

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

This clay was made into pots and put to the severest tests at the glass works and stood them. The products of the works began at once to cut into the glass trade of Boston at St. Louis. St. Louis glass was added to St. Louis flour, St. Louis sugar, St. Louis yarn, St. Louis machinery.

The fair fame of St. Louis has made the name of the city a household word for widely varied reasons. In the earlier years of his career Denton J. Snider, then a member of the faculty of the St. Louis High school, during a lecture before a parlor audience, made the assertion that the name of William T. Harris was known to more people than the name of any other St. Louisan. Dr. Harris had developed his theories of education along lines which made the public school system of St. Louis the object of interest and study by educators everywhere. He had established the school of speculative philosophy which was stimulating the minds of thinkers in many countries. Professor Snider made his assertion positively and for a few moments it seemed as if it would be accepted by all who heard him without challenge. Then James A. Waterworth, not long over from County Down, Ireland, of wide mercantile acquaintance abroad, engaged in the insurance business of St. Louis, a reader and a writer in practical fields, questioned the accuracy of Professor Snider's opinion. Admitting all that had been told respecting Dr. Harris, Mr. Waterworth said he thought there was another St. Louisan whose name was known to more people in this and other countries. Mr. Snider called for the name. "Whittaker," said Mr. Waterworth stoutly. "I believe more people know the name of the St. Louisan associated with the sugar cured ham than have heard of Dr. Harris."

The first Sunday that Francis Whittaker spent in St. Louis he went to the Presbyterian church to hear Dr. Potts. After the service he walked out to the high ground west of Jefferson avenue and turning about looked long and thoughtfully at the St. Louis of 1848. He had come west with letters that made it possible to choose his location. A brother, Dr. John H. Whittaker, was president of the New York Medical college. Before he left the grove of trees on the ridge, Mr. Whittaker decided that St. Louis was to be his American home. He had come from County Leitrim, Ireland, where his father, of good birth, had held the office of sheriff. Practical knowledge of two kinds of business, widely separated, had prepared Mr. Whittaker for his St. Louis career. There was an apprenticeship served to a packer in Sligo. After that had come several years of experience in a bank. Mr. Whittaker became a pork packer. In the early years of the enterprise, he was his own foreman and when work pressed he took his place at the "cutter's table." When he reached home in the evening often his hands were too tired for the knife and fork. Direct shipments to Europe were advocated by Mr. Whittaker with great earnestness as long as he lived. Their importance to the development of St. Louis were in his opinion very great.

In 1858 St. Louis claimed confidently "the largest beef and pork packers in the Union." The Ames family moved west from Oneida county,

New York. Nathan Ames and his two sons, Henry and Edgar, were pioneer pork packers in Cincinnati long before "the Queen City of the West" had gained the sobriquet of "Porkopolis." They went there in 1828, but in 1841 they decided that St. Louis was a coming center of commerce, more encouraging than Cincinnati. Henry Ames added to knowledge of pork packing a thorough acquaintance with the river transportation business.

Almost the only industry of St. Louis which the Civil war did not materially injure was pork packing. It was in the hands of a group of men devoted to the Union. When St. Louis began to organize an army, before there was commissary or other preparation to take care of volunteers, these pork packers supplied food to the "Home Guards." Later, when the troops were mustered in faster than the business departments of the army could be organized, these packers supplied food in great quantities, trusting to the government to straighten out the irregularities and to meet the bills. Several firms pursued this policy of doing all that was asked in emergencies and trusting to the government. They gave credit to the government to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars. The patriotic course had its reward, although that was hardly foreseen. The War Department patronized the firms which had acted promptly and liberally in 1861. When the war ended the packing industry of St. Louis was flourishing. These firms were Francis Whittaker & Co., Henry and Edgar Ames & Co., and John J. Roe & Co.

The Ames Brothers came to St. Louis with their father, Nathan Ames, in 1841. Two centuries back the Ameses were an old colonial family of Massachusetts. Henry Ames was eight years the older. The brothers were unlike physically and mentally, but between them existed an affection of extraordinary character. Henry Ames was a broad shouldered, square faced man. Edgar Ames was not so heavily built. His face was that of the student and thinker. The lineaments of Henry Ames were those of the intense business man. When paralysis made it impossible for Henry Ames to walk he was carried daily to his counting room, and, sitting in his chair, directed the business. Edgar Ames suffered from gradual paralysis for some years before his brother was affected. The physicians suggested rattlesnake poison as a medicine to check the disease. Henry Ames insisted that the effects of the poison be tried upon him and that the doctors study the result in his case before they experimented with his brother Edgar. He had his way and took six doses, although warned that his condition was entirely different from that of his brother, and that while the poison might be of benefit or harmless to the younger man it might operate badly with him. The poison did make Henry Ames very sick. A variety of business enterprises besides the pork packing industry claimed the attention of Henry Ames. Edgar Ames was fond of books and art. He did much for St. Louis in that direction, but he looked forward to the accumulation of a fortune which would enable him to do a great deal more. Some one asked Edgar Ames why he continued to work so hard. His reply was, "I work to make money to beautify our city." While he was looking forward to the time when he could carry out the plans which he had in mind but was not ready to make public, death came suddenly.

Henry Ames and Edgar Ames died within a year of each other. Edgar Ames was only forty-three.

One of the cheeriest of the business magnates of St. Louis in the before-the-war period was the remaining member of this group of packers. John J. Roe settled here about the same time that the Ames family did. He was one of the Ohio river steamboatmen who came to St. Louis to trade, and who decided that residence in St. Louis offered the best opportunities. The devotion of John J. Roe to the Union cause was perhaps more remarkable than the patriotic impulses of Whittaker and the Ames brothers. Mr. Roe had been a slaveholder, but from conscientious belief that the peculiar institution was not right he had freed his negroes. He was of New York birth. His parents migrated to the Ohio river where, at Rising Sun, his father operated a ferry. Roe was a genius as a trader. He rose in steamboating to the position of captain with a share in the profits. He was so successful that in two years he had become sole owner of the boat. In 1840 he landed at St. Louis with a boat load of merchandise on a trading expedition to the Upper Missouri. The prospects of the city so impressed Mr. Roe that he remained here and started a commission house. This grew into the pork packing business of Hewitt, Roe and Kercheval. James Hewitt & Co. of New York had branches in the West. A few years after Mr. Roe started in St. Louis, the community saw his proverbial good humor tested. A fire swept away the pork packing house. Mr. Roe settled with everybody, kept his cheerfulness and began to build his fortune over again. He had more partners, probably, than any other business man in St. Louis in that day. He went into all kinds of business enterprises. He had investments in steamboats. He was a director in steam railroads and in street railroads, in banks and in insurance companies. And all of the time he was calling acquaintances by their first names, doing helpful acts, bolstering somebody's credit, giving instructions in his business and seeing anybody who wanted to see him. Thirty years afterwards St. Louis produced another business man with like capacity for handling multifarious enterprises and with similar friendliness of manner toward everybody—David R. Francis. "Captain Roe," those best acquainted said, was one of the last of St. Louis "captains." There came a day when the stockholders who were building the Eads bridge were pessimistic; they tired of the assessments and talked of stopping the work. John J. Roe came forward with $100,000 cash to continue the construction. He went to New York, called the large stockholders together, and in thirty minutes there had been subscribed $1,200,000.

On Lafayette avenue, on Compton Hill, Captain Roe laid out one of the show places of St. Louis with ten acres of ground, where he hoped to spend his declining years. But he went ahead at full steam down town. He met one man and asked him why he looked so blue. "I have two thousand barrels of pork to deliver tomorrow," was the reply. "The railroad people say they cannot reach here for three days. Pork has advanced three dollars a barrel." "I'll loan them to you," said Captain Roe, and he wrote the order for delivery. He was passing a young man on the street when he turned back and asked: "You said some weeks ago you wanted to get a bookkeeper's position; have you succeeded?" "No, Captain," was the reply. "Well," said Captain Roe, "go up to Mr. Blank's

and tell him that you are the young man I spoke about several days ago. If the place suits you he will give it to you." "The bank does not seem to like this paper," a business man said as he met Captain Roe near the cashier's desk in one of the financial institutions of the city. "Why, what is the matter with it?" asked Captain Roe. "If they don't want it I'll take it." The cashier reconsidered. An agent of the packing house who was going out to buy to the extent of $500,000, came into the presence of the head for his instructions. "All you have to do is to take care of your money and see that you get all the property you pay for," said Captain Roe, and the agent passed out. He was in his sixty-first year and was attending a meeting of one of the many corporations in which he was interested one day of February, 1870, when his voice suddenly failed, the smile faded, the head dropped to one side and Captain Roe was dead.

One of John Hogan's "Thoughts About St. Louis" in 1854 suggested this advantage of St. Louis as a center of productive commerce:

> First, perhaps chiefest, among the requisites for large manufacturing establishments, is an abundant supply of food of all kinds, and at fair living prices. To manufacture extensively in all the various branches of mechanism entering into commerce, requires an immense number of hands. To supply these and their families and all dependent upon them, with food convenient for them, absorbs at the best a large amount of the entire proceeds of their labor. Now, one of the immutable laws of trade is, that where the demand is greater than the supply, the price of the article is enhanced. If then there is a large concentration of operatives, who from their vocations are necessarily consumers, and not producers of food, unless they are employed nearest to the greatest and most abundant supply, they will find enhanced prices, and, by consequence the pro rata of wages over the amount expended for food is proportionally decreased. But is there any place in the United States where there is a greater concentration of food at fair, we may say first hand prices, than at St. Louis? I doubt whether, as an original and supply-produce point, St. Louis has its equal anywhere.

Audubon, the naturalist, during his visit to St. Louis in 1843, was impressed with the abundance of food supplies from the country immediately adjacent to the city. He wrote to James Hall:

> The markets here abound with all the good things of the land and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this read the following items: grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; turkeys, wild or tame, twenty-five cents; flour, two dollars a barrel; butter, six pence for the best—fresh and really good; beef, three to four cents; veal, the same; pork, two cents; venison hams, large and dried, fifteen cents each; potatoes, ten cents a bushel; ducks, three for a shilling; wild geese, ten cents each; canvas back ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking, as it were.

In a land of such plenty the naturalist felt that hotel rates were too high. He added to his letter:

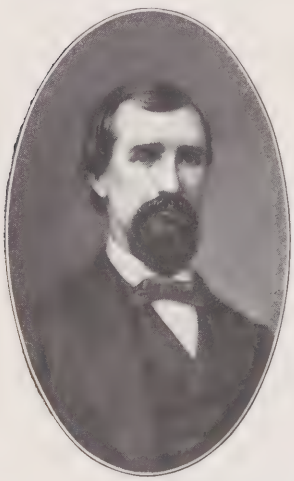
> And only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we are paying at the rate of nine dollars a week at our hotel, the Glasgow, and at the Planters we were asked ten dollars. We are at the Glasgow hotel, and will leave it the day after tomorrow, as it is too good for our purses. We intended to have gone twenty miles in Illinois to Edwardsville, but have changed our plans and will go northwest to Florissant, where we are assured game is plenty and the living quite cheap.

A once promising industry of St. Louis was the building of locomotives. In 1854 a force of 200 men worked in a plant which embraced a pattern-maker's shop, an iron foundry, a brass foundry, a smith's shop, a boilermaker's shop, a sheet iron worker's shop, a coppersmith's shop, a carpenter's shop, a finishing

CHARLES G. STIFEL

IGNATZ UHRIG

LOUIS SCHLOSSSTEIN



EDGAR AMES

JOHN J. ROE

JOSEPH GARNEAU

GEORGE P. PLANT

JOSEPH SCHNAIDER

JULIUS WINKELMEYER

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

shop and a paint shop. The plant occupied a frontage of 500 feet on South Third street; it turned out all of the parts of locomotives and put them together in working form. Palm and Robinson were the locomotive builders. They turned out the first St. Louis-built locomotive on July 1, 1853, and delivered it to the Pacific railroad. They continued to build locomotives at the rate of about one every five weeks. These were twenty-two ton locomotives. The material to construct one of them, with tender, consisted of 24,500 pounds of cast iron, 9,200 pounds of plate and sheet iron, 12,000 pounds of rolled bar iron, 7,500 pounds of hammered iron, 1,400 pounds of steel, 4,200 pounds of copper and 500 pounds of tin, zinc and brass. A considerable part of the metal which went into these St. Louis-made locomotives came from Missouri mines.

Wilhelm Palm was a highly educated young German fresh from the University of Berlin when he came to St. Louis. For a short time he was assistant editor of the Anzeiger. His experiment in locomotive building at St. Louis was so successful that he retired with a comfortable fortune. It is tradition that the first ten locomotives for the Ohio and Mississippi railroad were constructed in St. Louis, transported by ferry to the Illinois side and put in service on the rails.

Eberhard Anheuser came to St. Louis in 1845 and went into the business of soap manufacturing. He did not become interested in the manufacture of beer until 1860, when he acquired an interest in the Bavarian brewery. William Anheuser, who was a boy of ten when the family left Brunswick, Germany, continued in the business his father had established in St. Louis—soap manufacturing.

In 1860, St. Louis had 1,126 manufacturing industries with $12,733,948 capital, giving employment to 11,737 people and producing $27,000,000 in value. This city fell below Boston, Cincinnati, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, Providence, Pittsburg in manufactures.

Twenty years later, in 1880, St. Louis had come up to 2,886 manufacturing industries, employing $45,385,000 capital and 39,724 people. The products had been increased to $104,383,587 in value. St. Louis was surpassed in 1880 only by Brooklyn, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburg. These interesting comparisons were compiled from government census figures and were given in one of the most effective studies of St. Louis from the business point of view in a paper presented before the Round Table in 1882 by Charles W. Knapp.

In 1907 the manufactured products of St. Louis industries reached a valuation of $314,185,326, a gain from $193,691,595 in 1900 as shown by the census. The capital invested in manufacturing at St. Louis in 1907 was $212,908,508. The number of people employed in these manufacturing industries was 119,131.

Two brothers, whose grandfather came from Switzerland to Pennsylvania, brought to St. Louis thorough knowledge of leather manufacture. Both had been apprentices in tanneries. They were Chauncey Forward Shultz and John A. J. Shultz. One was born in Pennsylvania; the other in Maryland. Chauncey F. Shultz came to St. Louis shortly before the civil war. His brother came in 1864. Together these brothers established and developed the Shultz Belting company. The younger brother invented processes which gave to the St. Louis industry wide repute. He manu-

factured a new kind of rawhide belt which was considered a notable improvement. He introduced rawhide lace leather, the first made in the world. He patented the woven leather belt. In 1908 he was chosen president of the Missouri Manufacturers' association.

The manufacture of clothing on a large scale in St. Louis was one of the industries which became important just after the close of the civil war. Edward Martin, after several years' experience in Cincinnati, came to St. Louis to engage in this business. He associated with him his brothers Claude and John. The Martins were sons of a well-to-do freeholder in County Tyrone, Ireland.

Thirty years ago J. D. Hayes, of Detroit, was one of the best known experts in trade and transportation problems. He wrote to Joseph Nimmo, the government statistician, April 7, 1881, this notable forecast on the probabilities of manufacturing development at St. Louis:

> For hundreds of thousands of years before the present race of people were known, the Mississippi and Missouri rivers formed their junction near the place where St. Louis now stands,—those rivers being navigable for so many hundreds of miles in each direction, draining a country rich in agricultural lands, as well as very abundantly supplied with iron, coal and other minerals, together with the great variety of different kinds of valuable timber suitable for manufacturing, all of which could be brought to that point by the natural flow of water, thence onward down to the Gulf of Mexico to reach open and unobstructed navigation all the year round to all parts of the world. This vast region of country along those rivers is capable of sustaining a population of three hundred millions of people, without having more inhabitants to the square mile than some parts of Europe. With such a country, and such natural resources to and from, such a central point would not fail to attract the dullest mind to its future prospects long before the steamboats and railroads had entered into competition in rates with the currents of the rivers in their onward course to the ocean. Therefore, from the beginning to the present time and for all coming time, railroads and steamboats must compete with the currents of those rivers for the traffic of St. Louis; therefore, manufactories at that point enjoy benefits which are in some respects a protection as against interior towns or cities having to pay local or non-competing rates. The St. Louis rates affect the rates on all productions far back into the country each side of the river, as far back as to where the local rates into St. Louis and the through rate from St. Louis added together equal the eastbound rate by rail from the interior cities and towns.
>
> The public are educated to call this natural advantage "discrimination in rates in favor of St. Louis" which is true so far as the other places are concerned, but it is a "discrimination" made by God himself in the formation of the world, therefore beyond the power of railroad managers to change. The manufacturer can with some degree of certainty put his money, energy and material together at that point, looking to the future wants of the vast number of people that are in the west and the millions upon millions that will be there, and go forward with manufacturing enterprises without limit, feeling secure in the ability to compete with any other part of the world.

In the little model shop of Edward Burroughs on Pine street, the son William S. Burroughs, began about 1881 to work out his idea of an adding machine. The Burroughs, father and son, were from New York. Their shop was full of castings and wheels and strange looking things. It was frequented by St. Louis inventors who wanted their ideas put into mechanical form. William S. Burroughs turned out a machine which would do surprising performances in mathematics. Then he began to apply the

principles to a contrivance that would set down and add columns of figures. The first lot of fifty counting machines would not stand wear and tear. Fifty of these machines went into the junk heap. More substantial material was employed. In nine years Burroughs produced the machine which would stand the tests and the company formed to manufacture the machines began to turn out large numbers for commercial uses. The adder became almost as common as the typewriter in banks and other business houses.

Several of the most beneficial industries of St. Louis owed impetus if not origin to profits of the steamboat business. In the upper part of St. Louis county was "the Virginia settlement" of the Tylers and Colemans. James Dozier and his father-in-law, John Dudgeon, coming from Lexington, Ky., in 1828, joined this settlement. In 1844, Captain Dozier became one of a coterie of Missouri river commanders, among them Roe, Throckmorton, Kaiser, LaBarge and Eaton. He retired in ten years with a comfortable fortune and established himself in a country home at Dozier's Landing, St. Charles county. Immediately after the war Captain Dozier invested in the bakery business in St. Louis and founded the Dozier-Weyl Cracker company. In 1880 St. Louis was a cracker and bread center, with 215 bakeries, great and small, turning out products valued at $2,000,000 a year. In 1907 St. Louis had 354 bakeries, turning out products to the value of $6,890,000 annually.

The wooden-ware and willow-ware industry and trade were among the early business triumphs of St. Louis. There was quite a trade in wooden-ware during the decade of 1830-40, but it was carried on under the same roofs with hardware. In the summer of 1851 Samuel Cupples came from Cincinnati, bringing a stock of wooden-ware and willow-ware, with which he opened a store in that line distinctively on Locust street near the Levee. Just twenty years later St. Louis ruled the world in this trade. A statement of conditions in 1883 contained the following:

> In St. Louis the wooden-ware and willow-ware trade has obtained the ascendancy over that of any other city in America or Europe. Prices for every other city on the continent are fixed here. In the manufacture of these wares a capital approaching in the aggregate $3,000,000 is utilized and upwards of 1,000 hands are employed. One St. Louis firm sells more annually than the combined trade of any other four houses in the same line in the world, and more than the aggregate sales of all of the houses in this line of business west of the Alleghanies. St. Louis is absolutely beyond competition in this line, having the largest manufactory of this character in the world. Not only are these goods, chiefly derived from home manufactories, shipped to every considerable city and town in America, but there is a considerable export to Cuba, South America and to Australia.

At the time the above was written, twenty-five years ago, St. Louis had a five-story paper bag factory that was eating up ten tons of paper daily. There were three oak-ware factories turning out more product than any other establishment of the kind in the country. There was a broom factory using more broomcorn than all of the hand broom factories in the west. It turned out 600 dozens of complete brooms daily. The largest

manufactory of axe handles, hoe handles and other kinds of handles in the world was here in St. Louis.

The first St. Louis flouring mill equipped with improved machinery and with steam power was at the foot of Florida street. It was conducted by Edward Walsh. That was in 1827. Just twenty years later St. Louis had fourteen large mills. And in 1850 there were twenty-two mills grinding 12,000 bushels of wheat into 2,800 barrels of flour daily. The jolly millers were a power in the business of the city. When they organized their Millers' association, the directors included Gabriel Chouteau, John Walsh, Joseph Powell, C. L. Tucker, Dennis Marks, Dr. Tibbetts, James Waugh and T. A. Buckland.

A milling business of $1,500,000 before the civil war was the industry which Aaron W. Fagin created. The Fagins were Ohio people, having come in the pioneer days from New Jersey. Aaron W. Fagin left the trading business on the Ohio river to settle in St. Louis. In 1849 he built the United States mill and began shipping to all parts of the country. The mill was a mammoth establishment for that day. Every barrel of flour which went out showed on the head a hand holding four aces—hard to beat.

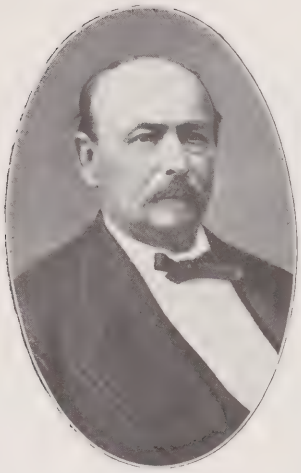
Previous to 1880 St. Louis was the first city of the country in the manufacture of flour. E. O. Stanard, George P. Plant, George Bain, Alexander H. Smith, J. B. Kehlor were feeding bread eaters on three continents. Shortly after 1870 George Bain tried 30,000 barrels on England and went there to introduce it. In 1879 St. Louis shipped 619,000 barrels of flour to Europe and South America. George H. Morgan told the Merchants' Exchange in 1882 that St. Louis millers had $35,000,000 invested and were turning out 12,000 barrels of flour a day.

St. Louis millers recognized early the tendency to localize manufacture. In 1882 they owned and carried on large mills at a dozen points in Illinois and Missouri. Stanard, Tiedeman, Fath, Ewald, Kaufmann, the Kehlors, Mauntell, Borgess, Reuss had mills outside of St. Louis which were producing 750,000 barrels of flour a year, a product properly a part of the trade of St. Louis.

In 1882 the flour of St. Louis manufacture reached 1,850,000 barrels and the receipts from outside of the city 2,003,000 barrels. That year St. Louis sent 623,000 barrels to foreign countries, 970,000 barrels to the eastern part of the United States and 1,660,000 barrels to the south. Besides these shipments 350,000 barrels were sent direct from mills outside of St. Louis but owned in St. Louis.

The centennial of the furniture industry can be celebrated next year. In July 1810 Heslep and Taylor informed the public that they had "just arrived from Pennsylvania with an extensive assortment of materials necessary for elegant and plain chairs. They will gild, varnish, japan and paint their work agreeable to the fancy of those who wish to encourage the business in this place."

Three years later Philip Matile, from Switzerland, opened a shop to do



E. ANHEUSER

ISAAC COOK

WILLIAM F. NOLKER

GEORGE J. FRITZ

JOSEPH PETERS

J. W. LAMBERT

WILLIAM GLASGOW, JR.

SAMUEL WAINWRIGHT

WILLIAM J. LEMP

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

more elaborate woodwork. In 1819 came Laveille and Morton bringing flatboat loads of lumber with their wood-working tools stowed on top.

Not until the decades from 1840 to 1860 did furniture manufacture take its place as one of the great industries of the city. In 1847 Paris H. Mason and Russell Scarritt began to make furniture on Washington avenue near Second street. Conrades and Logeman established their business in 1854 and the next year Joseph Peters was making a specialty of bureaus and cabinet work. John H. Crane began in 1855 and so did William Mitchell, although his shop did not become the Mitchell company until 1870. Martin Lammert opened in 1860. The interesting and the significant fact about these furniture makers is the identification of most of their names with the industry to this day. Joseph Peters was a native of Prussia and learned the trade of cabinet making before he came to St. Louis. He worked nine years at the trade in St. Louis before he could get enough capital to open a small shop. In 1908 St. Louis had fifty furniture factories making $5,867,000 in products. St. Louis was exporting furniture to Europe.

The fourth city in population and in manufacturing, St. Louis ranks first in some specialties of productive commerce. Here are the largest shoe house, the largest tobacco factory, the largest brewery in the United States. Here are produced more street cars, stoves and ranges, more American made chemicals than in any other manufacturing center of this country.

Two developments in the productive commerce of St. Louis have been strikingly similar in the successful results. They started thirty years apart. Conditions which confronted them were of like discouraging character. The foresight and superb courage of a handful of men in each of these movements meant a great deal to the industrial progress of this city. The Filleys and the Bridges in the decade of 1840-1850 inaugurated the manufacture of stoves against the opinion of the business community, creating an industry which has grown to nineteen establishments turning out annually products to the value of $7,500,000. Thirty years later the Browns, the Hamiltons, the Desnoyers and a little group of men began a demonstration of the advantages St. Louis offered for manufacture of boots and shoes. They faced the same adverse opinion which failed to deter the pioneer stove-makers. This industry grew until there were twenty-two shoe manufacturing concerns in St. Louis turning out 100,000 pairs of shoes a day, with an annual product of over $25,000,000. The Browns were from New York state. In the decade 1870-80 they sold shoes in the St. Louis territory. To George Warren Brown came the inspiration that shoes for this trade could be made in St. Louis. The house for which George Warren Brown traveled sought to dissuade him from manufacturing by an offer of share of profits in the jobbing. The young man was barely twenty-five when he took his $7,000 of savings, and with $5,000 added for capital started in a loft on St. Charles street the modest beginning of the industry which has proven so much for the advantages of St. Louis as a center of productive commerce. When George Warren Brown went on the road to place the St. Louis manufactured goods, the merchants looked at the samples,

gave orders and frankly told the shoe manufacturer they were patronizing him on personal grounds and not with the expectation that his stock would be up to sample. Success came quickly. Hamilton, Brown and company, leading wholesale dealers in the boots and shoes of eastern make, began to manufacture. Others followed. This industry drew to it young men of business judgment and energy rather than large investments of capital. It developed upon brains rather than upon cash. It created for St. Louis a coterie of energetic public spirited citizens. It has done a great deal more for the city than is represented in the addition it has made to the volume of productive commerce. As the business grew into the form of corporations, the ambitious and the worthy were encouraged to become shareholders. The Browns, with the recollection of their own experiences, led in this. One of the most successful of the shoe companies consists of a hundred partners. This single line of manufacture has developed for St. Louis half a thousand business men whose activities and whose influence are widely felt for the common good.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE COMMERCE.

Those old-time workers may have been a little too conservative, sometimes timid,—"old fogies," you would call them nowadays,—but they were scrupulously honest in their dealings, strict constructionists in their regard for contracts, men of untarnished integrity in meeting their engagements, and it is to their practice and example that the present high commercial credit of S. Louis, both at home and abroad, is greatly due. However strong and promising the present may be, I cannot, as your oldest member, say a better word than this,—that we should hold fast to the early traditions of the Chamber of Commerce, and maintain that high regard for honorable dealings which has characterized the past, so that to be a recognized member of the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange may always and everywhere be a passport to respect and confidence. Consider through what trials and difficulties we have thus far advanced. No city has suffered greater reverses by fire, pestilence and flood, by financial crises, by internal dissensions and civil war; and yet we have passed through all, chiefly by the sturdy strength and steadfastness of our business men.—Wayman Crow, 1875.

More flippantly than accurately, a writer on the colonial commerce of the settlement said a St. Louis merchant in 1790 was "a man who, in the corner of his cabin, had a large chest which contained a few pounds of powder and shot, a few knives and hatchets, a little red paint, two or three rifles, some hunting shirts of buckskin, a few tin cups and iron pots, and perhaps a little tea, coffee, sugar and spice."

Bills of exchange which passed from hand to hand in the colonial period were not always based upon shaved deerskins and other furs, although that kind of circulating medium was most common. Occasionally financial transactions took a form of which the following is an illustration:

"Bon pour six livre de Barbue, a St. Louis, ce 25Sbre, 1799.—

"ANTOINE ROY."

Turned into English this French copy of an original paper which meant value would read:

"Good for six pounds of catfish, at St. Louis, the 25th September, 1799.—

"ANTOINE ROY."

St. Louis was a fine fish market in the days of the fur traders. Catfish, buffalo fish and the more delicate silver fish were caught and marketed by residents of the settlement who followed that as a business. Antoine Roy dealt in fish and issued orders on himself as the equivalent of money.

In 1805 was made what may be considered the first review of the trade and commerce of St. Louis. It was prepared by Antoine Soulard, who held the office of surveyor of Upper Louisiana. It was dated "At St. Louis of the Illinois, March, 1805." Mr. Soulard's report showed the year's trade at St. Louis amounted to $77,971. The items were skins, hides, tallow and fat and bears' grease. The largest item was dressed deer skins, of which St. Louis handled 96,000, valued at $28,000. The next item of trade was

beaver pelts, of which St. Louis handled 12,000 pounds, valued at $14,737. Mr. Soulard said:

This table, which is made as correct as possible on an average of fifteen years, gives the amount of $77,971. The goods carried up the Missouri and exchanged for this peltry would amount to $61,250, reckoning the charges to be a one-fourth part of the worth of the articles. From this it follows that the trade favors an annual profit of $16,721 or a profit of 27 per cent.

Mr. Soulard proceeds with an argument intending to show the possibilities of improving St. Louis' trade and commerce. He says:

If the Missouri trade, badly regulated and without encouragement, gives annually such a profit there can be no doubt of its increase if encouraged by the government. It must be observed that the prices fixed in the table are those current at the Illinois. If the London prices were taken and deducted from the charges the profits would appear much greater. If the Missouri river of the savages and having but a single branch of trade favors such great returns in proportion to the capital employed in it, what might we not expect from investment by companies with large funds aided by a numerous population and devoting themselves to other kinds of traffic. Some of these, I am bold to say, may be undertaken with a certainty of success when we consider the riches offered by its banks of which in this note I have endeavored to sketch an outline.

Antoine Soulard had been surveyor of Upper Louisiana for several years and had traveled about considerably. He was greatly impressed with "The Incalculable Riches Along the Banks of the Missouri." As early as March, 1805, he enumerated the kinds of wood and the uses to which they might be put. He spoke of the knowledge which the Indians had of trees and of forest plants, and in the course of his statements, he said:

They derive from certain plants with great care and system that product which renders them insensible to the most vehement fire. I have seen them take hold of red-hot irons and burning coals without suffering any inconvenience.

In 1816 the prices on staple articles of the market which prevailed in St. Louis were as follows:

Beef, on foot, per cwt	$ 4.00
Butter, per lb	.25
Bees wax, per lb	.25
Candles, per lb	.25
Cheese, per lb	.25
Cheese, common, per lb	.12½
Boards, none in market	.00
Cider, none in market	.00
Coffee, per lb	.50
Cotton, per lb	.40
Cotton yarn, No. 10	1.25
Feathers, per lb	.50
Flour, per bbl, S. fine, in demand	$16.00
Flour, horse-mill, S. fine, per cwt.	6.00
Grain—Wheat, per bu	1.00
Rye, per bu	.62½
Barley, per bu	.75
Corn, per bu	.37
Oats, per bu	.37
Gunpowder, per lb	1.00
Hams, per lb	.12
Hides, per piece	2.75
Hogs' lard per lb	.12
Bears' lard, per gal	1.50
Honey, per gal	1.00

The price of a load of wood on the little carts was "six bits" or seventy-five cents. The Americans started and preserved a tradition that one of these honest vendors of wood was offered a dollar for his load and that he cried out "Seex beets! seex beets! No more, no less!"

The first regular bookstore was opened on Main street by Daniel Hough and Thomas Essex about 1820. Mr. Hough was from New Hampshire, educated at Dartmouth. In 1820 St. Louis was importing goods,

STEPHEN RIDGELY

JOHN H. LOUDERMAN

THE OLD CHOUTEAU MILL
After 1852 in use as a stone saw mill

annually, valued at "upwards of $2,000,000." The Indian trade was considered to be worth $600,000.

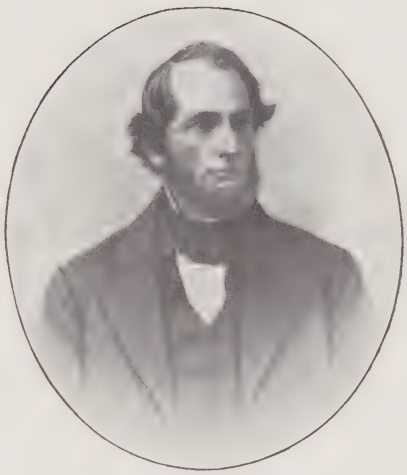
"Heavy groceries" constituted a distinct branch of the trade of St. Louis for many years. The Colliers, the Lacklands, the Glasgows were dealers in heavy groceries. They would be called importers now. They brought to St. Louis sugar by the boat load, coffee, tea and a few other staples in enormous quantities, selling them at small margin as desired by jobbers. The business experience of Henry Von Phul, who lived to be the oldest merchant in St. Louis and died in his 91st year, dated back to the first decade of the century, when he was employed by James Hart at Lexington, Ky. Mr. Hart was the brother-in-law of Heny Clay, and the son of the man for whom Thomas H. Benton was named. Young Von Phul began his commercial career by taking charge of keel boats loaded with flour, lead and provisions. He floated down stream, stopping at the principal towns on the Mississippi river trading his products for cotton. He continued this until he reached New Orleans, where he sold the cotton and other products that had not been traded, as well as the keel boats. He then returned on horseback to Lexington, where he made up another shipment and repeated the voyage and the trading. This was the business Mr. Von Phul followed until he came to St. Louis in 1811. The head of the Von Phul family was born in Philadelphia. His mother was a Graff, coming from Lancaster. Henry Von Phul arrived in St. Louis to find the horsemen organizing under Colonel Nathan Boone to fight in the war against England. He joined the command. After the war of 1812 Henry Von Phul married the daughter of Doctor Antoine F. Saugrain and began his career as a merchant on Main street. To him were born fifteen children. Through sixty-three years Henry Von Phul was a business man in St. Louis. He saw the first steamboat land. He invested in steamboats. He conducted for many years one of the largest commercial houses in the Mississippi valley. His credit was such that many western banks kept their St. Louis balances with him. In 1872, at the age of eighty-eight, Mr. Von Phul, after passing safely through crisis after crisis, was involved through endorsements of the obligations of Von Phul Brothers of New Orleans. Against the earnest advice of his counsel, this sturdy old captain of industry paid every dollar of the debts for which he was responsible legally or morally with interest at eight per cent. This action swept away what was a great fortune for those days. Two years later Henry Von Phul died almost poor, leaving a record which is part of the glory of St. Louis commercial integrity.

"Collier's luck" was a common expression in St. Louis business circles during the thirty years of one man's activities. George Collier had many and widely varied interests. He had more partners in his time, probably, than any other St. Louisan. In the selection of these associates he showed remarkable judgment. Largely for that reason everything he went into turned out well. The Colliers, John and George, were Marylanders by birth. Their father had owned a farm and had been engaged in the coasting trade, and died when the boys were young. Their mother, a woman of force, sent

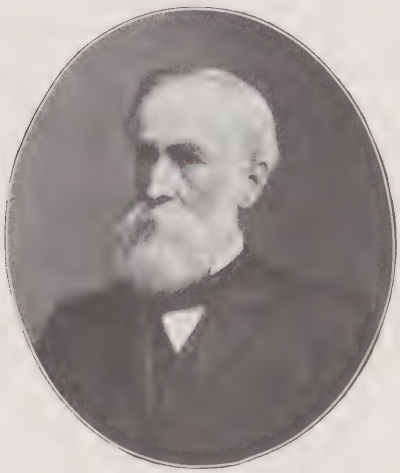
them to Wylie's academy, a business school of high standing in Philadelphia. John Collier came west in 1816 and George Collier followed two years later. Begining with a small mercantile trade, they expanded their business until they were selling "heavy groceries" throughout St. Louis territory. John Collier died in 1821 and George Collier continued the store taking into partnership Peter Powell, another young man from Maryland. In 1830 George Collier retired from the store with considerable capital. He entered upon what was an entirely new field for St. Louis and upon what meant a great deal to a number of St. Louisans. Selecting young men who showed ability and energy, Mr. Collier furnished the capital for venture after venture. His favorite investments for ten or twelve years were in steamboats. But his methods were entirely original with him. Having made up his mind favorably as to the qualifications of the young man, Mr. Collier sent him around to the Ohio river to build a steamboat. The trade to be served was carefully considered. The boat was planned for that special trade. Mr. Collier supplied the credit. The silent partner remained in Pittsburg, actively superintending the construction. When the boat was completed the partner became the captain, steamed to St. Louis and entered upon the trade selected and received a share of the profits. If there were no profits; if the boat was not suited for the trade; if the plans proved to have been ill advised, Mr. Collier quickly disposed of the boat. It was one of his rules to get out of an unprofitable venture as quickly as the turn could be made. But the capitalist was seldom mistaken in his estimate of his silent partner or in his judgment of the kind of a boat that would pay on any particular river. He entered boats for transportation business in all directions from St. Louis. At times he had as many as half a score on the rivers. Men who became capitalists themselves, laid the foundation of their fortunes by operating boats in which George Collier gave them an interest. Sullivan Blood, the early president of the Boatmens' bank, John Simonds who became the partner in the private banking house of Lucas & Simonds, N. J. Eaton who resigned his commission in the United States army, and Rufus J. Lackland were among the silent partners of George Collier.

Mr. Collier bought and shipped lead in great quantities. He invested in lead mines at Galena. When Henry T. Blow was struggling with the infant white lead industry of St. Louis, Mr. Collier became the largest individual subscriber to the Collier White Lead works. For some years he carried on a banking business, having as a partner William G. Pettus. Mr. Collier and Mr. Pettus married sisters, the Misses Morrison. In 1840 Mr. Collier retired from the banking business, Mr. Pettus continuing it. Two years later he formed the firm of Collier & Morrison which launched his brother-in-law into mercantile life. In 1847 George Collier retired and the house became William M. Morrison & Co., the silent partners being the young men, Rufus J. Lackland and Alfred Chadwick. At every new business step Mr. Collier extended a helping hand to some young man. He came to be looked upon as an adviser to all financial St. Louis. The second wife of George Collier was Miss Sarah A. Bell. The two daughters of Mr.

EUGENE JACCARD,
The pioneer in the retail movement to Fifth street.



JOHN KENNARD



RICHARD M. SCRUGGS

FORMER REPRESENTATIVE MERCHANTS OF ST. LOUIS

Collier married brothers—Henry and Ethan Allen Hitchcock. A grandson of George Collier was elected to the St. Louis circuit bench in 1908.

When Carlos S. Greeley started a wholesale grocery in St. Louis he put in no stock of liquor. The news traveled quickly up and down the Levee and Main street, that two young men from the east were going to try this experiment. The trade generally looked on with amusement. Predictions were made that the new firm would not last. Greeley was under thirty when with Mr. Sanborn he opened the store on the Levee in 1838. The elimination of "wet groceries" wasn't altogether a novelty to Mr. Greeley. When the young man left his native New Hampshire he had about $100 made in "swapping steers" and other property which had come into his possession. He found employment in the retail grocery of Moses Pettingill at Brockport, New York. Mr. Pettingill was running a grocery without liquor and making money. Afterwards he became one of the most successful pioneer merchants of Peoria. Greeley bought out his employer and continued the policy of selling no whiskey. When he came to St. Louis he had this experience and a capital of about $5,000. His first partner was Mr. Sanborn who had been with him in the Brockport store. Mr. Gale, a Salisbury, New Hampshire, friend of Mr. Greeley, bought out Mr. Sanborn. The "dry grocery" house of Greeley & Gale made money from the beginning. It grew into one of the institutions of the city. The profits helped to build the Kansas Pacific railroad, the line from Sedalia to Warsaw, the St. Louis and Illinois railroad; They were represented in the capital of the National Bank of Commerce and the Boatmen's; they helped to establish the Belcher Sugar refinery, the St. Louis Cotton Factory, the Crystal City Plate Glass company. They contributed generously to Drury College, to Lindenwood Seminary, to the Mercantile Library, to Washington University.

The Jaccards were Swiss. Louis Jaccard came first, in 1829. His nephew Eugene Jaccard followed in 1837. The association of the name with the jewelry business in St. Louis eighty years ago began with the elder Jaccard working as a journeyman for nine dollars a week. D. Constant Jaccard, another member of the family, a cousin of Louis and Eugene, came from St. Croix to St. Louis in 1848, leaving Switzerland because of the political disturbances. He founded the house of Mermod, Jaccard & King.

It was said of Augustus F. Shapleigh, who was the father of the wholesale hardware trade of St. Louis, that he never asked an extension on a loan and never let a just bill be presented a second time for payment. The sales of the hardware jobbers of St. Louis are more than the combined sales of all of the hardware jobbers of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

One of the merchants who suffered in the great fire was Adolphus Meier. Three years before, Mr. Meier had come from his home in Germany and had established himself in the hardware business with his brother-in-law John C. Rust. At six o'clock in the morning he saw the roof of his store fall in. At eight o'clock he had drawn the plans for a new store and had placed the contracts for the brick work and lumber.

The founder of the Merrell Drug Company, Jacob Spencer Merrell, at the age of fifteen paid his father $150 for his time. He worked his way

westward, on the Erie canal from his New York birthplace. He took deck passage on a Lake Erie boat. He cut cordwood, on what is now part of Toledo. He worked in a Lexington, Ky., grocery for ten dollars a month, hired a horse and traveled through the mountains buying furs. When he sold his furs in Cincinnati he saw a little drug factory for sale and bought it on credit. The rest was steady progress. When Mr. Merrell came to St. Louis in 1853, he had the capital to establish himself in a strong position. When the American Medical college was established, Mr. Merrell was one of the founders.

The Funkhouser family was of patriotic descent, moving from Virginia to Kentucky and then to Illinois. An ancestor was Colonel Cross, of fame in the Revolutionary War. Robert M. Funkhouser, the head of the family in St. Louis, reached Alton in the spring of 1840 with a capital of fifty dollars. He found the town full of young men looking for openings, went down to the river and took the first boat for St. Louis. The second evening after he reached this city he went into an auction sale, which in the early years was a popular form of evening amusement. The auctioneer was selling looking glasses at what appeared to the young school teacher to be very cheap. Mr. Funkhouser bought four dozen and the next day went through the city offering looking glasses for sale at retail. He was so vigorous in his business methods that he attracted the attention of a merchant, T. R. Selms, who engaged him on the spot as clerk at a salary of $250 a year with board thrown in. Mr. Funkhouser married the daughter of his first employer, became a merchant on his own account, a bank director, a savings association director and president of the Chamber of Commerce.

When John Kennard, Sr., grew old he placed the affairs of the house in the hands of his sons. He had been a devoted and consistent Methodist all his life, but he deemed it proper that the last days should be spent in quiet preparation for the end. Once the pastor, Rev. J. H. Linn, of Centenary, spoke to him; he found that Mr. Kennard had kept in view this sentiment, that a business man should close his earthly affairs in time so that the departure might not come to him unprepared. "I have my time now," Mr. Kennard said, "at discretion. I cannot help but be employed that is my nature and my habit. But I have full confidence in my sons; I have committed these worldly matters into their hands—wholly into their hands."

James H. Brookmire, born in the suburbs of Philadelphia, began in St, Louis as a shipping clerk, in 1855, for his uncles the Hamills who were wholesale grocers on the Levee. He was noted for the thoroughness with which he studied the business, even perfecting himself in the chemistry of the principal products sold in his trade. He invented several things which came into general use by the trade.

The Orthweins came from Wuertemberg in 1854. They lived for a time in Logan county, Illinois. Charles F. Orthwein as a boy received advice and encouragement from Abraham Lincoln. He was a clerk in a country store before coming to St. Louis, just previous to the Civil war. As early

THE WHOLESALE DISTRICT, MAIN AND LOCUST STREETS,
BEFORE THE WAR

as 1866, before he was thirty years old, Charles F. Orthwein startled St. Louis by chartering a steamboat and five barges to go up the river and load with grain. He was the early advocate of moving grain in bulk down the river. His proposition, which he urged with great force, was, that the economical exportation of grain must be down the river; that railroads must turn over their grain at St. Louis for the river route. To show what could be done Mr. Orthwein shipped 12,000 bushels of wheat by way of New Orleans to New York, where it arrived in perfect condition. This was the answer to the theory that grain sent out in bulk by water would suffer from temperature and moisture. Mr. Orthwein repeated his experiments until St. Louis grain men were convinced that grain could be exported in this way without heating. But the handicap was the want of a deep channel at the mouth of the Mississippi. Then St. Louis got behind Captain Eads and pushed for the jetties. The grain export trade of St. Louis by way of New Orleans went up to 15,000,000 bushels annually about 1880. William D. Orthwein, two years younger than Charles F., joined his brother in the grain business at St. Louis in 1862. He later took up milling in addition to the handling of grain. For fourteen years the house of Orthwein Brothers, with branches in several cities, was very powerful in the grain handling of the southwest. In one period the Orthweins exported 12,000,000 bushels of corn annually to Europe.

Of old New England stock, the parents of Frank Orville Sawyer moved west from Exeter, New Hampshire, to Cincinnati. Mr. Sawyer was educated at Woodward College, Cincinnati. He came to St. Louis before the Civil war and founded the Sawyer Paper Company.

How rapidly St. Louis extended her trade is shown in a statement of business made by six dry goods houses in 1853. These houses reported:

Sales in 1845	$1,119,657
Sales in 1853	4,074,782

In eight years their increase of annual business was $2,955,724. But this was by no means an indication of the volume of St. Louis trade in the one line. There were at that time over twenty wholesale dry goods houses in this city. In 1855 St. Louis had fifty-two houses in the wholesale grocery business, selling goods annually to the value of $22,000,000. In 1881 the number of wholesale grocery houses was the same, fifty-two, with sales, exclusive of sugar and coffee and rice, reaching $30,000,000 a year. In 1908 the business done was $69,000,000.

In 1856 a missionary went east to inform the benighted on the Atlantic seaboard about St. Louis and the west. The mission was supported by the Chamber of Commerce, now the Merchants' Exchange. The lectures which Richard Smith Elliott was to deliver, according to the resolution of the Chamber of Commerce, embraced "facts in regard to the physical geography, natural resources, economic relations, and progress in wealth, morals and refinement of our part of the country." To his Boston audience in the State House Mr. Elliott described St. Louis as "a city of

125,000 people, with churches, schools, hotels, steamboats, newspapers and other institutions of civilized life." He said:

Our paved and macadamized streets would more than reach from Boston to Worcester. There are eighteen miles of public street sewers. The wharf stretches one mile and a quarter on the Mississippi, is several hundred feet wide, and, during the season of navigation is crowded with the products of every clime and soil. In 1855 there were 600,000 barrels of flour manufactured in St. Louis and over 400,000 received from other places, making a million of barrels, equaling the flour trade of Philadelphia. About 140,000 bags of coffee were received in 1855, enough to make a string of coffee bags more than fifty miles in length. The hemp, tobacco, pork, lard, wheat, bale-rope, flour, coffee, sugar and salt passing through the hands of St. Louis merchants in 1855 would, allowing the actual space occupied by each article, reach in one grand line from St. Louis to Boston. In 1840 St. Louis had 16,000 people; in 1855, she had 125,000. She added in fifteen years 109,000 to her population.

The growth of distribution from St. Louis as a manufacturing and commercial center was rapid. Shipments of produce and manufactures from this port by river to places on the interior waters of the United States are given in government reports. For the year ending June 30, 1851, these local shipments were:

Flour, bbls.	648,520	Whiskey, bbls.	29,916
Flour, sacks	2,156	Lard, bbls.	47,450
Wheat, sacks	112,600	Lard, kegs	19,730
Oats, sacks	415,624	Lard, tons	421
Barley, sacks	17,487	Beef, tcs.	5,111
Pork, hhds.	108	Beef, bbls.	4,538
Pork, tcs.	5,012	Bacon, casks	24,432
Pork, bbls.	122,948	Hemp, bales	57,160
Lard, tcs.	14,290	Hides	38,490
Lead, pigs	472,438	Nails, kegs	38,776
Lead bars, lbs.	78,600	Glass, boxes	6,418
Tobacco, hhds.	9,210	Salt, bbls.	76,753
Tobacco, boxes	5,011	Cotton yarn, bags	6,180
Refined sugars, bbls.	21,892	Wrought iron—	
Sugar, hhds.	21,905	Manufactures, tons	15,345
Sugar, bbls.	11,548	Castings, tons	30,840
Molasses, bbls.	40,510		

In 1860 the grain dealers of St. Louis began to hold meetings and to assert that the time had come for this market to handle grain in bulk instead of confining themselves to sacks. Henry and Edgar Ames and Albert Pearce offered to build an elevator. The necessary bill for a location on the river front went through the council but was vetoed by the mayor. The innovation was opposed. Not until 1864 was consent obtained to build the first elevator at the foot of Biddle street where the electric power plant is now located. Not until the elevator got into the management of a board of which John Jackson was president and Dennis P. Slattery was the secretary did it become profitable to its owners. John Jackson was from County Down, Ireland, of Scotch-Irish parentage. He had been a successful merchant in salt and other heavy groceries before he devoted his attention to the development of the grain trade of St. Louis.

The Larimores, N. G. and J. W., brothers, were boys when their parents moved to St. Louis county from Kentucky in 1884. They were

AARON W. FAGIN

GEORGE PARTRIDGE

COMMANDERS OF COMMERCE

THE WHOLESALE DISTRICT OF 1909

Washington avenue west of Eighth street

brought up on a farm of 1,000 acres which their father bought for ten and twelve dollars an acre and developed into "the model farm." As that it took the premium offered by the St. Louis Fair association in 1864 and was known far and wide. The Larimores left the model farm and came to St. Louis to enter the grain trade. In company with G. G. Schoolfield and D. H. Silver the Larimore brothers built a great warehouse at Fifth and Chouteau avenue and joined in the movement to educate St. Louis in the handling of bulk grain. The warehouse was divided into many bins. In those days the St. Louis millers wouldn't buy wheat by grade but insisted on having each carload put in a separate bin. Dealing in bulk grain was an evolution. When the Larimores began to put their profits in elevators, about 1873, they received a great deal of discouraging advice. They made money, bought wheat land in North Dakota by the thousands of acres in advance of the building of Hill's Great Northern and founded the town of Larimore. N. G. Larimore married the youngest daughter of Levi Ashbrook, one of the pioneer pork packers of St. Louis. J. W. Larimore married Bettie R. Carlisle, of a widely known Methodist family, long identified with the Methodist Orphans' home and other philanthropic effort.

With confidence the men who participated in the trial of bulk shipment of grain by river look for the renaissance. In their judgment the experiment was successful. It demonstrated the theory. The practice did not become permanent because of limitations on the route. With a deep and permanent channel, grain will again go by river. The secretary of the Merchants' Exchange, George H. Morgan, looking backward on forty-four years' experience and forward to the promise of the deep waterway, said:

At the close of the Civil war the members of the Merchants' Exchange took up with renewed energy the task of restoring to the commerce of the city the grain trade of the West, which had been diverted to more northern markets, and of renewing the trade relations which had previously existed with the South. In the annual report of the Exchange published in 1865, the right hand of fellowship and commerce was extended to all former business acquaintances in the following words:

"And now that the strife is over, forget-
"ting all dissensions of the past, they ex-
"tend the right hand of friendship to those
"who so lately opposed them, and invite
"them to come back and renew those kind re-
"lations which before existed."

For the proper extension of the grain trade additional facilities were needed. The custom of shipping in sacks, which had hitherto prevailed, was too expensive and cumbersome, and the handling of grain in bulk, which had already been inaugurated in competing markets, was imperatively necessary if St. Louis was to compete for the grain trade of the Mississippi Valley.

To meet this need members of the Exchange erected the St. Louis Grain Elevator on the levee at the foot of Ashley street, and in the fall of 1865 it opened for business and demonstrated that grain could be profitably handled in bulk.

To move the grain in bulk a barge line was formed to carry the freight to New Orleans, where a transfer elevator was built to transfer the grain from the barges to the ocean vessels.

There was some movement of bulk grain via the water route by individuals for New Orleans and for Atlantic ports, but it was found that there were doubts in the minds of shippers as to the safety of the gulf route, on account of climatic conditions, whether grain would keep in as good condition as by the more northern routes.

It was decided in the early part of 1869 that experimental shipments of grain to Europe should be made to test the question and an organization was effected under the name of the St. Louis Grain Association, with a capital stock of $100,000. The Exchange in its corporate capacity took $20,000 of the stock and the balance was taken by firms and individuals. Shipments of 470,000 bushels of wheat were made to Europe during the first year and while the venture was not successful from a pecuniary point of view, the practicability and safety of the gulf route was firmly established. The export movement was slow in starting but gradually grew in favor, and in the year 1880 over 15,000,000 bushels were exported by St. Louis houses.

From this initial step the grain movement via Gulf ports has grown to large proportions, and a large portion of the grain trade of the West now moves longitudinal lines to the Gulf ports.

In 1906 there was exported from New Orleans and Galveston 49,721,960 bushels of wheat, corn and oats.

To the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis is due the credit of demonstrating the desirability and safety of an outlet to the markets of the world by the Gulf route, resulting in an immense saving in freight rates on the surplus products of the great West, to the great benefit of the farmer and the grain dealer.

While this movement has now ceased via St. Louis on account of the uncertainties of river navigation and other transportation conditions west of the Missouri river, it is confidentially believed that when the river is so improved by the general government that a depth of not less than six feet from St. Paul to St. Louis and of not less than twelve feet from St. Louis to New Orleans is secured, and the route from the lakes to the Mississippi river is finished, via the Illinois river, the volume of traffic seeking the cheaper outlet by water routes will become very large and the pristine glory of the mighty Mississippi will be renewed.

The St. Louis Fair was much more than encouragement to agriculture. It was an annual exposition of the industries of St. Louis. It was made an occasion to stimulate thought and energies in a variety of directions for the city's good. In 1868 the Excelsior Insurance Company offered a premium of $100 to be awarded at the Fair "for the best plan of construction of iron barges and vessels suited to carry grain in bulk on the Mississippi river and tributaries." Logan D. Dameron and the Fair Association each contributed the same amount toward the premium.

The year before the war closed William Marshall Senter, the son of a Lexington, Tennessee, farmer came to St. Louis to work out his theory that this city might handle a large cotton trade. He was the central figure in a very interesting trade evolution. St. Louis was handling about 30,000 bales a year. Mr. Senter, with others who joined him, formed a Cotton Association in 1870. In 1873 the Cotton Exchange was organized. J. W. Paramore joined the coterie who were bound to make St. Louis a great cotton market. He was the son of a Mansfield, Ohio, farmer, the tenth of eleven children in the family. He served in the war as colonel of the Third Ohio Cavalry, for a considerable period commanding a brigade. With some experience in railroad building after the war, he came to St. Louis. A compress and warehouse were built, the largest and most convenient in the world at the time, it was said. The capacity was 500,000

bales. The plant occupied eighty acres of ground. It compressed 3,000 bales a day. The cotton handled under the stimulus given the trade by Senter Paramore and their associates increased from about 30,000 bales a year to over 400,000 bales about 1880. To hold and develop this cotton trade of St. Louis Colonel Paramore planned a great system of narrow gauge railroads. The routes were chosen with special reference to the cotton growing sections of the southwest. The roads as planned were to cost about half as much as standard gauge and to cost for operation about one-third of the gross earnings. Turning over the management of the compress to Mr. Senter, Colonel Paramore in 1881 began to build these narrow gauge roads under the name of the Cotton Belt, starting from a landing in Missouri on the Mississippi river. He was able to show that cotton was shipped from Texas and Arkansas to Europe by way of St. Louis cheaper than by way of the gulf ports. Two conditions contributed to this result. They were reasonable transportation charges to St. Louis; economy in the handling of the staple.

When the handling of cotton reached its zenith the St. Louis compress company had $1,250,000 capital employed. The buildings contained thirty acres of floor space to and from which a network of railroad tracks made connection. The company employed from 300 to 800 men. In 1879-80 the number of bales compressed here was 275,000.

The Factors' and Brokers' Compress Company with capacity for 55,000 bales a year, with buildings and tracks at Columbus and Lafayette streets, was formed in 1874 by R. B. Whittemore, Oliver Garrison, H. M. Mandeville and others.

To grasp quickly new conditions has saved prestige to St. Louis in ways of transportation, character of industries and methods of trade. When the shipments of cotton through St. Louis were greatest the cotton factors here began to prepare for the coming localization of the compressing and warehousing. William M. Senter, James L. Sloss, J. D. Goldman, A. C. Stewart and other St. Louisans organized and put in operation the Texarkana Cotton Compress Company to handle the staple which could not under the natural laws of trade be brought to this city. As the cotton receipts at St. Louis diminished under the influences of new railroads and better seaport connections, St. Louis factors established warehouses and compresses in centers of production on the most economical routes. In this way St. Louis preserved her interests in the cotton trade although the actual cotton did not come here.

The first commercial or jobbing house in the United States to incorporate was a St. Louis firm. A manufacturer promptly refused an order for $200 worth of goods from this house although the order was given on a cash basis. The manufacturer reasoned, curiously enough as it seems now, that incorporation by a mercantile house meant a purpose to avoid personal liability. The St. Louis house which pioneered the incorporation movement on the 1st of January, 1874, was the Simmons Hardware company. The experiment was considered by not a few to be suspicious; it

might pave the way to dishonest failure. The truth was that incorporation was trade evolution. It meant many partners. It led to profit sharing. Perhaps no one development did more to advance the trade interests of St. Louis than the incorporation of the mercantile houses, for the Simmons idea spread rapidly to all branches of wholesale business in this center. The beginning of the Simmons Hardware company as a corporation seems humble now. The cash capital of the company was only $200,000. Some of the men who had proven their worth to the house and were at the heads of departments, borrowed money to buy their stock. One of these was James E. Smith, in 1909 the president of the Business Men's League.

In a recent address Mr. E. C. Simmons drew attention to the number of men occupying high positions in St. Louis business circles, who had come up from subordinate positions as clerks or salesmen. He mentioned R. H. Stockton, J. E. Pilcher, C. D. Smiley, J. E. Smith, H. M. Meier, C. N. Markle and "as a pronounced example Saunders Norvell," who had served business apprenticeship with his house He said:

> All of these men prospered and have taken a front rank among commercial men. To these names should also be added that of my late, and always deeply lamented partner—Mr. Isaac W. Morton, who was bookkeeper and then a salesman for us before he became a partner of the firm and afterwards an officer of the corporation. I have named those gentlemen for two reasons; first, because it makes me happy to have it said that so many men profited and succeeded in such large measure by association with our house; and second, because I want to impress it on your minds that those men were all salesmen, and that their success in life is due to the fact that they were good salesmen.
>
> Take the case of one of the gentlemen whose name I have mentioned as having prospered by reason of being connected with our house—Mr. R. H. Stockton; he was a natural born salesman of the first class; he sold a world of cutlery, chiefly pocket knives and razors, to druggists, and I never found out how he did it until after he had left us, as he never gave away his plans or methods to anybody.
>
> It was this: He learned all about tooth brushes—how they were made, what bones for the handles—where the bristles came from, how bleached, how glued in, etc., etc., in fact all there was known about tooth brushes. Then he would go into a drug store, leaving his cutlery samples by the door, ask for the proprietor, and if in, he would say "I want to buy a tooth brush"; then he would talk tooth brushes so intelligently that he would get the merchant interested by telling him a lot of things he didn't know before;then he would buy a tooth brush—thus putting himself in the attitude of a customer. Then his real work would begin, for he would draw from his pocket a sample razor or pocket knife, and say—"I've got something here I want to show you—you haven't anything like it, and it's a great seller"—and from this he would get a start, and then bring up his samples, and end up with a fine cutlery order. This is what I call brains in salesmanship.

While E. C. Simmons, as president of the National Prosperity Association was handling, in the summer of 1908, an enormous mail from all parts of the country he opened one letter which read:

"You may be right from your standpoint, because you are a rich man and have never known what it was to want money; but we poor devils who try to climb the ladder of prosperity have a different point of view."

"The man who wrote that letter," said Mr. Simmons, with reminiscent look, "perhaps did not know that I commenced my career as poor

ADOLPHUS MEIER

ALONZO CHILD

HENRY VON PHUL

WILLIAM L. EWING,
At the age of fifty

COMMANDERS OF COMMERCE

as the proverbial Job's turkey—making the fire, sweeping out, dusting the shelves. My life has been one of intemperate hard work. For twenty-five years of my life, I worked sixteen hours a day—without one single week's intermission or vacation. Often when footsore and weary I walked long distances, because I had not the price of carfare. I opened the store at six o'clock on winter mornings and five o'clock on summer mornings, although I was only required to open at seven in winter and six in summer."

It is tradition that Edward C. Simmons, while a child in Frederick, Maryland, was never so well contented as when he had a pocket knife in his fingers. He came to St. Louis, a small boy, and went to school on Sixth street, between Locust and St. Charles. He is best remembered by his fellow students as the youth who wanted to see and to examine every other boy's knife. Possibly he came well by the proclivity for his father, Zachariah T. Simmons, though of Pennsylvania nativity, was of descent from the land of steady habits and whittling.

In 1855, the day before New Year's, when he was sixteen years old, the high school student went into the wholesale hardware store of Childs, Pratt & Co., and asked Mr. Pratt: "Don't you want a boy?" Mr. Pratt inquired kindly: "What can you do, my lad?" "I can do as much as any boy of my age. Where shall I hang my coat?" Mr. Pratt laughed as he closed the bargain with: "Well, my boy, if you work as well as you talk we can use you. Come down the day after New Year's and go to work."

That was the beginning of E. C. Simmons' more than half century identification with the trade of St. Louis. The boy with the pocket knife was father to the man with the hardware store. The day came when Mr. Simmons startled a manufacturer so that he talked about it for years, by buying 4,000 dozen assorted pocket knives in thirty minutes.

More than his admiration for the pocket knife, more than his quickness of speech, a crisis which came in his apprenticeship had to do with the future of Edward C. Simmons as a merchant. The boy was assigned to one of the partners in the house to get out orders from the stock. One day Jake Smith came down the river from Topeka. He bought a lot of goods. When the order reached young Simmons he saw that the prices entered on the order were higher than those on the samples in the stock room. He carried the book to the man who had sold the goods and showed him the increases. "You mind your own business and get out that order. I know what I am doing," was the answer he got. The boy went home and that night he lay awake thinking about the trick and wondering if he wasn't in some way responsible for a share in it. The next morning he went to the salesman and said: "I am afraid you did not understand me. This is wrong. Don't you see you are doing a wrong, charging a man more than the marked prices?" The salesman replied: "My boy, let me teach you a lesson. This man lives in Topeka, sixty-six miles west of Kansas City. The goods go by boat to Kansas City and then have to be hauled by ox teams to Topeka. We will never see this man again and therefore we must make all we can out of him now. So run along, my

boy, and finish up the order." And the boy stood still, saying, "But it's wrong. It's wrong," until the salesman threatened to have him discharged.

When the next season's trade opened, Jake Smith came down on one of the first boats after the ice went out of the Missouri. He was in a rage when he found the man who had overcharged him on the goods. The boy heard the tirade. The salesman listened quietly and said: "Jake, you are all wrong, and I am the best friend you've got. I'll prove it to you before we get through." "Well, do it," said Smith. Then the salesman said: "You were going into a new country, weren't you?" "Yes." "Into a new market where no prices had been established?" "Yes." "You knew nothing about prices, did you?" "No." "Naturally you would base your selling prices on your cost and mark your goods accordingly, wouldn't you?" "Yes." "Then I said to myself, I must help this friend to establish good high market prices. If I sell him cheap he will establish low selling prices. No, I wont do him that injury. I will charge good stiff prices and he will go to Topeka, and when he has the market so established he will come back here again and I will sell him a bill of goods so cheap that it will make his eyes water, and he can take them to Topeka and sell them at the high prices I have been the means of helping him to establish. And now I am prepared to sell you a bill of goods so cheap as to make the two average up to your satisfaction." Jake Smith shook the hand of the salesman warmly and thanked him and gave the order for another bill of goods. When the customer had gone out the salesman proceeded to give the boy a lesson on the art of selling hardware. The boy revolted, gave up his position and found employment with a new house, Wilson, Levering & Waters, just starting on Main street. His first employers failed. Six years after the Jake Smith incident, Edward C. Simmons was a partner in the business which was done on the square.

Isaac Wyman Morton's part in the trade development of St. Louis was something besides a third of a century of general activity. Mr. Morton created the first elaborate and illustrated trade catalogue issued by a St. Louis house. Eighteen months—days, evenings and holidays,—he devoted to the work. There was no model to copy for Mr. Morton was entering a comparatively new field. Mr. Morton prepared the huge volume in detail,—the descriptions, the classification, the indexing and the paging. He superintended the engraving of the pictures. In those days, thirty years ago, the making of cuts had not reached the present standards. This illustrated hardware catalogue came out in 1880. It was a revolution in selling methods. The cost, $30,000 staggered some of the other stockholders of the Simmons Hardware company. But that first year the catalogue was in use the sales of the house increased over $1,000,000. Mr. Morton's industry gave to the trade what it had not had and that was a catalogue which became the model for similar publications in various lines. The author had just passed thirty years of age when he began this catalogue. He had come from his birthplace, Quincy, Illinois, to St. Louis when he was nine years old. His parents were Massachusetts people. With Wyman

CUPPLES STATION

CHOUTEAU MILL POND

This picture taken looking northwest from about the center of the Cupples station district; building on right is the front of Collier White Lead Works. Chouteau Mansion in center stood on present site of Four Courts.

Institute and Washington University education, Mr. Morton, at seventeen was successively collector, bookkeeper and teller in the Second National bank, only to conclude in 1865 that more active business life would suit him better. He became clerk, salesman, partner, "friend and companion" to Edward C. Simmons.

The founder of Cupples Station, that great aid to the commerce of St. Louis, looked back upon an object lesson at the beginning of his experience in St. Louis. When Samuel Cupples in 1851 landed at the wharf he found congestion confronting him. The wholesale grocers filled Front street with their heavy stocks. The commission merchants were in the next rank crowding Commercial alley. In Main street were the dealers in hats, shoes, boots and dry goods. And that was the business part of St. Louis. Mr. Cupples unloaded his stock of woodenware on the Levee about the foot of Locust street and set about finding a store. It seemed almost impossible to secure a place without going beyond the business limits. Along the Levee the steamboats were crowded so close that they moored at right angles with the current of the river and sometimes the boats lay two and three deep at the wharfboats. The second day after unloading his stock Mr. Cupples still in search of a storeroom went down to see that everything was safe. As he stood there looking at his freight, a man with a stick came along and stopped. He was the harbormaster.

"Who owns these buckets and tubs?" he called out in a loud tone.

Mr. Cupples mildly identified himself as the owner and explained that he was looking for a store.

"Move them away," ordered the autocrat of the St. Louis terminal of 1851. "If they are not moved by twelve o'clock tomorrow, I'll have them moved and charge you storage."

Samuel M. Dodd led a movement of the wholesale business westward from Main street to get more room. Dodd, Brown & Co. located on Fifth and St. Charles streets in 1871 when such a breaking away from the old center of jobbing trade seemed hazardous.

Cupples Station was an evolution. At Seventh and Poplar streets the city had a market house which had outlived its usefulness. The property was for sale. The house of Cupples & Co. was on Second street. "We needed a warehouse," said Samuel Cupples. "Robert and I thought the market house was in a location convenient to the railroad and would suit our purposes. We bought it. Then we bought another back of it. The idea of having warehouses with railroad tracks beside them grew on the benefits that accrued." That is the history of Cupples Station which has been worth millions of dollars to St. Louis trade in the heavy lines. The saving in the years of Cupples Station's growth, held old and gained new trade territory for St. Louis.

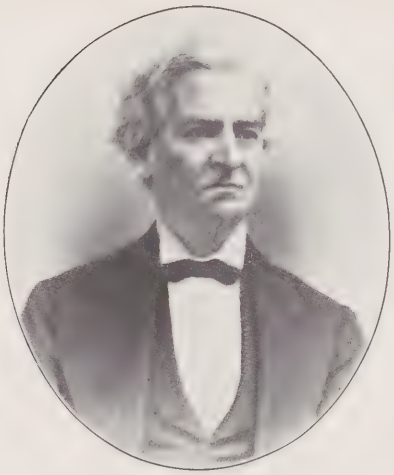
Stability has been a marked characteristic of mercantile St. Louis. It has applied to retail as well as to wholesale trade. The structure had two corner stones—one-price and plain-dealing. In 1849 a young Virginian journeyed through the west looking for the most promising opportunity

to open a store. A boy of fifteen, he had begun as clerk in a store at Lynchburg. He had risen to be the cashier of a dry goods establishment in Richmond. Going south he had held a position in the branch office at Huntsville of a New Orleans cotton house. In company with M. V. L. McClellan, Richard M. Scruggs traveled from one city to another studying the advantages offered. An uncle of Mr. McClelland volunteered the capital to start. To the young men, St. Louis with its 50,000 population, seemed most promising. The firm of McClelland, Scruggs & Company began business in 1850 at Fourth and St. Charles streets. The city limits were at Eighteenth street. In 1888 the business was moved to Fifth and Locust streets and in 1907 to Tenth and Olive streets.

William L. Vandervoort came into the St. Louis firm in 1860. He was a merchant by the blood. His great uncle, Peter L. Vandervoort, brought the first camel's hair shawls, four of them to this country. He conducted the first "one price" dry goods store in the United States. That store was where the shadow of Trinity church now falls. The first four shawls were sold to the four wealthiest ladies in New York city. The Vandervoorts were merchants a hundred years before William L. Vandervoort began at the bottom in a Baltimore store at one dollar a week and table board. A bad season cut the salary to fifty cents a week. The twelve-year-old clerk tried another store and congratulated himself on a salary of two dollars a week and full board. He swept the store at five o'clock in the morning and put up the shutters at ten o'clock at night. He carried the parcels. In 1860 Mr. Vandervoort had his choice between partnership with McClelland and Scruggs at St. Louis and one of the most responsible positions in the house of "the merchant prince of America," Alexander T. Stewart. He chose the St. Louis connection.

The great grandmothers of the generation of 1909 shopped on Market street. From the Levee to Third street was the retail district. Ubsdell, Pierson & Co., of New York established a St. Louis dry goods store at Third and Market streets. The fire of 1849 swept the retail district. Merchants opened new stores on Fourth street. The property owners on Market street rebuilt hastily, but not well. The merchants refused to move back. Fourth street became the shopping center. The Ubsdell, Pierson & Co. branch had located temporarily on Fourth and Olive, where the Merchants-Laclede bank now is. It was removed in 1857 to Fourth between Vine and St. Charles streets, and remained there until 1880. William Barr and James Duncan were the managers. During the war Mr. Barr, Mr. Duncan and Joseph Franklin bought out the New York partners. In 1870 Mr. Duncan retired. Twenty-eight years ago, following the westward trend, the firm removed to Sixth and Olive. This was the genesis of "Barr's," an institution which within the current year will celebrate its sixtieth anniversary of continuous retail business in St. Louis.

Perhaps "the branch house" policy is the latest and most significant development in the trade evolution of St. Louis. The jobber is establishing branches and is districting his territory. This has come about largely

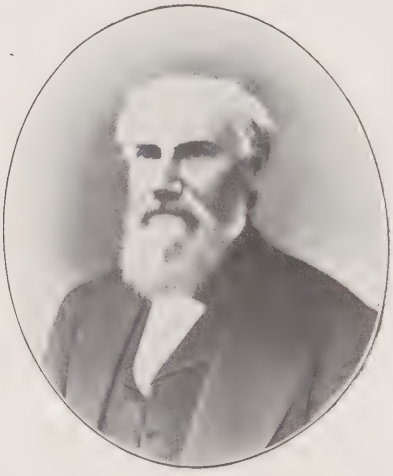


D. A. JANUARY

A. F. SHAPLEIGH

D. B. GALE

C. F. G. MEYER



S M. EDGELL

ARCHITECTS OF ST. LOUIS COMMERCE

within the past half decade. It seems to be a natural change, meaning a great deal to the future of St. Louis trade. It holds out encouragement for extension of trade territory, with this as the directing center of distribution. A retail merchant in South Dakota who came to the World's Fair in 1904 called upon E. C. Simmons. He was asked why his orders for hardware were not as large as they had been a few years before. His answer was:

"Well, when you had a strike and your business here in St. Louis was badly interrupted, I commenced buying some goods in Sioux City. I found that I got them in two or three days after giving the order instead of waiting ten days or two weeks to receive them from St. Louis or Chicago. And I also found that by ordering little lots I could do my business on less capital if I bought near home."

"But haven't we a much better assortment than Sioux City has?" urged Mr. Simmons.

"Yes," said the South Dakota merchant," but those people have all I need."

"Are not our prices much lower?" again urged the St. Louis merchant.

"Yes," said the visitor, "but I make a rattling good profit on the goods I buy from them." And then he came back with this counter argument. "When I commenced I had $10,000 in my business, but I have since taken out half of it and bought me a nice farm home in the suburbs of our little city. I do as much business on my $5,000 by purchasing near home in little lots as I did before on $10,000 capital when I bought in St. Louis and Chicago. What argument have you to meet that?"

Mr. Simmons said he hadn't any. If the trade wouldn't come to St. Louis—St. Louis would have to go to the trade. And thereupon the Simmons Hardware company adopted the policy of establishing branch houses beyond the circuit of immediate St. Louis territory to hold and to extend the more remote districts. The policy of branch houses is not limited to one line of St. Louis trade.

On a dull summer day of 1836 twenty-five young business men organized the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce. The meeting place was the office of the Missouri Insurance Company on Main street, between Olive and Pine streets. That was the center of business. The primary purpose was to agree upon certain regulations which the members would observe in their business. One of the first transactions was to adopt a tariff of commissions to be charged on sales of produce and lead, on purchases and shipments of produce, on payment of freight bills, on advances to customers, on placing insurance, and on adjustment of losses. The chamber also fixed the schedule of fees for arbitration of business disputes and the rates of service for agents of steamboats. In short, the young men determined that business in these lines should be organized. They founded what is today the oldest commercial trading organization in the United

States. One of the most active of the twenty-five was George K. McGunnegle, who was at that time a member of the legislature. At the next session McGunnegle put through a bill incorporating the chamber and giving it a charter. The idea was so novel that the legislature conferred power upon the organization to do anything it pleased which was not "contrary to the laws of the land." The only other restriction imposed was that the property which might be acquired should "not exceed at any time the sum of $20,000." In the very beginning the chamber of commerce took on the character of a public spirited movement. The membership soon overflowed the insurance office. The meeting place was changed to the office of the Missouri Republican, on Main street near Pine. The next move was to the basement of the Unitarian church, on Fourth and Pine streets. The meetings were held at night. The organization was expanding. Its discussions were interesting.

Out of the chamber of commerce with its meetings to consider subjects germane to business interests of the city and out of the merchants' exchange and newsroom where papers were kept on file and to which business men resorted for conversation developed the idea "on 'change." The newspapers began to agitate this as the next step toward commercial organization in St. Louis. "We think," wrote Editor Chambers, "the idea a good one. If a certain hour is established for 'change, say twelve to one o'clock in the day, every merchant having business to do with another would know when and where he could be found." The suggestion met with such favor that in the spring of 1839 Rene Paul faced a large gathering of representative business men when he moved that Henry S. Cox be chosen chairman and William G. Pettus be made secretary of a meeting called to consider the matter. The meeting was held in the merchants' exchange and newsroom, as it had come to be known to all business St. Louis. The sense of those present expressed in the resolutions which A. B. Chambers offered was that an exchange building be erected.

John D. Daggett, Rene Paul, Mathaniel Paschall, Adam B. Chambers, John B. Camden, William Glasgow and Edward Tracy were the committee of seven chosen to take charge of the movement.

John D. Daggett, Rene Paul, Nathaniel Paschall, Adam B. Chambers, commercial honor which characterized the commercial community of St. Louis at that time. Edward Tracy had been president of the chamber of commerce from its beginning. Becoming financially embarrassed, he tendered his resignation. The members declined to accept the resignation, there being nothing that in any way was discreditable to the president. Mr. Tracy insisted that the interests of the chamber would be best served by a change. Henry Von Phul had been the vice president of the chamber. He was chosen president by acclamation, but declined to serve. The chamber then elected Wayman Crow, who continued to hold the office until 1849.

A third of a century after he had been elected president of the chamber of commerce, Wayman Crow, in June, 1874, stood beside the corner

W. A. HARGADINE

T. B. EDGAR

JACOB S. MERRELL

DAVID NICHOLSON

C. S. GREELEY

ARCHITECTS OF ST. LOUIS COMMERCE

stone of the new chamber of commerce building on Third street. As his mind went back to the early days, to this act of Edward Tracy and to like evidences of nice sense of mercantile honor, Mr. Crow said:

> But having been in business here for more than forty years, I cannot recall to mind an individual now in commercial life who was engaged in mercantile pursuits at the time of my coming. You will pardon me then, I am sure—seeing that I belong to the past more than to the present—if my thoughts revert to those early days and rest for a moment with the men who were my trusted colaborers, and with those who immediately preceded us in our work. At least you will permit me to bear witness to the high character, the commercial honor, the personal faithfulness of those who were the early founders of our prosperity, and who gave the tone and standard—not yet lost, and never, as we confidently hope, to be lost—to the daily business life of St. Louis. Those old-time workers may have been a little too conservative, sometimes timid—"old fogies" you would call them nowadays—but they were scrupulously honest in their dealings, strict constructionists in their regard for contracts, men of untarnished integrity in meeting their engagements, and it is to their practice and example that the present high commercial credit of St. Louis, both at home and abroad, is greatly due."

The movement for an exchange building did not progress. At one time the papers had it that a lot at Third and Chestnut had been purchased and at another time that a lot on Fifth street had been secured. In 1848 the exchange rooms on Main and Olive were opened. A secretary, Edward Barry, was appointed. Papers were kept on file. Telegrams giving the state of the markets were received. The next year the merchants' exchange was formally established by the chamber of commerce. This plan meant two organizations. Members of the exchange had all privileges except voting. The chamber of commerce controlled both bodies. The 'change hour was observed from 11 a. m. to 12 m. The rooms were opened at that time to everybody, but only members could buy and sell.

About the time that the merchants' exchange was started, the millers were looking for a shelter. They had been for years in the habit of going to the levee in the morning, examining the sacks of grain unloaded from the boats and then waiting in the dust or mud for hours until the sellers arrived to make trades. James Waugh and T. A. Buckland were especially vigorous in complaining about the exposure from which they had suffered from trying to buy grain on the levee. A meeting was called. Rooms were rented near Locust and the levee and the millers' exchange began to do business, inviting those who had grain or any kind of produce to bring in and display their samples. Upon two pine counters, in twenty-four tin pans, began the selling of grain and flour by sample in St. Louis. And this was the inauguration of the sample method of trading on 'change for the United States. It dates back to the decade of 1840-50. The merchants' exchange, which was only two blocks away, sent an invitation to the millers' exchange to bring their flour and grain samples and do the trading there. The invitation was accepted.

In 1850-60 the commercial organization developed great strength. The chamber of commerce in 1851 was presided over by William M. Morrison. In 1852 the body sent delegates headed by Joseph Stettinius to a "commercial convention" at Baltimore.

The movement for a building took on new life in 1855. Henry T.

Blow, R. J. Lachland, Charles P. Chouteau, A. L. Shapleigh and Thomas E. Tutt were made a committee to get a charter for an exchange building company. Messrs. Edward J. Gay and Robert Barth, representing owners of property on the east side of Main, between Market and Walnut streets, proposed to put up a building, the second floor of which should be occupied exclusively by the merchants' exchange at a rental of $2,500 a year for ten years. This plan was carried out. A company put up the building on the site which Pierre Laclede had reserved for a plaza and which the village town and city of St. Louis had used for a market place through several generations. The central point of the little settlement of 1764 became the commercial heart of the city in 1857. The structure was known as the chamber of commerce building. The ground floor was occupied by stores. The exchange hall was 101 feet long by 80 feet wide. From the floor to the apex of the dome was 63 feet. St. Louis had a celebrated fresco artist at that time, L. D. Pomerede, who decorated the interior of the dome with paintings representing the four quarters of the globe. This exchange hall, which was, probably, the finest commercial hall in the country of its day, was constructed under the immediate direction of Oliver A. Hart, for the St. Louis merchants' exchange company, chartered for the purpose of erecting the building.

The civil war brought a severe test of the vitality of commercial organization in St. Louis. Over the annual election in January, 1862, the members divided. Those who withdrew held a meeting with Stephen M. Edgell as chairman and Clinton B. Fisk as secretary. They called themselves "The union merchants' exchange of St. Louis." The new body took rooms in a building on Third street just south of the post-office. Within a year the union merchants' exchange was back in possession of the old quarters on Main, between Market and Walnut streets. The new exchange organized with Henry J. Moore as president. At the next annual meeting in January, 1863, George Partridge was elected president. In March following the body incorporated. The obligation which the members of the union merchants exchange took was the result of a movement to commit the business community to the strongest possible expression of allegiance to the government. In 1875 the name was changed from union merchants exchange to Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis.

In 1871, under the presidency of Gerard B. Allen, the westward movement became strong. Propositions were received from James H. Lucas and others to build a new chamber of commerce at Third and Chestnut; from P. B. Gerhart to build at Third and Locust; From John A. Scudder, Catherine Ames and William H. Scudder to build at Sixth street and Washington avenue, where the destruction of the old Lindell hotel had left a vacancy. The Third and Chestunt street proposition was accepted. A canvass of the membership showed that, at the time, 773 of the business houses represented on 'change were located south of Olive street and 492 north of Olive. The St. Louis Chamber of Commerce Association to construct the building, was formed with Rufus J. Lackland, president; Gerard

FOURTH STREET, BETWEEN WASHINGTON AVENUE AND ST. CHARLES STREET, THE NEW SHOPPING DISTRICT OF 1857

B. Allen and George Knapp, vice presidents. In July, 1873, work was commenced. In June, 1874, the corner stone was laid with masonic and military ceremonies, Web M. Samuel, president of the Exchange, delivering the address.

Before the Civil war the great commercial body of St. Louis kept a good president as long as he would serve. Many years the duties were performed in succession by Edward Tracy, Wayman Crow and William Morrison. Beginning with 1862 the custom of one-term presidents was inaugurated and adhered to. The presidents and vice presidents of the Merchants' Exchange for forty-seven years constitute a roll of commercial honor:

Year.	President.	Vice Presidents.	Vice Presidents.
1862	Henry J. Moore.	C. S. Greeley.	A. W. Fagin.
1863	George Partridge.	C. S. Greeley.	A. W. Fagin.
1864	Thomas Richeson.	Barton Able.	C. L. Tucker.
1865	Barton Able.	E. O. Stanard.	H. A. Homeyer.
1866	E. O. Stanard.	Alex. H. Smith.	D. G. Taylor.
1867	C. L. Tucker.	Edgar Ames.	D. G. Taylor.
1868	John J. Roe.	Geo. P. Plant.	H. A. Homeyer.
1869	Geo. P. Plant.	H. A. Homeyer.	Nathan Cole.
1870	Wm. J. Lewis.	G. G. Waggaman.	H. C. Yaeger.
1871	Gerard B. Allen.	R. P. Tansey.	Geo. Bain.
1872	R. P. Tansey.	Wm. H. Scudder.	C. H. Teichmann.
1873	Wm. H. Scudder.	S. M. Edgell.	Web M. Samuel.
1874	Web M. Samuel.	L. L. Ashbrook.	John F. Tolle.
1875	D. P. Rowland.	John P. Meyer.	Wm. M. Senter.
1876	Nathan Cole.	John Wahl.	F. B. Davidson.
1877	John A. Scudder.	N. Schaeffer.	Geo. Bain.
1878	Geo. Bain.	H. C. Haarstick.	Craig Alexander.
1879	John Wahl.	Michael McEnnis.	W. J. Lemp.
1880	Alex. H. Smith.	Chas. E. Slayback.	J. C. Ewald.
1881	Michael McEnnis.	John Jackson.	A. T. Harlow.
1882	Chas. E. Slayback.	Chas. F. Orthwein.	Frank Gaiennie.
1883	J. C. Ewald.	D. R. Francis.	D. P. Grier.
1884	D. R. Francis.	John P. Keiser.	C. W. Barstow.
1885	Henry C. Haarstick.	S. W. Cobb.	D. P. Slattery.
1886	S. W. Cobb.	Chas. H. Teichmann.	J. Will Boyd.
1887	Frank Gaiennie.	Louis Fusz.	Thomas Booth.
1888	Chas. F. Orthwein.	J. H. Teasdale.	Chas. A. Cox.
1889	Chas. A. Cox.	Hugh Rogers.	Alex. Euston.
1890	John W. Kauffman.	Marcus Bernheimer.	G. M. Flanigan.
1891	Marcus Bernheimer.	Geo. H. Plant.	S. R. Francis.
1892	Isaac M. Mason.	Wm. T. Anderson.	Wallace Delafield.
1893	W. T. Anderson.	Roger P. Annan.	L. C. Doggett.
1894	A. T. Harlow. Wm. G. Boyd.	Wm. G. Boyd. Geo. H. Small.	E. A. Pomeroy.
1895	Thos. Booth.	C. Marquard Forster.	Geo. D. Barnard.
1896	C. H. Spencer.	Amedee B. Cole.	Clark H. Sampson.
1897	H. F. Langenberg.	Chris. Sharp.	Wm. P. Kennett.
1898	Chris. Sharp.	Henry H. Wernse.	Oscar L. Whitelaw.
1899	Wm. P. Kennett.	Oscar L. Whitelaw.	Daniel E. Smith.
1900	Oscar L. Whitelaw.	Wm. T. Haarstick.	Frank E. Kauffman.
1901	Wm. T. Haarstick.	Geo. J. Tansey.	T. R. Ballard.
1902	Geo. J. Tansey.	T. R. Ballard.	Wm. A. Gardner.
1903	T. R. Ballard.	Wm. A. Gardner.	Charles H. Huttig.

Year.	President.	Vice Presidents.	Vice Presidents.
1904	H. H. Wernse.	Otto L. Teichmann.	M. G. Richmond.
1905	Otto L. Teichmann.	Manley G. Richmond.	John E. Geraghty.
1906	Manley G. Richmond.	William H. Danforth.	Edward Devoy.
1907	George H. Plant.	Edward Devoy.	Edward E. Scharff.
1908	Edward Devoy.	Edward E. Scharff.	Manning W. Cochrane.
1909	Edward E. Scharff.	Manning W. Cochrane.	Nat. L. Moffitt.

A wonderful record of cheerful giving the Merchants' Exchange has made. In two generations the amounts raised by popular subscriptions on 'change for emergency relief have been nearly $1,000,000. From Portland, Maine, to San Francisco, from Chicago to Galveston, this body of St. Louis business men has extended the generous hand. To suffering fellowmen in Ireland and Germany, these men of the daily mart loosened the purse strings. Flood and drought, yellow fever and fire, cyclone and earthquake, tidal wave and cloudburst—no matter what the occasion—the responses from the members of the Merchants' Exchange have come promptly and liberally. In the long and honorable history of the commercial body the contributions to benevolence make a bright page:

1866	For sufferers by fire at Portland, Me	$ 2,686 00
	For destitute in Georgia and Alabama	12,780 00
1867	For destitute in Southern States	28,283 66
	For sufferers by yellow fever at New Orleans	8,391 50
1871	For sufferers by fire at Chicago	150,000 00
1874	For families of firemen killed at fire, April 4th	2,997 25
	For sufferers by cyclone at Collinsville, Ill	210 00
1880	For suffering poor in Ireland	7,029 54
	For sufferers by cyclone at Marshfield, Mo	9,102 45
	For sufferers by cyclone at Savoy, Tex	220 00
1882	For sufferers by overflow of Mississippi River	8,971 55
	For sufferers by cyclone at Brownsville, Mo	426 00
1883	For sufferers by overflow in Germany	3,760 00
	For sufferers by overflow at Shawneetown, Ill	756 69
	For sufferers by overflow in American bottom	1,263 00
1885	For the poor of St. Louis, "Minnie Palmer Xmas Boxes"	282 88
1886	For relief of sufferers by drought in Texas	7,508 00
	For relief of sufferers by earthquake at Charleston, S. C	1,532 35
	For relief of sufferers by cyclone at Sabine Pass, Tex	10 00
1888	For relief of sufferers by cyclone at Mt. Vernon, Ill	6,332 25
	For relief of sufferers by yellow fever at Jacksonville, Fla	8,341 00
1889	For relief of sufferers by flood at Johnstown, Pa	14,479 20
1890	For orphan asylum at Houston, Tex., sale of bale of cotton	585 00
1891	For Confederate Orphans' Home of Missouri (cake sold)	157 00
1892	For relief of sufferers by overflow of Mississippi River	54,010 22
1893	For relief of sufferers by cyclone at Red Bud, Ill	849 00
	Relief of sufferers by cyclone at Cisco, Tex	927 00
	Relief of sufferers by cyclone at Hope, Ark	129 00
	Relief of sufferers by storm on Gulf Coast	982 50
1895	Relief of sufferers by drought in Nebraska	3,720 75
1896	Tornado, St. Louis, May 27th	267,440 49
	Tornado, Denison, Tex	1,503 00
1897	Flood relief, overflow, Lower Mississippi	7,224 00
	Yellow fever in Mississippi	1,284 00
1898	Overflow at Shawneetown, Ill	2,336 75

D. C. JACCARD

CLARK H. SAMPSON

WILLIAM L. VANDERVOORT

DAVID B. GOULD

A. E. FAUST

TYPES OF BUSINESS LIFE SINCE THE WAR.

	Cloudburst at Steelville, Mo.	$ 704 00
	Bale of cotton sold for benefit United States Hospital Fund.	630 00
	Game of base ball for benefit of Fresh Air Fund.	196 00
	Yellow fever in South	1,673 75
1899	Tornado at Kirksville, Mo.	3,582 35
	Texas flood relief, Brazos River.	3,831 00
1900	Texas relief, tidal wave at Galveston and vicinity.	39,063 30
1902	Relief of families of firemen who lost their lives at fire of February 4th.	26,014 86
	Relief of drought sufferers in Southwestern Missouri.	4,771 25
1904	Overflow, Mississippi River	35,046 00
1906	San Francisco earthquake	42,822 00
1909	Cyclone at Brinkley, Ark.	1,855 00
	Total	$899,613 00

As early as 1839, "the master-mechanics of St. Louis," as they called themselves, organized the mechanics' exchange. This was not a labor movement but an organization of the producing industries of the city for mutual good. The plan was formed and presented from a body composed of one representative of each branch of manufacture or skilled trade. The list of these representatives is a good index to the industries of St. Louis in 1839. It includes men who became prominent in the life of the city and whose descendants are in some instances following the same industries as developed under new conditions, in St. Louis to day:

Joseph C. Laveille, carpenter.
Asa Wilgus, painter.
Samuel Gaty, founder.
George Trask, cabinetmaker.
James Barry, chandler.
Joseph Laiden, chairmaker.
William Shipp, silversmith.
B. Townsend, wire and sieve maker.
Thomas Gambal, cooper.
S. C. Coleman, turner.
John G. Shelton, tailor.
Charles Coates, stonecutter.
Anthony Bennett, stonemason.
William Thomas, shipbuilder.
Samuel Shawk, locksmith.
N. Tiernal, wheelwright.
Moses Stout, planemaker.
J. Bemis, machinist.
Daniel D. Page, baker.
Isaac Chadwick, plasterer.
Thomas Andrews, coppersmith.
John M. Paulding, hatter.
James Love, blacksmith.
Wooster Goodyear, cordwainer.
John Young, saddler.
B. Todd, burr millstone maker.
Francis Raborg, tanner.
N. Paschal, printer.
B. L. Turnbull, bookbinder.
David Shepard, bricklayer.
I. A. Letcher, brickmaker.
Samuel Hawkins, gunsmith.
A. Oakford, combmaker.
J. B. Gerard, carriagemaker.
James Robinson, upholsterer.

In 1852 the mechanics' and manufacturers' exchange and library association was organized. The St. Louisans who took the active part in this movement were Thornton Grimsley, Charles H. Peck, P. Wonderly, J. C. Edgar, R. Keyser and John Goodin.

In 1856, the mechanics' exchange with rooms on Chestnut street between Third and Fourth streets was one of the strong institutions of the city. Anthony Ittner, Thomas Rich, A. Cook, W. Stamps, James Garvin, C. Lynch, J. Locke, James Luthy were some of the leading members. The laudable objects were "the encouragement, development and promotion of the mechanical and manufacturing interests of the city and the arbitration of all errors and misunderstandings between its members and those having

business with them." The first president was N. M. Ludlow. To carry out the policy of settlement of disputes by arbitration the exchange formed a strong committee of appeal. The members of this committee were Charles H. Peck, Samuel Robbins, W. F. Cozzens, John Evill, W. G. Clark, L. D. Baker and W. H. Markham, all prominent men in the city. In 1908 Mr. Clark celebrated his ninetieth birthday at the home of his daughter, Mrs. James B. Hill.

With an address by Henry T. Blow and under Adolphus Meier as president the St. Louis Board of Trade entered upon its mission of business organization in October, 1867. The motive of the board of trade was similar to that which in later years operated through the Business Men's League to the great commercial and industrial advantage of the city. But at that time benefits of business organization were not so well recognized. The board of trade held many meetings. It considered subjects in which the interests of St. Louis were concerned. Wayman Crow, Isidor Bush, E. C. Simmons, E. A. Hitchcock, Isaac M. Mason were among the active members in the period of the board' greatest usefulness. Chauncey I. Filley was for some time the energetic president.

The boatmen's exchange was an institution of such promise that in 1868 Charles P. Chouteau erected for the accomodation of the body a handsome stone front building at Levee and Vine streets costing $80,000. The building was the most imposing architecturally on the river front.

With Gerard B. Allen as president and Thomas Richeson as vice-president the St. Louis Manufacturers' Association was started in 1874. Adolphus Meier and Giles F. Filley were especially active in promoting the organization.

In 1875, Anthony Ittner, W. W. Polk, Joseph K. Bent and others chartered another Mechanics' Exchange. Fine quarters were opened in the Hunt building on Fourth street opposite the Planters' House. Mr. Bent was of Massachusetts birth. He was for forty years a contractor and builder in St. Louis, operating part of the time his own planing mill and taking some of the largest contracts in carpenter work. He did the carpenter work of the merchants' exchange, of Barr's, of the First Presbyterian church on Lucas Place. He had the contract for the construction of the Third National bank building which was occupied by the bank up to 1908.

The St. Louis Coal Exchange was opened in 1879 for the mutual protection of shippers and dealers. The president was Alexander Hamilton and the treasurer was C. E. Gartside.

Out of a strike among the furniture workers of the city grew an organization of manufacturers which became the St. Louis Furniture Exchange. The first officers were Daniel Aude, D. S. Horne and J. H. Koppelman.

The growth of St. Louis, financial, commercial and industrial, is not measured by the city's tonnage, clearings, sales and products. It goes far beyond these local returns, flattering as they are. St. Louis is financing, producing and trading in many places away from home. That is the latest evolution of business growth. Notably St. Louis has been reaching out into

the southwest. The relationship has come to mean more than the holding of natural trade territory. President Breckinridge Jones of the Mississippi Valley Trust company, at the close of 1908, in the Manufacturers' Record, pointed out what St. Louis men and St. Louis capital have been doing in the field:

In 1903, out of a total of over 5,000 miles of railroad constructed in the United States, 2,302 miles were built in the southwest; that is, in the states of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and Texas. In 1904 the total railroad building in the United States amounted to 3,822.26 miles; in 1905 to 4,358,2 miles, and in 1906 to 5623 miles, of which, in each year, at least 40 per cent was in the states above named. About the same percentage of mileage is being constructed in the southwest now. In all of this development St. Louis capital has been heavily interested. Among other recent roads made possible by St. Louis capital are the following: Arkansas Southern, running from Eldorado, Ark., to Alexander, La., Blackwell, Enid & Southwestern, extending from Blackwell, Okla., to Vernon, Texas; Denver, Enid, & Gulf running from Guthrie Okla. to Belvedere, Kan.; St. Louis, Brownsville & Mexico, constructed from Brownsville, Texas, toward San Antonio, Texas; St. Louis, El Reno & Western, extending from Guthrie west, and Missouri & Arkansas, running from Eureka Springs, Arkansas, east.

The Mexican Central, running from El Paso through the Republic of Mexico, while not in the territory called the southwest in this article, still is in territory tributary, and should be mentioned, for St. Louis loaned quite a good deal of money to help its completion.

Along the lines of railway made possible by St. Louis capital sites became villages, villages towns and towns cities almost before the echo of the first locomotive's whistle had died out across the plains. Indian reservations became things of the past, and fruit was grown which rivaled the products of Florida and California. The new cities, so overgrown as to be backward in the frontier dress, needed help. Water-works, gas and electric lights, street railways, telephones and other such conveniences were necessary, but the communities were not strong enough to stand the inaugural expense. St. Louis had faith in their future, and readily gave her assistance, taking pleasure in playing the part of an elder sister intensely interested in the welfare of the younger children.

As an indication of the volume of business St. Louis has with the southwest, the following figures are instructive: The total number of tons of freight shipped out of St. Louis in 1907 was 18,374,916; of this, 10,537,291 tons, or 57 per cent. was for the southwest. The total number of tons of freight shipped in to St. Louis the same year was 29,445,669; of this, 15,146,725 tons, or 51 per cent., was from the southwest.

This section has always looked to the financial institutions of St. Louis, and has never found them unwilling to do all in their power. Every bank in Arkansas keeps an account with some St. Louis bank or trust company, and this can also be said of nearly every bank in the other southwestern states. The great service that St. Louis performs with out-of-town banks, mostly located in the southwest, is shown by the fact that between January 2 and October 31 of this year, a period of ten months, the St. Louis banks and trust companies shipped $104,412,729 in currency, gold and silver to their correspondents for the purpose of handling and moving crops and for other industrial and commercial purposes. During this same period they received $67,681,979 in cash, making a total of $172,094,704, which represents what St. Louis is doing as a financial center.

In distributive commerce St. Louis has higher rank than the fourth city when certain lines are considered. This is the largest dry goods

market west of the Alleghanies; the largest hardwood lumber market in America; the largest horse and mule market in the world; the second largest millinery market in this country; the largest inland coffee distributing point; the largest distributor of shoes. St. Louis has the largest hardware house, the largest woodenware house, the largest drug house in the United States.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Seventy years is a long time in the life of an individual. It marks the scriptural limit of our earthly pilgrimage. Men say of one who reaches it, "He has passed his prime; his best days are over." For him, morning with its hopes and noontide with its labors are gone. For him, there remains the sunset and the gloom and the pensive memories of bygone days. The earthly hopes that come to him are as passing birds that light on the trees of autumn to sing their songs among the sere end falling leaves, and then fly away. But while the individual dies, the race lives on, ever renewing itself. Generation exceeds generation; instead of the fathers are the children, made wiser and enriched by the dowry of the past. Upon this church seventy years have not left any marks of decrepitude, or weakness of any kind. We cross the line with undiminished numbers, with unbroken harmony among us, with our organizations for Christian work multiplied, with our material resources enlarged, and, above all, still steadfast in the faith that gave such vitality in the past. The onward movement of the church of the living God is the mid-current of human history. The eternal purpose of God is in it, and it is not limited by time. Age and decay can never destroy it.—Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls, Second Presbyterian anniversary, 1908.

Pastors for life St. Louis has had in numbers and in characters extraordinary. Church leaders and teachers who are permanently located, who acquire personal interest in all that concerns other citizens, who have home ties, who thrill with local pride, contribute far more to the religious life of the community than is implied in pulpit ministrations. St. Louis has had the benefit of clergy of the lifelong kind.

Strong personalities have been developed in the religious as well as in the professional, in the business and in the political life of St. Louis. Truman M. Post was the son of a Middlebury, Vermont, lawyer. Highly educated, he came to St. Louis in 1833 to enter the law office of Hamilton R. Gamble. A visit to Jacksonville led to a connection, as instructor, with Illinois college. At the same time Mr. Post occupied the pulpit of a new Congregational church in Jacksonville. He declined to be "licensed" to preach because that implied some spiritual authority over both preacher and people. He went into the ministry on a "recommendation." The Third Presbyterian church heard of the eloquent young professor of Illinois college and sent for him. This congregation was an offshoot of the First Presbyterian, formed in 1842. It worshipped on Sixth street between Franklin avenue and Wash street. Mr. Post replied to the invitation that he considered the holding of human beings as property to be in violation of the foundation principles of the Christian religion; that he must be guaranteed liberty of opinion and freedom of speech on the subject of slavery. Ten years before that time a Presbyterian minister, Elijah P. Lovejoy, had been threatened for what he printed about slavery in the St. Louis Observer, had removed to Alton and had been slain by a mob.

Mr. Post asked that his views on slavery be read to the Third Presbyterian church and that another vote be taken on the call extended to him. The church listened to the letter and unanimously renewed the invitation. Mr. Post came to St. Louis under an arrangement to remain four years. In 1852, by a formal

vote of sixty-seven members, the Third Presbyterian became a Congregational church. In this manner the seal of approval was put upon the principles of personal liberty and of personal responsibility advocated by the pastor. Mr. Post became Dr. Post through the action of Middlebury college. From that year the First Congregational church was a center of anti-slavery sentiment on moral grounds. The society moved from Sixth street to Tenth and Locust streets before the war and in 1879 to Delmar near Grand avenue. Dr. Post's active pulpit career in St. Louis was thirty-four years. During the fourteen years from 1847 to 1861, this man of profound historical study, of philosophic mind, of sturdy sense of duty, of captivating speech, was influential far beyond the doors of his church for the abolition of slavery and for the maintenance of the Union.

A pulpit career remarkable for length and steadfastness was the period of thirty-nine years through which James H. Brookes preached. This career began with the Second Presbyterian church when it was on Broadway and Locust, in 1855, and ended in the Compton avenue church. Year after year Dr. Brookes ministered to the same congregation with unfailing vigor and freshness. He preached from the Bible, of which he was a devoted student. He edited for twenty-three years a monthly publication called "The Truth" and found time to write half a dozen books, the results of his Bible study.

Forty-two years Montgomery Schuyler was a well-doing citizen of St. Louis as well as a conspicuous, constructive clergyman. He was preeminently one of the St. Louis clergymen whose activities were not limited to their churches. His influence was marked upon public morals and upon public spirit. The list of good works of these men is long and varied. No history of the city could omit some mention of the profession in its relation to the better development of St. Louis, apart from the growth of the church. When Montgomery Schuyler died the diocese recorded that he was "a typical priest of the church and a faithful member of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Giving up the practice of law because he had acquitted a man he felt sure was guilty of murder, Montgomery Schuyler speculated in a Michigan real estate boom; he operated a saw mill; he interested himself in a stage line between Detroit and the village of Chicago; he was a successful merchant. None of these occupations brought satisfaction. Montgomery Schuyler turned to the Episcopal priesthood when he was well toward thirty years of age. The supreme test of this man's character came with the outbreak of the Civil war. Christ church, on Fifth and Chestnut, had been sold. The congregation was worshiping in Mercantile Library hall. Included in the membership were many, perhaps a majority, who sympathized with the south. Of the old Schuyler stock of New York, with Revolutionary traditions of the family binding him, the rector was a Union man. When the hostilities began Dr. Schuyler talked of resigning. He made no concealment of his political sentiments, although he preached no political sermons. His southern members would not listen to any change of rectors. Montgomery Schuyler stayed on. His patriotism found expression in association with Yeatman, Eliot and the rest of that noble band which became glorious as the Western Sanitary commission. The rector of Christ church was made chaplain to all of the army hospitals at St. Louis.

To the inherited Dutch courage and determination which yielded nothing of principle, he joined a wealth of sympathy, ways that were winning and gentleness of manner. It was Montgomery Schuyler's ambition to establish a downtown church. Old Trinity of New York was his ideal. With this in view the location at Thirteenth and Locust was chosen. It was part of his life plan to found a mission which should remain in the business section. Montgomery Schuyler ministered to rich and poor. His monument is Schuyler Memorial house.

Notwithstanding the rule of the Methodist church requiring frequent pulpit changes, several ministers of that demonination became identified with St. Louis by long residence and exercised much influence upon the life and development of the city. A thorough St. Louisan was Rev. Dr. Joseph Boyle, born in Baltimore. He came to this city in 1842 in charge of the First Methodist church. St. Louis was practically his home for thirty years, until his death. He was a delegate to the general conference at Louisville in 1844 when the Methodists divided into the Methodist Episcopal church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Dr. Boyle labored to bring about reconciliation of the wings. The immediate cause of the division was the proposition advanced that Bishop Andrew of Georgia be asked to suspend the exexercise of his duties so long as a certain impediment existed. The impediment was the fact that his wife owned slaves. Dr. Boyle was presiding elder of the St. Louis district in 1860, 1868 and 1869. He preached in the First church three periods; in Centenary, two.

For many years Archbishop Kenrick lived at the residence attached to the old Cathedral on Walnut street. One of the priests, Father O'Hanlon, who was there in the late forties, left this pen picture:

"I well recollect, the archbishop was the earliest riser in the house, he was satisfied with a few hours rest; and especially during the summer mornings, he was often up at four and rarely, if ever, in bed after five o'clock. Soon afterwards he was systematically out on the veranda, pacing noiselessly in slippers, that he might not disturb others who were sleeping, while he was engaged devoutly reciting the greater part of the divine office, so that he might be prepared for the multiplied daily duties and labors, which were sure to occupy his attention afterwards; he went each morning into the confessional about six o'clock, and at half past six he commenced his celebration of mass in the cathedral. But nothing could be more admirable than his punctuality in the distribution of time, and the priests all noticed his early morning duties succeeded each other regularly as the clock told the hour. The only difference observable was during the cold and short winter days, when he was obliged to keep his room and read by the lighted lamp until the day had nearly dawned, and when he was ready to enter the cathedral. He breakfasted at an early hour and then he usually withdrew to the library which was retired from a parlor and reception room. Some snatches of time he managed to take for reading and writing; but soon a succession of visitors began to arrive, and while he specially desired to see those who had real business to transact, he received others with a patience and courtesy which often must have been greatly tested if not strained. 'O Dear!' he would sometimes pleasantly remark to his priests at the table, 'how some people can never learn to shorten their unnecessary visits?' While he often observed that the more he found persons disposed to indulge in talk, the less was he prepared to receive either correct information or practical suggestions on those affairs which interested and engaged his attention. The most distinguished citizens and strangers, Catholic or Protestant, were often to be seen in his ante-room waiting their turn

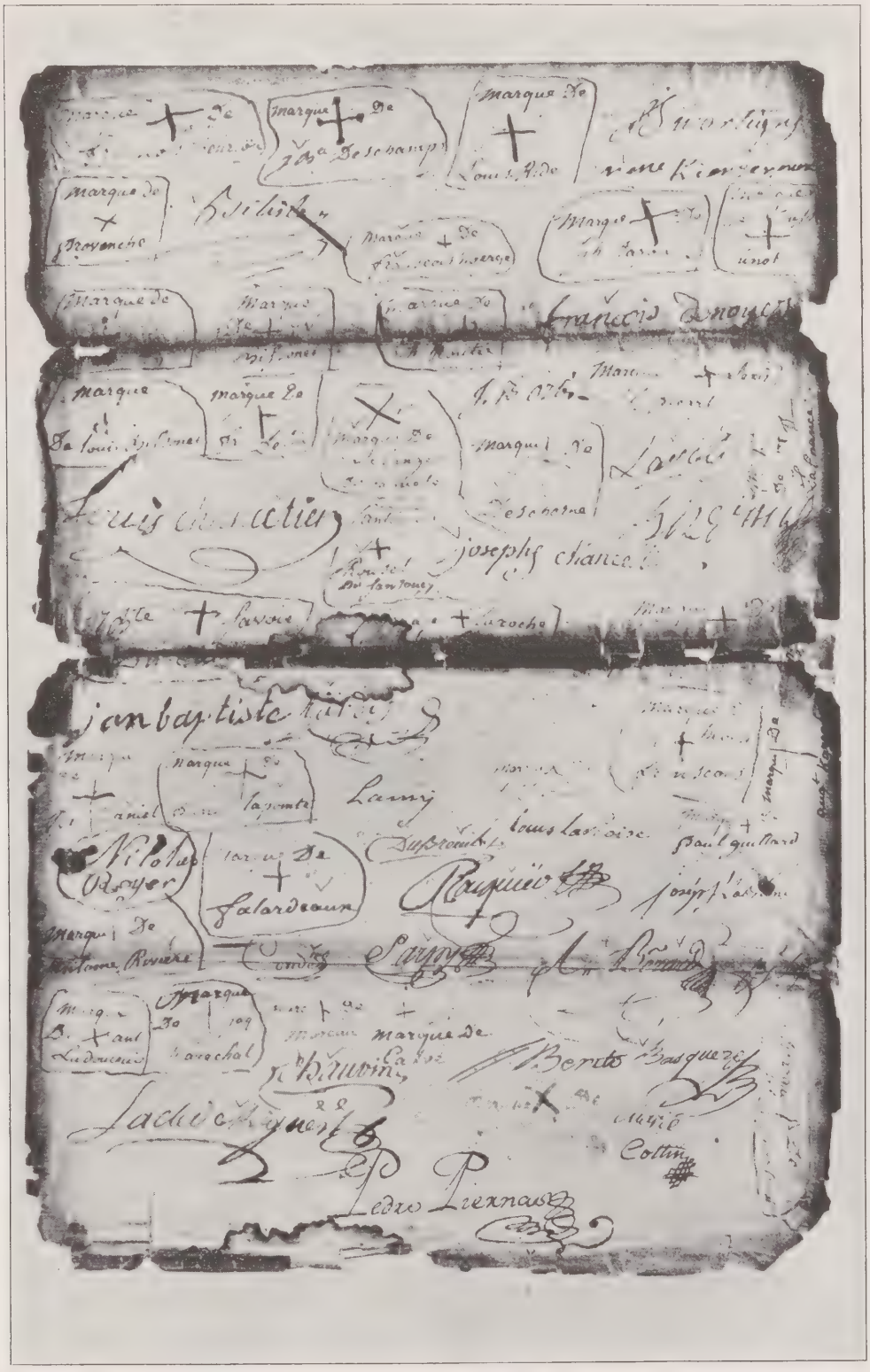
for an interview, and always more than delighted when the opportunity was afforded them.

It was a truly pleasant reunion to have our archbishop present at our early dinner and at our evening meal. Nothwithstanding his habitual reserve, regarding matters of confidential secrecy, and of business transactions which were under consideration, he was communicative enough on other topics, always giving a tone to and leading conversation on subjects of public interest and importance, or relating anecdotes which were novel and instructive, while he promoted hilarity and good humor by the introduction of sly jokes, and a refinement of wit, which the French and German priests could not always well understand in the English idiom until they had time for reflection and explanation. Sometimes he conversed with them in their respective languages, which he spoke with remarkable fluency and correctness. He often preached both in French and German, as circumstances of church congregation required. I heard from himself that the celebrated and gifted Irish poet, James Clarence Mangan, gave him the first German lessons in Dublin; and he always had the most unbounded admiration for the genius, and also compassion and consideration for the weakness of his former tutor, whose latter years were clouded with timorousness or melancholy, and who, nothwithstanding his occasional inebriety, was a most gentle and lovable character. The extent of the archbishop's charities could never be known from himself; however, I suspect the unfortunate poet knew well where to find a benefactor in his former distinguished pupil, nor would aid be refused if prudence did not suggest the propriety of not ministering to gratifications which tend to make some men their greatest enemies.

The quality of religious heroism came out strong and not infrequently among the laymen of the city. Thomas F. Webb opened a little Sunday school with twenty scholars in a small frame house at Sixth and Carr streets in 1840. After half a dozen years the owner of the land wanted it. The frame building was lifted on trucks and hauled to Fourteenth and Carr streets, where Judge Carr offered a temporary location. As the school grew the building was enlarged to accommodate 350. In 1848, Thomas Morrison became the superintendent. For sixty years thereafter this man carried on a work peculiarly his own with a degree of devotion which made his personality of more than local interest. To get additional room he moved the school to a hall in the Biddle market, and the Biddle market mission was cited a model for mission work in other cities. The number of scholars increased to over 1,000. A church, "the First Independent church of St. Louis," was started in 1864. Mr. Morrison sold his home and added to it all of the money he could spare to build on Sixteenth and Carr streets. After $37,000 had been spent the place was sold under a mortgage. Carlos S. Greeley took the property, completed the church and presented it to the trustees of the mission. At that time, in 1880, the Memorial Tabernacle, for that was the name Rev. Dr. Niccolls bestowed upon it, was pronounced the largest and finest building in the United States for Sunday school purposes.

When Thomas Morrison died, in 1908, the scenes and the testimonies at his bier, told eloquently what a place he had occupied in the life of the city. Barefooted boys and bankers, men with dinner buckets and men who manage great industries came. A laboring man said:

"I went to school to him in 1863. It was in the old mission over the Biddle Market. I haven't made such a great success as the world goes, but I've lived a Christian life and reared my children Christians, all on account of him."



SIGNERS OF THE AGREEMENT TO BUILD THE FIRST CHURCH IN ST. LOUIS, 1770, SIX YEARS AFTER THE FOUNDING. AUTOGRAPHS OF LACLEDE AND THE SPANISH GOVERNOR, PIERNAS, AT THE BOTTOM.

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

James W. Bell, the banker, told of the esteem in which Thomas Morrison was held:

"In 1898, upon the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of this mission, Mr. Morrison gave away 3,000 bibles, each with his autograph and a small American flag of silk pasted inside. I have one of those bibles now at home upon my center table and prize it highly. There will never be another Thomas Morrison in St. Louis. He was unique. He was the means of saving thousands of men and women. I was a steady contributor to his mission for fifty years. We all loved to help him. When we saw him come in we threw up our hands and said: 'How much, Tom?'"

In the newspaper accounts of the funeral of Thomas Morrison were described these scenes:

In the procession of mourners were three generations of one family, a grandmother, her daughter and little grandson. The grandmother was a pupil in the Biddle Mission Sunday School sixty years ago. Her daughter was a pupil there thirty years ago, and her little boy is a member of the same Sunday School now, all reared in the love of God through the influence of this one man. The three generations went into the mission together and stopped at the coffin. The mother lifted her little boy up so he could see the face they all loved so much. As they went out the grandmother said:

"I wanted the child to carry in his memory the face of the man who did so much for us. He was the means of our salvation."

In the crowd was an old Irish women, a devout member of the Catholic church. After she had looked at the face in the coffin, she said:

"He was a great and good man. I knew of his good works for forty years in this district, and though he didn't die in the church I'd like to have seen him die in, he must surely be in heaven."

A woman in a magnificent motor car rode up to the mission door at one o'clock and alone climbed the dingy stairway to the mission room. Her tears fell upon the glass plate covering the face and without speaking to anyone she walked out, got into her car and went away.

"Some woman he saved. There are many of them," said a mourner.

Frederick Diebel, president of the National Storage and Warehouse Company, told that he had in his safe a large number of chattel mortgages upon furniture of poor families which were given him by Mr. Morrison. When a family of Mr. Morrison's acquaintance had its furniture mortgaged and was about to lose it he would pay the mortgage and have it transferred to him and lock it in the safe so the family would be out of debt and could not again mortgage its furniture. In this way he saved many a family from its own improvidence.

John H. Roth, secretary of the Adam Roth Grocery Company, told of the times when he was in the mission.

"It was a mighty tough neighborhood here in the early days, and Mr. Morrison had lots of trouble with gangs who broke up his benches, threw stones through the windows and did other mischievious things. Once a gang of bad boys planned to break up the Sunday School by starting a fight. Mr. Morrison learned of it, and he got a stout rattan cane and hid it in the lobby. Then he instructed his teachers that when he gave a certain signal they were all to start singing and keep on until he gave a signal to stop. At the appointed time the disturbance started and Mr. Morrison sprang into the midst of it, grabbed the ringleader by the collar, dragged him out into the lobby and flogged him into submission with the rattan cane. Then he set the young man down and talked to him and he and his gang were loyal members of the Sunday School from that time."

A big fellow who had listened to this story grinned when it was ended and said:

"I'm that fellow, I'm the ringleader he whipped and it was the making of me."

One of the ushers at the funeral was Joseph B. Farmer, vice president of the Blanke-Wenneker Candy Company. He was a member of the mission Sunday School

and was married in the mission. Once when Mr. Farmer went with his wife and daughter to visit the mission Mr. Morrison met him with:

"Ah, here's another one of my boys."

A block away from the mission in the midst of the congested district there is a saloon, the keeper of it said:

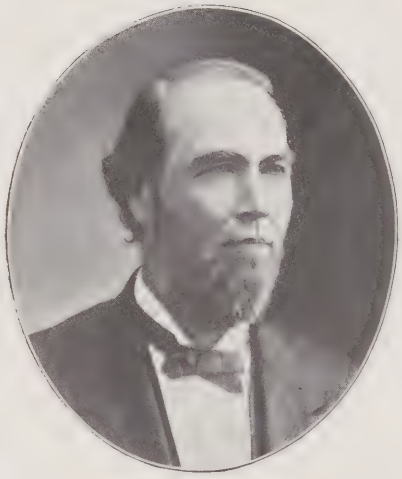
"I'd like to go to the funeral myself for if ever there was a good man it was Mr. Morrison. I was in his Sunday School myself and I've given him many a dollar since to help the poor. He was a good man. It didn't make a bit of difference who you were Mr. Morrison would never turn you down if you were in need."

The founder of St. Louis did not neglect religious ceremony in the early days of the settlement. Across the river, at Cahokia, was Father Sebastian L. Meurin, a man of zeal and courage, who had been a missionary at Vincennes, and in the country of the Illinois, five years, when Laclede arrived. Father Meurin was absent when Auguste Chouteau and the first thirty were clearing the ground and cutting trees for the cabins at Main and Walnut streets. When he returned to Cahokia he took his canoe and crossed the river.

He called the settlers together, improvised an altar among the trees, celebrated mass and blessed the site. Until St. Louis had attained the importance which encouraged the coming of a priest to make his residence here, Father Meurin visited the settlement as often as he could and held religious services, either out-of-doors or in tent. Many years later the bones of the good missionary who had stood church sponsor for the village were brought to St. Louis, grown to be a great city and given honored burial.

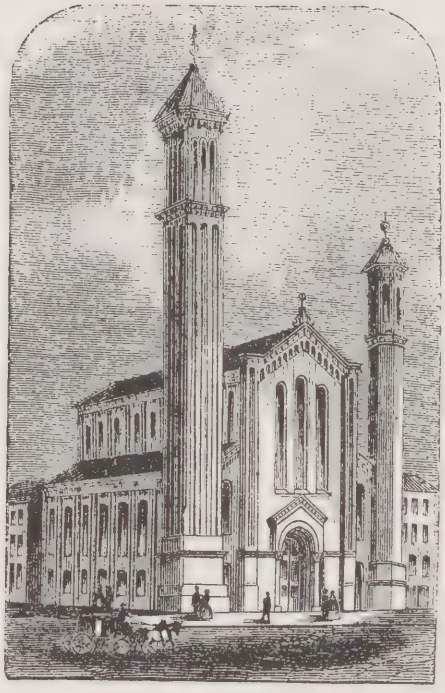
Father Pierre Gibault, the patriot priest who espoused the cause of the American colonies against England, and who gave George Rogers Clark his savings of $1,000 toward the expedition to capture Vincennes, came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia and remained some time, perhaps eighteen months. But there were periods of weeks and months when the villagers of St. Louis had no priest. Deaths occurred. Rene Kiersereau, the "chantre," or singer of the church, performed the last rites and recited the prayers.

The old cathedral register of St. Louis begins with 1766, when it is stated Father Meurin administered baptism in a tent. After that, the register records the coming of Father Meurin from Cahokia twice a year or oftener to hold services and perform the rites. That went on for six years. Then Father Gibault occasionally came up from Kaskaskia and administered the sacraments. Father Gibault was the patriot who espoused the American cause. About 1772 a priest came to St. Louis to live. He was Father Valentin, a Capuchin friar. The book which he opened for a record was, to translate the original, "to inscribe the baptisms of the parish of St. Louis, country of the Illinois, Province of Louisiana, Bishopric of St. James of Cuba." Thus St. Louis, religiously speaking, was put on the map in 1772. Two years after he came, the parish had prospered to the extent that, in 1774, Father Valentin blessed a bell for church purposes. The first church was built a little later. The families who participated in the building of the church numbered seventy-eight. In 1776, about the middle of summer, the records shows that the church was completed. It stood a few feet east of the present site of the old



REV. DR. THOMAS M. FINNEY

THOMAS MORRISON



UNION PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Eleventh and Locust streets, in 1857

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Fifth and Walnut streets, before the war

cathedral. It was of posts planted upright, with overhanging roof, sixty feet long and thirty feet wide with a porch five feet wide.

Father Valentin referred to himself in his documents as "priest of the parish of St. Louis and its dependencies." There had not been much formality about the coming of Father Valentin. But in 1776, in May, a couple of months before the American Declaration of Independence, Father Bernard arrived with elaborate credentials to take charge. He was designated as "cure of the parochial church of St. Louis of the Illinois, post of Paincourt, with all rights and dependencies." Up to this time St. Louis had been recognized only as a missionary field. Now it was to become a regularly constituted parish. Father Bernard presented these credentials to Governor Cruzat, who witnessed them and filed them in the government archives of St. Louis. The front door of the church became the public place for proclamations of various kinds, for sales of property under official decree and for a variety of formal acts. At the church door were carried out certain sentences. There Baptiste Menard was compelled to stand at the close of devotions one Sunday and ask pardon of God, the king and Mrs. Petit for what he had "said of Mrs. Petit, maliciously and wrongfully, while under the influence of drink." Church and state were closely united while St. Louis was a colony. Father Bernard gave place to Father Ledru in 1789, and Father Didier came in 1793, planting an orchard which became one of the institutions of St. Louis a decade later. Father Janin succeeded Father Didier in 1800, The year before that the bishop at New Orleans wrote to St. Louis of the steps which were to be taken to reach the English and American settlers to convert all immigrants to the Catholic religion. The register from 1800 shows that besides the regularly stationed priests at St. Louis mentioned, missionary priests were coming from time to time and officiating in St. Louis. From the time of the American occupation, the records of the cathedral show entries by several priests. In 1811 Father Savine came and for half a dozen years was an influential member of the community.

The log church gave place to brick, a large structure located on Second and Walnut streets. The building of this brick church was begun in 1818 and the first service was held in it Christmas, 1819. It was time, for Father de Andreis left the record that the log church "was falling into ruins." At that time, in all of Upper Louisiana, the territory of Missouri, there were four priests and seven chapels. The brick church preceded the cathedral.

Church and state were closely united in the days of the Spanish governors of St. Louis. When it became necessary to fill a vacancy the bishop at New Orleans wrote to Governor Delassus, in November, 1799.

"Don Pedro Janin, priest of this parish, has been appointed rector in San Luis de Illinois on account of the death of Don Pedro Didier. I request you to kindly give him all the attention and assistance possible so that he can discharge the duties of this position to the best advantage and service of the Lord and King. He is a very good person and deserves the attention of everybody in public office as well as of yourself as commander. I hope you will attend to my request, praying that the Lord will keep you many years."

Governor Delassus received the priest and in due time replied to the bishop:

"To his Grace, the Bishop: The Father Don Pedro Janin has arrived here. And due to your recommendation I will do all in my power to favor him and I shall be pleased to serve him all I can, and I am sure I shall enjoy his company. I remain, asking your blessing and praying the Lord to keep you many years."

Liberality of the Spanish authority at St. Louis extended to religion as well as to government. When Americans came to settle in the village or in the surrounding country the Spanish governor informed them officially that the law required every resident to be "un bon catholique." Then he proceeded to put some very general questions as to spiritual opinions. He concluded by declaring the answers were satisfactory, and that the newcomers were evidently good catholics and could remain. It is not of record that otherwise desirable Americans were turned back from St. Louis because of their religious convictions. John Clark, a Scotchman, was the first Baptist preacher and probably the first Protestant preacher to hold services in the vicinity of St. Louis. He and a man named Talbot started the denomination in St. Louis county by immersing each other. Clark, for some years, lived on the Illinois side, crossed over by night near St. Louis and held his meetings. The Spanish governor waited until he thought the Baptist preacher had about completed his round of visits among the American Protestant families and then sent him word he must leave within three days or he would be imprisoned as the teaching of the Protestant faith was in violation of the Spanish laws. The Rev. John Clark would smile, hold a farewell service and go back to the Illinois side, to repeat his missionary trip a little later. The liberality of Governor Trudeau was put to a rather severe test when Abraham Musick called at government house and bodly asked for a permit to hold Baptist meetings in his house out in the county. The governor denied the petition and quoted the law. Then looking significantly at the sturdy Kentuckian, he added:

I mean you must not put a bell on your house and call it a church or suffer anybody to christen your children except the parish priest, but if your friends choose to meet in your house to sing, pray and talk about religion, you will not be molested, provided you continue, as of course you are, a good catholic.

The pioneer of Presbyterianism in St. Louis was a Connecticut man, Rev. Salmon Giddings. Appointed a missionary, he rode horseback 1,200 miles, in winter, arriving here in April, 1816. He organized the First Presbyterian church in St. Louis with nine members. As his chief means of support Mr. Giddings conducted a school for girls on Market street opposite the court house. The missionary spirit prompted him to go among the newcomers in the vicinity of St. Louis and to gather them into congregations. In this way he organized twelve Presbyterian churches. He got together in his school room a number of St. Louisans and organized a society to distribute Bibles. It is told of one of the churches Salmon Giddings organized that the pastor who was installed over it, Charles S. Robinson, a Massachusetts man, was at one time "entirely out of money and out of food for his family, but just when

his need was greatest he found a silver dollar inbedded in the earth, which sufficed for all his wants until a more permanent supply came."

The First Presbyterian church, on Fourteenth and Lucas place was dedicated in 1855, a funeral hymn was sung just after the sermon. In the midst of the singing the body of Rev. Salmon Giddings, who had died twenty-seven years previously, was carried in and deposited in a vault below the pulpit. The men who officiated as pallbearers were among the wealthiest and best known men of St. Louis. John O'Fallon and Jesse Lindell, were two of them.

When the nine pioneers organized the First Presbyterian church in November, 1817, they drew up and signed an agreement or covenant to watch over each other and to regulate their lives in a "spirit of Christian meekness," and to maintain the worship of God in their homes. Stephen Hempstead, sr., and Thomas Osborne where chosen leaders. Church building has always been linked with good citizenship in St. Louis. Business men have aided such enterprises on the broad principle that a city cannot have too many or too fine churches. The congregation worshipped in the room where Mr. Giddings carried on the school to support himself. When the time seemed favorable, financially, for the building of the First Presbyterian church in St. Louis, the little congregation had the substantial sympathy of the whole community. A public meeting was held to start the subscription paper. Alexander McNair, who became the first governor of Missouri, was the chairman of that meeting. Thomas H. Benton, afterwards the thirty years senator, was the secretary. When the paper was passed around Catholic business men put down their subscriptions freely. The largest contribution was $200, given by Matthew Kerr. In the class of $50 subscribers were three of the most prominent members of the old Cathedral parish. John Quincy Adams, who became President, sent a subscription of $25. The site for the church, the west side of Fourth street, near Washington avenue, was purchased for $327. When Salmon Giddings died 2,000 people, half of the population of St. Louis, attended the funeral.

The Second Baptist church became that number because the First Baptist church, after a struggle of fourteen years, disbanded. The first church organized in 1818, but assumed a financial burden too heavy for the membership. When John Mason Peck, from Connecticut, and James Eby Welch, from Kentucky, the missionaries, came to St. Louis in 1817, they could find only seven Baptists. They organized a church with eleven members. That year, 1818, this little Baptist flock began to build the first Protestant church in S. Louis, at Market and Third streets, about two blocks from the Catholic church, now the old Cathedral. The Baptists planned a building which should serve for worship, and bring in revenue. They called it a meeting house. The structure was of brick, was forty feet wide, sixty feet long and three stories high. It was never fully completed. About $6,000 was expended. Mr. Welch, the missionary, advanced $1,200 and John Jacoby, the treasurer, $600. St. Louis became a city, and widened Market street, cutting a slice of twelve feet off the side of the church. The Baptists claimed damages. The city replied that a church was not known in law, and that church trustees could not recover damages. About that time a hail storm broke all of the windows on the north side. The mayor wouldn't permit repairs because that side of the church had been condemned as public

property. The church was sold for $1,200, and the money was divided between Rev. Mr. Welch and the widow of Trustee Jacoby. The first church disbanded, and the members went into a new organization, which they called "the Second Baptist church of St. Louis," frankly saying that they wanted to make a fresh start without carrying the debts of the other organization.

George W. Ogden, a Quaker merchant of New Bedford, Massachusetts, visited St. Louis in 1821. He was greatly impressed with the site and its surroundings. He wrote: "For its beauty in point of location and healthfulness, it can scarcely be surpassed by any place in the world, and may justly be called 'the Great City of the West.' At this place they have five large, elegant new brick meeting houses of public worship, comprising the different denominations."

The existence of the diocese of St. Louis dates from July, 1826. But St. Louis was the residence of a bishop many years earlier. Louis William Valentine Dubourg was consecrated bishop of New Orleans in 1815. The ceremony took place in Rome. Almost immediately Bishop Dubourg asked to have the diocese divided and a new see of St. Louis created. The church documents of that day refer to St. Louis as situated variously in Upper Louisiana, Louisiana Superior and Alta Louisiana. Before action was taken on Bishop Dubourg's petition, the proposition was withdrawn. From New Orleans came the information, through church channels, that such a rebellious spirit prevailed among those in control of the cathedral of New Orleans, it would not be safe for Bishop Dubourg to take up his residence there. Investigation showed threats were being made "that the bishop would be shot in the streets of New Orleans if he dared set foot on its soil." In the church correspondence of that day New Orleans was referred to as "Vera Nova Babilonia,"—a new Babylon. In order that Bishop Dubourg might reside within his diocese, the proposition to make a see of St. Louis was withdrawn.

At Bordeaux, late in the fall of 1815, assembled the little party to accompany Bishop Dubourg to St. Louis. At the head of it was Rev. Joseph Rosati, who was chosen for the head of the seminary to be established. The authority to make Joseph Rosati vicar general was carried by Bishop Dubourg. Father Rosati was a native of Sora in Naples. He was educated in Rome, and when the time came for his ordination, the ceremony took place in secret, because Napoleon who had invaded Italy had forbidden ordinations by the Congregation of the Missions. In the party which set out from Bordeaux were four students preparing for the priesthood, three of whom became prominent in the Catholic life of St. Louis. They were Leo Deys, a Belgian, Francis Dahmen, a German; Castuc Gonzales, a Spaniard, and John Tichitoli, an Italian. Among other members of the party were French, Italians and Poles. At that early day the polyglot character of the population of the new religious field was recognized and provided for.

The party came by way of Baltimore. It was not deemed wise or safe to enter the Mississippi Valley by way of New Orleans. Crossing the mountains and coming down the Ohio, the party stopped at Bardstown. Bishop Dubourg arrived in the United States by way of Annapolis some months after the rest of the party had come west. As soon as it was known the bishop was in the country, Father Rosati came to St. Louis, to prepare for the reception of the

RT. REV. L. W. V. DUBOURG

RT. REV. JOSEPH ROSATI

REV. P. T. DE SMET, S. J.

BISHOP P. J. RYAN

ARCHBISHOP KENRICK

first Catholic bishop, who was to take up his residence here. Bishop Flaget, of Bardstown, accompanied Father Rosati. Bishop Dubourg was no stranger to New Orleans. He had gone from that city to Rome to be made a bishop. He had brothers who were business men in New Orleans. But the extensive property of the cathedral there had passed in to the hands of a corporation, three priests in charge of the cathedral had been suspended, and the excitement was very great. Not knowing how far the feeling might have spread, Bishop Dubourg did not come to the United States until inquiry had shown how he would be received in St. Louis. And when he did come, Rosati and Bishop Flaget came over in advance to be assured of a friendly reception for Bishop Dubourg. They found some opposition to the reception of the bishop, but it melted away quickly. Rosati was a man of wonderful tact and diplomacy.

Bishop Dubourg was a man of high culture. He brought to St. Louis, before the town organization had given place to the city, a library of 8,000 volumes. This collection was described "as the most complete, scientific and literary repertory of the western country, if not of the western world."

There is most excellent non-Catholic authority for the description of this first Catholic bishop to take residence in St. Louis, as "a man endowed at once with the elegance and politeness of the courtier; the piety and zeal of the Apostle and the learning of a Father of the Church."

In the first St. Louis directory, issued in 1821, was given this description of Catholic church as the result of Bishop Dubourg's efforts:

"The cathedral of St. Louis can boast of having no rival in the United States for the magnificence, the value and elegance of her sacred vases, ornaments and paintings, and indeed few churches in Europe possess anything superior to it. It is a truly delightful sight to an American of taste to find in one of the remotest towns of the Union a church decorated with the original paintings of Rubens, Raphael, Guido, Paul Veronese, and a number of others by the first modern masters of the Italian, French and Flemish schools. The ancient and precious gold embroideries which the St. Louis cathedral possesses would certainly decorate any museum in the world. All this is due to the liberality of the Catholics of Europe, who presented these rich articles to Bishop Dubourg on his last visit through France, Italy, Sicily and the Netherlands. Among the liberal benefactors could be named many princes and princesses, but we will only insert the names of Louis XVIII, the present king of France, and that of Baroness La Candale de Ghysegham, a Flemish lady, to whose munificence the cathedral is particularly indebted."

A record of great activity in the Catholic church began with the coming of Bishop Rosati to St. Louis. Here was a diocese with one bishop, three secular priests, five Lazarist fathers, one Jesuit, fourteen ecclesiastical students, five Jesuit scholastics and from 11,000 to 12,000 laity. Before the first year was out Bishop Rosati at the Cathedral in St. Louis consecrated a bishop, Michael Portier for Alabama and the Floridas. For assistants he had no neighboring bishops. He called in the chancellor of the little college of Jesuits, Father Quickenborne, and the venerable and lovable Father Donatianus Olivier. About this time Bishop Rosati ordained the first priest born in Missouri, Rev. Joseph Paquin. In March, 1827, Rosati was formally constituted first Bishop of St. Louis. The next year he ordained the first priest, who was a native St. Louisan, Francis Regis Loisel.

There were no bishops in Mexico who could give ordination. In 1829, Bishop Rosati began the ordination of priests for the dioceses of that country. Mexican candidates by the score for the priesthood visited Bishop Rosati. Ordination ceremonies in the cathedral were very frequent, beginning in 1829.

In his first report to Rome, on conditions as he found them on taking charge of the new diocese, in 1825, Bishop Rosati described St. Louis as "an important city, the most considerable of the whole state." He added:

French is spoken here by the old inhabitants; and English by the Americans and Irish who have established themselves here of late years. There is only one priest and there ought to be at least two more. There are some difficulties. During the time that Mgr. Dubourg resided here a subscription was made to build a church. The expenses were very great, and the funds were found wanting as soon as they were counted together. This was occasioned by various circumstances, which debilitated commerce, and diminished the number of new inhabitants who had subscribed. Four of the principal citizens, who had been elected as administrators of the building, were obliged to pay a debt of from $5,000 to $6,000 for which they had passed their bonds to the workmen. In order to reimburse themselves they have obtained from the legislature the authorization to sell the ground next to the church, together with the house which served for habitation of the bishop and priest. The bondsmen threaten to proceed to the sale if the money they have laid out is not paid back to them.

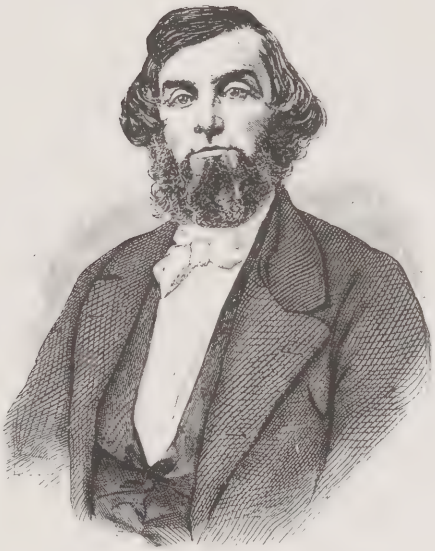
Those were pioneer days of things religious. In his report on the new diocese, Bishop Rosati spoke of "Viede Poche, Carondelet, having about 100 French families, all very poor. When there were more priests than one in St. Louis, one of them went to the village Saturdays and Sundays to hear confessions, to preach and to say mass. At the present it is vacant."

The see of St. Louis extended across the river and took in a number of parishes. One of these was Prairie du Rocher, of which Bishop Rosati reported: "There is a church and a priest. This is Rev. Father Olivier, a respectable old man of 75 years, almost blind, and unable to render any service to the parish. To him I have offered a room in the seminary. He is a saint, who has labored for many years in the service of all the Catholics in these regions."

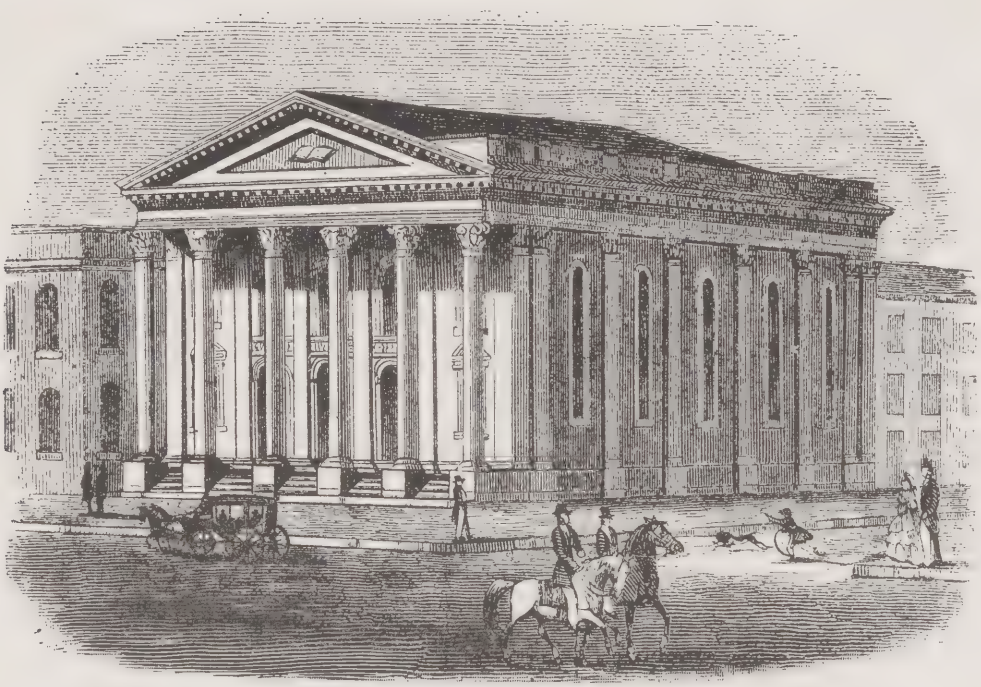
Five years after he had been elected bishop and three years after his consecration Bishop Rosati became by transfer the first bishop of the diocese of St. Louis. Not until 1827 did this occur. Even when the country west of the Mississippi was divided into two dioceses it was the plan of His Holiness Pope Leo XII that Rosati should be bishop of New Orleans, and that he should administer both dioceses for the time being. "Bishop Rosati did all in his power to be excused from accepting the diocese of New Orleans, and succeeded in haivng the decree rescinded." So reads the church record in manuscript. The church in St. Louis has reason to be grateful that Rosati stood so firmly by his attachment to this city. Dubourg had become oppressed and discouraged with conditions at New Orleans. He went to Europe in the summer of 1826, presented his resignation of the see of New Orleans, and it was accepted. Then Bishop Rosati was given the see of St. Louis, but he was commanded to continue to serve the diocese of New Orleans as administrator until the Holy See could provide otherwise. "Bishop of Teagre and Administrator of St. Louis and New Orleans" was the title borne at first by Bishop Rosati.

On the first of August, 1831, occurred an event which told of the work Rosati was doing. The corner stone of the new cathedral was laid on Walnut

REV. DR. M. McANALLY



REV. S. B. McPHEETERS



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
Tenth and Locust streets, 1860

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

street between Main and Second streets. This was the fourth Catholic church built on the lot, beginning with the house of posts erected in 1770. In 1833 Bishop Rosati gave their first resident priests to Chicago and Kansas City. The twenty-sixth of October, 1834, brought the consecration of the new cathedral of St. Louis. Two bishops came to participate in the ceremonies—Flaget from Bardstown and Purcell from Cincinnati. The second day afterwards occurred the consecration of the bishop of Vincennes, Simon Brute. The laying of corner stones for new Catholic churches was becoming frequent. Bishop Rosati that year laid the corner stone for Our Lady of Mt. Carmel in Carondelet. That same year of 1834 was memorable for another church event in St. Louis. Bishop Rosati recorded: "Rev. Lutz said mass in St. Mary's chapel for the Germans and preached in German to them, which in future will be done every Sunday."

The next year, 1835, Rosati began to keep the annual counts of the congregations. He sent to all of the priests instructions to prepare and forward at the end of the year a census of their congregations. The first census of the Catholic church in St. Louis showed 8,601 souls, 293 baptisms, 100 marriages, 97 funerals, 54 converts. Notable is the column of converts in these annual census reports of Bishop Rosati. There went on among the residents of St. Louis year after year the conversion of non-Catholics to Catholicism.

In 1829 the Episcopal people completed a neat building. They called it Christ church. The location was the corner of Third and Chestnut streets, where the Chamber of Commerce stands. This Christ church was the predecessor of Christ church cathedral on Thirteenth and Locust streets.

James Stuart, a Scotchman, who visited St. Louis in 1830, and who wrote a book after his return to his own country, said of the religious conditions at that time:

"I attended divine worship in the Presbyterian church on the day I reached St. Louis. Having asked the landlord of the inn which was the best church to go to, he at once replied, 'I go to no church but the Presbyterian minister is the rage.' The Presbyterian minister, Mr. Potts, delivered a very good sermon upon this text. 'The sting of sin is death,' in a very neatly seated church in the upper part of the town. It was a funeral sermon, in consequence of the death of Mr. Woods, an English gentleman from London, one of the elders or deacons of the church. In the afternoon I went into the meeting-house of people of color. They had one of themselves preaching sensibly, though it appeared he was not a man of much education. The sermon was, in great measure, composed of scriptural quotations, and was delivered impressively; but there was far less manifestation of excitement than in a church of people of color, which I afterward attended in New York."

Looking for the promised land, the Mormons came to St. Louis in 1831. Joseph Smith had founded the church in New York state and had moved to Kirtland, in Ohio. There he had a revelation that his apostles must go "speedily to the place which is called St. Louis." Traveling in long trains of "mover wagons" the Mormons crossed by ferry to the foot of Market street. Other bodies came by boat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, landing at St. Louis. Some found homes in St. Louis and established a church. The others, after resting, moved on to the western part of Missouri to try Independence, and Far West and later Nauvoo, in Illinois, before they found rest in Salt Lake City.

Latter Day Saints these St. Louis Mormons called themselves. They parted from the Salt Lake body, never accepting or practising polygamy. They were hard working, honest people, worshipping according to the dictates of their consciences. For a living their elder dug coal in and near what is now Forest Park. For a time after settling in St. Louis the Saints held service in a church on Third street; then they rented a church on Fourth street. The organization grew slowly in St. Louis as the years went by, until it numbered about 300. It built a church on Elliott avenue.

"Tell my brethren of the Pittsburg conference that I died at my post," is chiseled in the stone which marks a grave in the Wesleyan cemetery on the Olive street road. Three times the stone has been put in place. It quotes the dying message of Rev. Thomas Drummond, an Englishman, who came to St. Louis to take charge of the Methodist church on Fourth street and Washington avenue. A year after his coming Mr. Drummond faced the cholera epidemic of 1835. He was advised to leave the city but refused, and was stricken. From his deathbed he sent the message to the conference with which he had been first associated in this country. His body has been buried in three cemeteries, being moved as the city grew. From Twenty-third and Franklin avenue, it was taken to Grand and Laclede, and later to the cemetery on Olive street road.

Robert B. Fife, who was not a preacher but a student of the Bible and a religious man with a short and simple creed, brought together in Shepard's school opposite the court house, in 1837, a few people and started services for Christians. The meetings did not become regular until five years later. These Christians or Disciples of Christ grew strong in St. Louis. They formed a dozen churches, established an orphans' home and built up a vigorous publishing concern.

In the Second Baptist church of 1833 were represented the Cozzens, Stout, Orme, Kerr and other prominent families of St. Louis. The new organization proceeded slowly in the matter of another church structure. Meetings were held in the school house of Elihu H. Shepard on Fourth street opposite the court house. A lot on Morgan and Sixth was bought, but sold after a foundation had been laid. The Episcopal church on Third and Chestnut was for sale at $12,000, and the Baptists bought it. As early as 1839 the choir of the Second Baptist church had become so well known that it ventured upon "a grand sacred concert." The church had many pastors, Rev. John Mason Peck came over from his seminary at Rock Spring to preach during several periods. The congregation overflowed the edifice on Third street and built a $40,000 church at Sixth and Locust. An incident which was the talk of the whole city was the baptism of sixteen Hollanders by Dr. Peck, in 1849. These Hollanders had been Presbyterians. Foreign immigration to St. Louis was at its height when the Baptists received the Hollanders. J. B. Jeter, Galusha Anderson and A. H. Burlingham were among the divines of national reputation who held the pastorate of this church. In 1877 came to the Second Baptist church a pastor who was to remain and to enter into the life of the city—Rev. W. W. Boyd. A New Yorker by birth, he had gone into business life as superintendent of a cotton manufacturing plant in Maine. To do something for his operatives on Sunday, Superintendent Boyd reopened a little abandoned Baptist church in the village, carried

on a Sunday school for the children and read Spurgeon's sermons to the grown-ups. The effect upon the superintendent was more startling than upon the mill people. Mr. Boyd began to preach, went to Harvard to get more education, took special honors in philosophy, studied theology and was ordained to the ministry. Four years later he came to St. Louis to enter upon a pastorate of nearly one-third of a century. When Dr. Boyd came to St. Louis the Second Baptist church had moved westward to the site on Beaumont and Locust streets, selected by William M. McPherson, E. G. Obear, D. B. Gale, Thomas Pratt and Nathan Cole. Only the chapel had been completed. Under the inspiration of Dr. Boyd's eloquence, the main structure was completed at a cost of more than $250,000. That remained the home of the congregation until the removal to the new church on Kings Highway and Washington avenue in 1908.

In the decades between 1840 and 1860, one of the most popular authors with young folks was the Rev. Cicero Stephens Hawks, D. D., bishop of Missouri. He came of English and Irish ancestors, and was born at Newbern, North Carolina. He entered the ministry after a university education, and after the study of law in New York city. He came to St. Louis in 1843 to become rector of Christ church, and the next year was elected unanimously as bishop. Possibly that which most endeared the bishop to the St. Louis people of his generation was his heroic conduct during the Asiatic cholera epidemic. When others left the city for places of refuge Bishop Hawks remained and devoted himself to the care and consolation of the sick. His writings included several volumes of a series called "Uncle Phelps Conversations For the Young." He also wrote "Friday Christian." He was the editor of "The Boys' and Girls' Library," and of the "Library for Our Young Country Women." Two brothers of the bishop became very prominent ministers in the Episcopal church, one of them in New York City, the other in Georgia.

The beginning of St. George's Episcopal church was a sermon preached by Rev. Dr. E. Carter Hutchinson in the Benton school on Sixth street, near Locust.

Among the most entertaining and vigorous of St. Louis preachers was Rev. E. C. Hutchinson. He took for his text one Sunday morning: "David was a man after God's own heart." He described the career of David, his duel with Goliath and his other exploits wholly to his credit. It seemed as if the eloquent rector did not mean to refer to the discreditable event in his hero's career, but he did. Just before the close of the sermon the preacher said: "In the matter of Uriah, the Hittite David must stand on the same platform with other sinners."

The Rev. S. S. Gassaway, while rector of St. George's, was killed by the explosion of a boiler on the Alton packet, Kate Kearney, just as the boat was leaving the St. Louis levee.

The impressions which the religious life of St. Louis made upon Charles Dickens during his visit in 1842, he described in these notes:

The Roman Catholic religion, introduced here by the early French settlers, prevails extensively. Among the public institutions are a Jesuit college, a convent for "the ladies of the Sacred Heart," and a large church attached to the college, which was in course of erection at the time of my visit, and was intended to be consecrated on the 2nd of December in the present year. The organ will be sent from Belgium. In ad-

dition to these establishments there is a Roman Catholic cathedral, dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, and a hospital founded by the munificence of a deceased resident, who was a member of that church. It also sends missionaries from hence among the Indian tribes.

The Unitarian church is represented in this remote place, as in most other parts of America, by a gentleman of great worth and excellence. There are three free schools already erected and in full operation in this city. A fourth is building and will soon be opened.

The reference of Mr. Dickens in the second note was to Rev. William G. Eliot, who had a few years previously settled in St. Louis, and was even then giving vigorous attention to the subject of education.

The comprehensive character of the population of St. Louis found illustrations in the religious life of the community. Near Park avenue, in 1842, the Lazarists had an ecclesiastical seminary. At the head of it was Vicar General Joseph Paquin, born at Florissant, 1799, practically a native of St. Louis. The professors were two Spanish, one Italian and one German father. The teacher of Greek and Latin was an Irishman. The students were Irish, French, Italian and Americans. They received instruction in the modern languages from teachers familiar with those languages from early youth. In the recreation hour, after supper, Father Paquin encouraged the professors and students to tell their recollections of their respective countries and to sing the songs of the various nationalities, he leading with the French chansons of early St. Louis, taught him in his boyhood.

In April, 1840, a large proportion of the population went out into the suburbs to witness the laying of the corner stone of St. Xavier's Catholic church on Ninth and Green streets, now Lucas avenue.

Of kindliest character were the relations between Bishop Rosati and the clergy of the diocese of St. Louis. In 1840 the bishop went to Rome, expecting to return shortly. He was asked by the Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI., if he would not take the charge of Apostolic Delegate to Hayti to conclude a concordat between the Holy See and that country.

Bishop Rosati replied that he would not like to leave his diocese without the services of a bishop for so long a time, but that if His Holiness would give him a coadjutor to govern during the absence he would undertake to Haytian charge.

Thereupon the Pope said: "Well! My dear Lord, if you know any good priest whom you would wish for your coadjutor, just name him, and I will appoint him right away."

"Most Holy Father," said Bishop Rosati, "if I could get the Very Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick, the vicar general of the Right Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, coadjutor of the bishop of Philadelphia, I would be satisfied."

"Very well," said His Holiness, "you shall have him."

One less thorough going in his mental method than Bishop Rosati would perhaps have stopped with that. But the bishop of St. Louis was a man who left nothing uncertain. He said to the Pope: "Your Holiness! You had the kindness some time ago to appoint the Very Reverend John Timon, C. M., as my coadjutor but he refused the office, and if Very Reverend Peter Richard

REV. WILLIAM POTTS

From a daguerreotype taken in the '50s.

REV. ARTEMAS BULLARD,

Pastor of First Presbyterian Church, who was killed in the Gasconade Disaster

CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH,

Olive and Ninth Streets, before the war

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

Fourteenth and Lucas Place, in 1860

Kenrick would do the same thing, I would be frustrated, therefore, I beg of you to oblige him under obedience to take the office."

That the Pope acted on the suggestion was evident from a letter which Right Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick wrote from Philadelphia to Bishop Rosati. "The positive wishes of His Holiness have, I believe, secured my brother's full acquiescence."

Right Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick was consecrated Bishop in Philadelphia in 1841 by Bishop Rosati and came to St. Louis as coadjutor. Bishop Rosati went to Hayti, completed the diplomatic work, for which he was sent, with his usual painstaking care, went to Rome, was taken ill and died.

Many years afterward, when he had become the head of the church, Leo XIII said to a high representative of the Catholic church in St. Louis:

"I have known the first bishop of St. Louis. I traveled with him from Rome to Paris. When he was on his way to Hayti to conclude the concordat, I was on my way to Brussels as nuncio. I must say that I have never in my life met with a bishop whom I considered such a holy man and whom I found so full of respect towards the Holy Father."

When Rev. Artemas Bullard came to St. Louis to be pastor of the First Presbyterian church in 1838 he thought the place of worship was too far from the center of the city. The location was near Fourth street and Washington avenue, but most of the worshipers lived east or south of the church. When the new church was built, Dr. Bullard found conditions so changed that he advised a location at Fourteenth street and Luscas place. There was much opposition to the new site, many members claiming that this was a removal too far to the west. In its day the First Presbyterian church, on Fourteenth street and Lucas place was regarded as having a very handsome exterior, and it was commented upon favorably by many travelers. At that time there were few buildings in the vicinity and the church edifice stood out bold and strong in all of its architectural impressiveness. The First Presbyterian church regarded as colonies or offshoots, the Second Presbyterian church and the Third Presbyterian church and the Pine Street church, with which became identified for many years Dr. Niccolls, Dr. Post, Dr. Brookes and Dr. Rutherford.

The First Presbyterian church, the most costly up to that time, was completed about the middle of the decade 1850-1860. It was commonly called "Dr. Bullard's church," long after the beloved pastor met his death in the Gasconade disaster. Competition in church architecture, in those days, ran somewhat to spires. The First church had "the tallest steeple in St. Louis"—225 feet. When the western city limits was extended from Seventh to Eighteenth street, in 1841, there was strong opposition. The argument was that the population did not justify the enlargement; that streets were not opened. Thirteen years later, while people were still speaking of "the new limits," this, most costly of the churches, was built almost on the outer edge of the city.

Centenary Methodist church had a basement story wholly above ground. It was on Fifth and Pine streets, the southwest corner. Beside it was a parsonage.

Rev. Dr. D. R. McAnally came from Tennessee. He had preached in the south and had conducted a seminary a number of years before he came to St. Louis to be editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate and to conduct the Metho-

dist publishing house. Organizing a Methodist church in Carondelet, Dr. McAnally preached there seventeen years. No appointment was made by the conference, the church being left "to be supplied." In that way the rule of itineracy was avoided. There was a militant strain in Dr. McAnally. The editor sympathized with the south. He was arrested early in the Civil war and his paper was suppressed. In July, 1861, he was tried by court martial, but the verdict was never returned from Washington. The good doctor was put on parole, forbidden to leave St. Louis county. As a vigorous writer he was known and greatly admired by two generations of St. Louis Methodists. The office of the Christian Advocate was on Pine street next to the church. Dr. McAnally was the son of Charles McAnally, a Methodist minister. He began his life work in the pulpit when he was nineteen years old. The Methodist Book Concern of St. Louis was started with a capital of $1,800. Dr. McAnally built up the establishment until the books issued were in the hundreds of thousands. The business was equal to some of the larger establishments in the east.

John Hogan of the County Cork was favored with so few educational opportunities that when, an immigrant boy, he went to work for a shoemaker in Baltimore as an apprentice, the journeymen in the office taught him his letters. Self educated, this boy became a Methodist minister of reputation through the western country. He published a book called "Thoughts of St. Louis," which was so well appreciated by the business interests of the city that a service of silver was given to the author as a testimonial. Subsequently he was the author of a "History of Methodism in the West" and "The Resources of Missouri." There was a clearness of style and a freshness about his writings which made him very popular with readers in 1850-1860. The Dollar savings institution, on which was built the Exchange bank, was presided over for some time by John Hogan. In 1858 Mr. Hogan became, by appointment of President Buchanan, the postmaster of St. Louis. The wife of John Hogan was the daughter of Joseph B. Garnier of St. Louis.

Union Presbyterian church on Locust street was unlike any other church edifice in St. Louis. Architects of that period called it the "Lombardio style." There were two towers at the corners, one was 104 feet, the other 160 feet in height. This church was built by Henry D. Bacon, the banker. It cost him $70,000. The finest organ in the west was installed. When the building was ready for dedication, Mr. Bacon offered to deed the property to the trustees for $30,000, making his contribution $40,000. The offer was accepted. The $30,000 was subscribed in three days. The Union Presbyterian church was organized in 1850. The pastor was Rev. William Holmes, who became an editorial writer on the Missouri Democrat.

The church architecture of St. Louis, before the Civil war, was something of which the city could boast. The church of the Messiah, Dr. Eliot's, on Ninth and Olive, where the Century building stands, cost $100,000. It was of massive masonry. Seventy tons of iron were used in the metallic parts. The construction was not given out by contract, but was done under the direction of a committee. The spire, 167 feet high, was a model in proportions. The church, itself, was considered one of the most beautiful in the country.

St. Louis churches kept pace with the population, rapid as the growth was before the war. In 1830 the average number of residents, young and old, to the churches was 2,000. In 1854 there were sixty-five churches. The population was estimated to average 1,900 to the church, although the government census did not give that number of residents. The city was famed not only for the congregations but for the costly character of the church architecture. Business men responded with great liberality to all church calls. When Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot was fairly settled in his church he went among the members of his congregation and raised $60,000 for educational purposes.

The missionary activities first of Bishop Rosati and second of Archbishop Kenrick, from 1830 to 1860, are part of the history of St. Louis. See after see was created and the bishop to take charge was consecrated at St. Louis for the new field. Diocese after diocese was cut off from what had been the original diocese of St. Louis. From St. Louis priests went to the Indians far in advance of settlement. They were assigned to the posts of the fur traders. They camped with the lead miners. They traveled through the west finding and binding anew to the church the families of scattered Catholics. They went with the armies of railroad builders. And all of the time that the work went on in the field, parish after parish was organized, and church after church was blessed in the growing city of St. Louis. Rosati was a man of unlimited capacity for detail. Kenrick was as methodical as a clock. He had time for everything. Year in and year out he walked westward from the archbishop's house, taking his exercise so regularly that people on the route had a saying that it was safe to set the family clock by the archbishop's daily constitutional.

Out from the old Cathedral of St. Louis to become bishops or archbishops went Neckere (New Orleans), Timon (Buffalo), Lefevre (Detroit), Odin (New Orleans), Feehan (Chicago), Hennessy (Dubuque), Duggan (Chicago), Hogan (St. Joseph), Ryan (Philadelphia).

Italy and France had been represented in the bishop resident at St. Louis. Right Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick, who arrived in the winter of 1841-2, was of Dublin birth and education. In Maynooth Seminary he went through his higher studies. He was only thirty-six years old when he came to St. Louis as Bishop Kenrick. One year he had given to the priesthood in his native Dublin, and nine years he had passed in Philadelphia as president of the seminary, rector of the cathedral and vicar general to his brother, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick.

The year after his arrival Bishop Kenrick established and opened three parish churches in St. Louis. These were St. Francis Xavier's, St. Mary's and St. Aloysius. That year Chicago was made a see with Illinois for the diocese and at the same time Little Rock became a see. In 1845 Bishop Kenrick opened three more parish churches in St. Louis. These were St. Patrick's, St. Joseph's and St. Vincent's.

In July, 1847, by papal bull the diocese of St. Louis became an archdiocese, and Bishop Kenrick was appointed Archbishop of St. Louis. The spread of the Catholic church, under the management of the head at St. Louis justified the recognition. The census of that year showed 50,000 souls, notwithstanding the dioceses of Illinois and Arkansas had been created out of the diocese of St.

Louis. The missions and stations of that year were forty-two. In 1848, Pius IX. decreed that Archbishop Kenrick should be invested with the pallium. The ceremony was performed at Philadelphia by the elder brother, the archbishop of Philadelphia, who just fifteen years previously had sent to Dublin the money to pay the passage of the younger to this country.

Three more St. Louis parishes were added in 1849. They were Sts. Peter and Paul, Holy Trinity and St. Michael's.

Two years later another diocese was created and another bishop was consecrated at St. Louis—John Baptist Miege. The jurisdiction of the archdiocese of St. Louis was thereby confined to the state of Missouri. But the census showed 58,135 Catholics in the state. Of these 27,215 were in St. Louis.

In 1854 the Bohemians of St. Louis began to build a church. When this building, St. John of Nepomuk, was ready for occupancy the following year, the pastor, Rev. Henry Lipowski was able to say this was the first Catholic church for Bohemians built anywhere on earth outside of the kingdom of Bohemia.

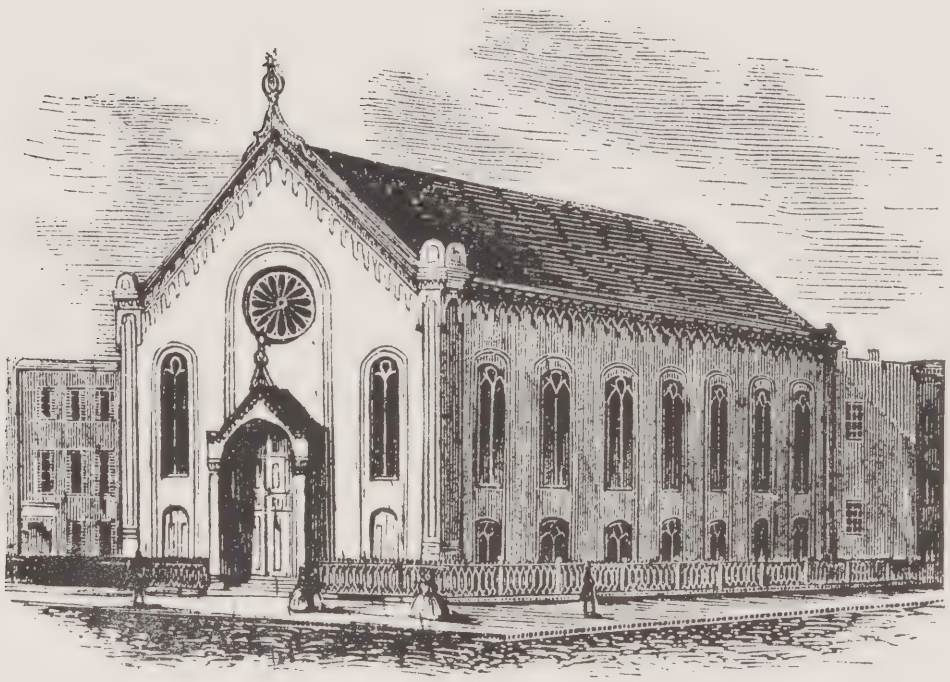
In 1859, Archbishop Kenrick laid the corner stone for the church of the Annunciation at Sixth and Lasalle streets. The parish priest was Patrick John Ryan, who, three years later was to become the spiritual adviser of the Confederate prisoners confined in Gratiot street prison; to become bishop and coadjutor to the archbishop in 1872, and to become, in 1884, archbishop of Philadelphia. St. Louis thus returned to the Quaker City the favor extended in the gift of Kenrick nearly forty years before. The year that Kenrick came as bishop to St. Louis, Ryan entered St. Patrick's College at Carlow in Ireland as an affiliated subject of the St. Louis bishop. When his education was completed he came direct to St. Louis, was ordained here to the priesthood and became rector of the Cathedral.

The association of Kenrick and Ryan for thirty years in St. Louis was extraordinary. Kenrick had marvelous capacity for organization and management. Ryan was philosophical and eloquent. One was the complement of the other. The relations were more than harmonious. Upon his bishop the archbishop leaned more and more. The Catholic church in the archdiocese of St. Louis prospered beyond comparison. The fame of Ryan, as a preacher and a lecturer, became national. Both of these men maintained the friendliest relations with and commanded the highest respect of the non-Catholics of St. Louis. When Archbishop Ryan was called to Philadelphia, St. Louisans, without regard to religious affiliations, tendered him a most notable farewell reception.

The spirit of church extension which prevailed among the Catholic clergy was exemplified in the case of Rev. James Henry, who became one of the best known and most respected clergymen of St. Louis. As a young man Father Henry was given authority to establish St. Lawrence O'Toole's parish and to build a church at O'Fallon and Fourteenth streets. He made a beginning. While the parish was growing and before it could afford a residence Father Henry slept in a nook of the basement. His bed was just below the bell tower. The bell rope was within reach of small boys. Many nights Father Henry got up to discover that the alarms of fire were false. In St. Lawrence O'Toole's

REV. JOHN HOGAN

BISHOP CICERO STEPHEN HAWKS



FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
South Eighth Street and Washington Avenue, in 1859

church an altar was built to the memory of Thomas B. Hudson, who marched to Mexico with the St. Louis troops.

A city of refuge for all creeds of religion as well as for all shades of political opinion St. Louis became early in its evolution as the typical American community. Here was freedom of political opinion. Here men worshipped according to the dictates of their conscience. One Sunday morning in March of 1839, good Bishop Kemper read in Christ church, then on Fifth and Chestnut streets this notice:

"A body of Lutherans, having been persecuted by the Saxon government because they believed it their duty to adhere to the doctrines inculcated by their great leader and contained in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, have arrived here with the intention of settling in this or one of the neighboring states, and having been deprived of the privilege of public worship for three months, they have earnestly and most respectfully requested the use of our church that they may again unite in all of the ordinances of our holy religion. I have, therefore, with the entire approbation of the vestry, granted the use of our church for this day from 2 p. m. until sunset to a denomination whose early members were highly esteemed by the English reformers, and with whom our glorious martyrs Cranmer, Ridley and others had much early intercourse."

That act of church hospitality was fraught with great consequences, material as well as spiritual, to St. Louis. It added to St. Louis one of the most desirable elements of population. It made this city not only nationally but internationally the capital of a powerful religious organization. A college, a theological seminary, a publishing house, a hospital were established.

The steamboats Rienzi, Clyde, Knickerbocker and Selma on their first trips up from New Orleans that spring of 1839 brought 700 Lutherans. The head of the party was Martin Stephan, who had been a preacher at Dresden. On the journey these Lutherans, who held tenaciously to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, named Stephan as their bishop. They had, under his leadership, gone back to Lutheranism as Martin Luther taught it. These people brought with them personal effects and $120,000. They intended to buy land and to found colonies of their own. Part of them went on to Perry county, purchased nearly 5,000 acres and established settlements. The others, who remained in St. Louis, continued to worship for three years in Christ church, the vestrymen of which extended the privilege.

Bishop Martin Stephan had not the self control to withstand the temptation of his position. He fell into evil ways, was tried and expelled from the church. For a time it seemed as if the movement would end in disorganization.

Among those who had come out to establish this old faith in a new country were two young preachers—Otto Hermann Walther and Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. They were sons of a Lutheran pastor in Saxony, highly educated. They had studied and prayed their way to what they believed to be sound Lutheranism. Otto Hermann Walther was the pastor of the congregation which worshipped in Christ church and which became Trinity, the first German Lutheran church in St. Louis.

In their distress and demoralization following the downfall of Bishop Stephan, the Lutherans turned to Ferdinand Walther. The young preacher was less than thirty years of age. He accepted the leadership. He restored material order, but more than that he led the sorely tried colonists back to their

spiritual ideals. Hermann Walther died. Ferdinand Walther succeeded him here as pastor of Trinity. St. Louis became the center of Lutheran teaching and Lutheran influence. For forty-eight years Ferdinand Walther was the dominant figure in the movement. He had been ordained only the year before he joined the colony and left Saxony. When the end of his work came in 1887, he was seventy-six years of age. Church after church of the Lutheran faith was organized in St. Louis, until they numbered nearly a score. Concordia college grew from its humble beginning in 1850 into one of the great educational institutions of the city.

As early as 1844 the St. Louis Lutherans supported Walther in making their movement more than local. The Lutheraner was published semi-monthly. It called upon Lutherans everywhere in the United States to come back to the old faith. Lutherans had been coming to this country long before the colony reached St. Louis. They were numerous in New York and Pennsylvania and North Carolina. They had spread into Ohio and Tennessee, Indiana and Illinois. But they had adopted much doctrine which, in the opinion of Walther and his St. Louis following, was not sound. Die Lutheraner's appeals aroused great interest east of the Mississippi. Much correspondence followed. There were meetings and conferences. In 1847, at Chicago was organized a Lutheran synod with a constitution drafted by Walther and with the St. Louis theologian as president. It embraced many of the eastern Lutherans. Walther came back to St. Louis and entered upon his great career as a teacher of pure Lutheran theology. He prepared hundreds of pastors for churches. His theology went direct to the Bible for substantiation. The leader of orthodox Lutheranism had many controversies with other Lutherans. He courted these discussions. Upon his suggestion, the Lutheran bodies of the United States held free conferences to discuss their doctrinal differences. And after every one of these conferences Lutherans got nearer together and Ferdinand Walther was more a leader of Lutheran thought than before. He went to Europe to present his views. He edited Lutheran periodicals which obtained wide circulation. The Lutheran publishing house in St. Louis became a far famed institution.

Ferdinand Walther was an ardent lover of music all of his life. He was a man of humor, which he masked with a serious face. He wrote his sermons and committed them to memory so that he spoke without manuscript before him. He was an orator of national fame. Lutheran churches of St. Louis with but few exceptions have attached to them parochial schools, in which the children of Lutherans are educated. Square miles of South St. Louis and North St. Louis are occupied almost exclusively by these Lutherans. As a class they are home owners and well to do people.

An English Evangelical Lutheran church was organized in 1867 with Rev. Dr. M. Rhodes as pastor, developing into one of the strong religious organizations of St. Louis.

When Daniel Sylvester Tuttle was, in 1866, elected bishop of Montana, with jurisdiction over Idaho and Utah, he was compelled to confess to the committee sent to notify him that he was only twenty-nine years old. The church law required a candidate to be thirty years old. Bishops Potter and Whitehouse were the committee. They had picked out Mr. Tuttle,

a man of stalwart frame as peculiarly well fitted for such missionary field as the three frontier territories offered at that day. They were not willing to relinquish their plan. So they said to Mr. Tuttle, "My brother go home to Morris to your work, continue in it quietly and steadily till after January 26, 1867, when you will be thirty years old. After that you will doubtless receive from the presiding bishop information to guide you in your next step." Thus it came about that in 1867, with a little missionary band, Bishop Tuttle started for Montana, within the bounds of which no Episcopal clergyman had set foot up to that time. The bishop rode across the plains on a stagecoach, every man carrying a rifle and a revolver for protection against Indians. The first thing he did on reaching Salt Lake was to call upon Brigham Young, telling him for what he had come. Ten days afterwards, the bishop confirmed eleven persons. He went on to Montana and lived in a log cabin in the mining town of Virginia City. That year a telegram came to the bishop in his cabin from Rev. Montgomery Schuyler of St. Louis, reading: "Elected bishop of Missouri at Kirkwood, May 29th, on first ballot." Bishop Tuttle sent back his declination. His sole companion in the cabin at Virginia City was his cat "Dick." Nineteen years later a second telegram from Dr. Schuyler found Bishop Tuttle in a mining camp of Utah and notified him that for the second time he had been elected bishop of Missouri. This time acceptance was sent. Bishop Tuttle came to St. Louis in 1886.

Religious journalism in the west owed a great deal to Rev. John W. Allen, of Ohio birth, who came to St. Louis in 1873. Mr. Allen founded the St. Louis Evangelist, which became the Mid-Continent. He was in charge of the missionary work of the Presbyterians many years.

John Calvin Learned, a scholarly man, a student all of his life, served the Church of the Unity a quarter of a century. He was born in Dublin, New Hampshire. His influence was not confined to the pulpit. He taught ethics and political economy in Washington University and developed one of the strong literary organizations of St. Louis—the Unity Club.

Rev. Dr. James Wilderman Lee was born on a Georgia farm and educated in a Methodist college of his native State. His "Footprints of the Man of Galilee" and his "Romance of Palestine" gave him high standing in religious literature.

Three of the greatest of American sees have drawn archbishops from the clergy of St. Louis. At the Vatican they sometimes speak of St. Louis as "the Rome of America." Not less to priests than to bishops and archbishops does the city owe. Priests like Henry, McCaffery, Walsh stood for education and for morality in great sections of the city as well as for religious teaching. The crusade of Coffey against the wine-room was an act of best citizenship. Ziegler's sturdy and unyielding battle to save his parish from invasion by the red light won the admiration of all good people. When the high prelates came from other cities and countries to attend the corner stone laying of the new cathedral in 1908, they marveled at the work of Father Dunne among newsboys and of Father Dempsey among homeless men.

These are the years of our Lord, in St. Louis. Along Lindell, Kings Highway, Delmar and Union, the citizen walks and marvels. Dome, tower, column

and chimes give continuous impression. Such a period of church building the city has never before known. Possibly the first decade of the century will show greater expenditure for church construction in St. Louis than all of the 136 years preceding. This interesting and notable part of the building of St. Louis is not confined to any creed. Every denomination can point to a new house of worship, admirable in architecture, modern in appointments, a credit to the city.

In 1906-08 the Catholics of St. Louis completed or started construction on twelve new churches in St. Louis. In 1908 they had four large churches under construction,—Visitation, Holy Ghost, St. Henry and St. Bernard. But the great contribution to the church architecture of the city, that in which the whole community had an interest was the cathedral, with its foundation walls above ground and awaiting the cornerstone of Missouri granite. It is no detraction from the reverence and religious fervor of the Catholic, that the St. Louisan forecasts with civic pride the completion of a cathedral which will surpass any other in the country. And by the same sign it is none the less a fitting subject for civic pride that this monumental creation of the architect and the artist had as its inspiration the religious motive.

The sun sent slanting rays through banks of clouds into the faces of an army with banners marching out Lindell avenue on Sunday, the 18th of October, 1908. Pageants of different kinds St. Louis had seen, but never before one like that. Of military and of civic demonstrations there had been many. But now moved with the precision and array of an army the men of the Catholic churches. This mighty host gave new meaning to the 79 parishes of the city.

East and west of Newstead avenue spread a mass of humanity which crowded sidewalks and lawns, and encroached upon the broad asphalt until only by strenuous effort of the police was a pathway kept open for the moving column. Above the heads of the marchers and spectators, hung from the long arm of a great crane a massive block of granite with the words "Christo Victori." Over the foundations of the new cathedral, tier above tier, sat the hundreds of frocked priests and seminarians. In front were grouped about the Apostolic Delegate, Diomede Falconio, most reverend archbishops and the right reverend bishops, in their purple robes. A full head above the other dignitaries, erect of figure, his face alight with the spirit of the event, stood the young metropolitan of St. Louis, John J. Glennon.

A striking feature in the celebration of the laying of the corner stone was the interest shown by the entire community. Lindell boulevard, the great residence, church and club avenue of the city of St. Louis, from Grand avenue to Kings Highway, a distance of nearly two miles, was filled with waving colors. In response to the invitation of the central committee having charge of the celebration the residents and the institutions on the avenue almost without exception hung out the American flag. The request of the committee was that the colors of the country be displayed. Directly opposite the scene of the ceremony, American flags festooned the windows of the Lindell Avenue Methodist church.

Among the seated guests upon the stand overlooking the corner stone were men of all religious beliefs, responsive by their presence to the general

REV. P. G. ROBERT

REV. DR. JOSEPH BOYLE

SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH,
Sixth and Locust Streets, Before the War.

CENTENARY METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Fifth and Pine Streets, in 1859. Dr. McAnally's Christian Advocate Office on Pine Street

sentiment that the whole city had a living sympathetic interest and pride in the ceremony.

Nearly, if not quite one-half of the population of the city of St. Louis is Roman Catholic. This population is divided into seventy-nine parishes, all of which participated as units in the parade of the 18th of October, making the largest demonstration in number ever seen in the city of St. Louis and one of the largest in the history of the country. Besides numbers the procession was of extraordinary character in the nationalities represented. There were:

Forty-four American parishes.
Twenty-one German parishes.
Four Polish parishes.
One Slavak parish.
One colored parish.
One Croatian parish.
One Syro-Maronite parish.
Three Italian parishes.
Two Bohemian parishes.
One Greek-Ruthenien parish.

The rule adopted for the order of the procession in honor of the laying of the corner stone of the cathedral gave the parishes position according to the dates of the original formation. This brought to the head of the column the first Catholic parish organization in St. Louis in 1770. The Old Cathedral parish, as it is known, had been in continuous existence 138 years. It was organized six years after Laclede founded the settlement of St. Louis.

The Latin, cut deep into the geological formation which is the foundation of all terrestrial, dedicates the building to the Savior and in the same sentence honors the city. The sentiment is reverent and patriotic. It is happily framed. When the archbishop approached the matter of the inscription, he thought much about what sentiment should be embraced in it. To well known Latin scholars he sent out his request for counsel. He told them that the words should be few, that they should impress primarily the religious character of the edifice, the consecration to the Catholic faith. And then he added that recognition of the patron and of the city should be included. And finally the archbishop desired that the participation of the entire diocese in the building of this Cathedral should be given imperishable tribute.

The Benedictines are famous for their learning and skill in the cryptogram. They were asked to suggest a form of inscription. The archbishop did not stop with the Latinists of the United States. He gave some of the scholars of Europe opportunity to compete. A St. Louis priest supplied the text which, with slight alteration, was decided to express best the sentiments. He used fewer than forty words, most of them very short. In the Latin, St. Louis becomes "S. Ludovici."

The translation, following closely the concise Latin is:

"To Christ the victor, and in honor of St. Louis, King of France, patron of the bounteous city and archdiocese, this stone, inaugural of the metropoli-

tan church, erected by the bounty of the faithful of the whole diocese, was placed on October 18, by the Most Reverend Delegate of the Holy See."

The inscription was the composition of Rev. F. G. Holweck, rector of St. Francis de Sales church on the Gravois road in the southern part of the city. Father Holweck is one of the foremost classical scholars in the country. He is the censor liborum of this archdiocese. Catholic books intended for publication here are submitted in manuscript to him because of his ability to detect errors. Out of all of the forms suggested for this corner stone, Rector Holweck's expressed most perfectly the sentiments the archbishop desired.

The parade of the parishes preceded the laying of the corner stone. When the head of the column led by the grand marshal, Amedee Valle Reyburn, a descendant of one of the oldest families of St. Louis, reached the site of the new cathedral, it was met by a procession of prelates and priests, the most notable ever seen in the Mississippi valley. The Apostolic Delegate, Most Rev. Diomede Falconio, was escorted by the seven archbishops, thirty bishops and seven hundred priests from the Sacred Heart Convent, on Maryland avenue, to the site of the cathedral, arriving there just as the procession of the parishes came marching up from the other direction.

The procession of the parishes was three hours in passing the reviewing stand upon which the distinguished prelates took their positions. When the procession of the parishes had filed by, the laying and blessing of the corner stone took place in accordance with the usual forms of the Catholic church. It was preceded by the blessing of a great cross which had been erected for the occasion. After the lessing of the cross came the blessing of the foundation of the new structure, and then the procession of prelates and priests marched back to the stone which was first blessed and then placed by the Apostolic Delegate. The ceremony concluded with the drawing of the cross by the trowel upon the side of the corner stone.

The Catholics of St. Louis had been preparing for this work of building a grand cathedral a generation or more. Archbishop Kenrick, during his lifetime, conceived and made some preliminary plans looking to a cathedral. The late Archbishop Kain, who succeeded Archbishop Kenrick, also devoted attention to the project and started the fund for it. It remained, however, for the present archbishop of St. Louis, Most Rev. John J. Glennon, to take up preliminaries and to bring the project to the actual construction. Archbishop Glennon was made Coadjutor Bishop of St. Louis under Archbishop Kain's administration during 1903, and the same year, on the death of Archbishop Kain, Bishop Glennon became archbishop of St. Louis, being the youngest prelate of that rank in the country.

It was well that the movement progressed slowly. An earlier beginning might have been a mistake as to location. On the 28th of April, 1871, was taken the formal step for the cathedral, the corner stone of which was laid October 18, 1908. Archbishop Kenrick, Bishop Ryan and Vicar-General Muehlsiepen were at the head of the movement. The men of means of that day who participated in the incorporation of the St. Louis Cathedral Building association were James H. Lucas, Henry S. Turner, Joseph O'Neil, John Withnell,

Nicholas Schaeffer, H. J. Spaunhorst, J. B. Ghio, Bernhard Crickhard, Julius S. Walsh, John Byrne, Jr., Bernard Slevin, Charles P. Chouteau, Charles Slevin, James Maguire, Joseph Garneau. The site tentatively selected was the block bounded by Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets, Pine and Chestnut streets, now largely occupied by light manufacturing establishments.

The cathedral of St. Louis will be longer, wider and higher than the Westminster of London. Definite time for the completion of this cathedral has not been set. The archbishop of St. Louis, Most Rev. John J. Glennon, lifted the first spade of soil on the first day of May, 1907. Eighteen months brought the builders to the ceremony of corner stone laying. Not before 1815, probably, will the cathedral be ready for occupancy.

For the cathedral of St. Louis has been chosen the Byzantine style of architecture. This means an exterior impressive for its magnitude, its strength, its simplicity. It also means an interior of almost limitless opportunity for sacred art, for mosaics, for statuary. The interior is so planned that the preacher delivering a sermon can look into three thousand faces.

Sunday observance has been repeatedly an issue to which St. Louis newspapers have given attention. The Whig party in St. Louis went to pieces and the Native American idea became popular about 1846. A Sunday law was passed by the common council. The city government was under control of the Native American party. The new law prohibited the running of omnibuses "on Sunday after the hour of 2 o'clock in the afternoon for the purpose of carrying passengers from point to point." This ordinance applied to any "omnibus or vehicle capable of containing more than four persons." The ordinance upon omnibus service was denounced editorially. The Missouri Republican said:

> The above is a fair speciment of the legislation of the native American city council. The distinction drawn between the morning and evening of Sunday, making an act lawful if done before 2 p. m. and unlawful if done after that hour, the distinction between carriages that will hold four and those that will hold five persons, the allowing the rich and prodigal who can own or hire a carriage an unbounded latitude to ride and drive through the streets at all hours, while the laboring and less prodigal must not enjoy a ride, although it only costs a dime, is worthy of the enlightened age and spirit of the board that can sanction it.

Mayor O. D. Filley was elected by the Free Soil party shortly before the war. In August, 1859, the people of St. Louis voted, 7,544 to 5,543, against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The Missouri Republican, commenting on the result, said:

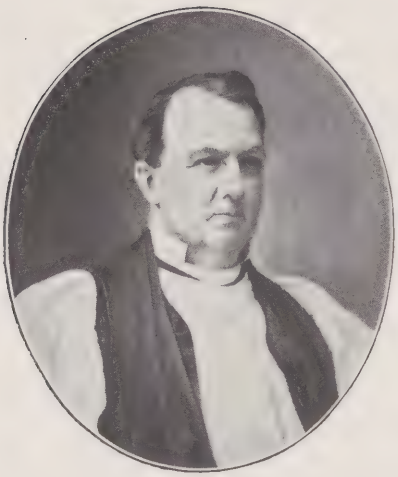
> The triumphant vote by which the people of St. Louis declared their opposition to the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday is a matter of sincere congratulation to all our best citizens. It was not a party vote; it had nothing to do with party, but was the free declaration of mind of all parties and nationalities against the excesses which have been superinduced by a special law of the Legislature passed two years ago in effect giving unlimited license in the absence of a proper police to these houses being kept open on Sunday * * * * Not only the beer gardens in the suburbs, to which men retire as a place of pleasure and relaxation—on Sunday, but all the beer saloons and dancehouses and five or six theaters have been opened on Sunday night on every prominent street in the city. This is the evil that is mainly complained of by our citizens.

In defiance of the vote against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, the common council passed an ordinance legalizing the keeping open of saloons on Sunday until 9 o'clock in the morning and after 3 o'clock in the afternoon. This action was severely condemned by the newspapers. It was rebuked in a ringing message by Mayor Filley.

The nearest approach to a religious riot in St. Louis occurred in 1844, at Ninth street and Washington avenue. The Native American movement had reached large proportions. It had in some parts of the country taken the form of mob violence against Catholic institutions. It gained considerable strength in St. Louis, but did not assume the phase of religious intolerance, being directed against foreign immigration on political grounds mainly. Philadelphia was disgraced by the sacking of churches and by bloodshed. Several other American cities passed through periods of serious disturbance. What occurred in this city is given upon high Catholic authority, the language being that of a member of the clergy who was in St. Louis at the time:

It so happened that the Jesuits had already built a fine church of St. Xavier, and near it was their house of residence and a splendid college then chartered as a state university, to which a college of medicine had been annexed. To the latter was attached a dissecting house, and owing to some shameful neglect on the part of the professors or students of medicine, human remains were left exposed in the yard adjoining and seen through interstices of the wooden partition separating it from the public street. Soon a crowd collected, and then imaginations or passions became strongly excited. Wild rumors spread abroad that all the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition were being renewed in St. Louis by the Jesuits, that men and women had been tortured and put to death. Cries were raised in the streets and the mob began to arm for an onslaught on the college. At this moment the brave Judge Bryan Mullanphy, and another brave Irishman named John Conran collected a posse of Catholics and friendly Protestant citizens armed with rifles. The American, Irish and German Catholics assembled in great force around the Jesuits' college, prepared to defend it if necessary, even to the last extremity. The opposing bands met and determined upon a desperate struggle. However, Judge Mullanphy went boldly forward and asked to be heard by the opposing mob, then sending forth wild yells and imprecations. Having obtained a hearing with great difficulty, and speaking with the coolness and deliberation his true courage and sense of duty inspired, the judge gave a correct and brief explanation of the case, and he declared that every effort should be made to detect and punish the delinquents, who had offered such an outrage to public decency and to common humanity. The mob finally dispersed, and with them the party of defenders. Terrible rumors prevailed all that day in St. Louis, that our Catholic churches and houses would be burned or wrecked. Some faithful and brave Irishmen had armed for defense of our seminary, and contrived to let us know through the chinks of our planked enclosure that we were in some danger of attack. It was only on the day following, we learned all of the particulars of excitement that had taken place in the city. When the daily papers had published the details, popular indignation was quelled. Only the natural expression of wounded feeling found vent in the various journals.

In the fall of 1850 came Father Matthew, the Irish apostle of temperance. There had already been organized in St. Louis a Catholic Total Abstinence society. The zealous president of it was Rev. John T. Higgenbotham, to whom Father Matthew had administered the pledge in St. John's college, Waterford. Father Matthew was made a guest of Archbishop Kenrick and began his work in St. Louis. He preached in the principal churches. He delivered addresses from platforms in public places. Following his sermons and his speeches, Father Matthew administered personally the pledge to all who came forward



BISHOP C. F. ROBERTSON

THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL

CHRIST CHURCH,
Thirteenth and Locust streets, as it appeared in 1860

ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
Seventeenth and Olive streets, before the war

to take it. The occasion was made as impressive as possible. Every day the Apostle as he was commonly called received in the parlor at the archbishop's house. He had two secretaries. His callers included all classes from merchants to roustabouts. One day a gigantic riverman staggered into the reception room, stretched himself out on the archbishop's sofa and dropped into a drunken slumber. One of the priests suggested to Father Matthew that the visitor was hardly a promising subject for his effort.

"My dear," replied the Apostle, in his mild serious manner, "I am quite sure he will take the pledge so soon as he awakes and comes to consciousness, for he will then be sober and ashamed of his past course of life when I speak to him."

He would not permit the drunken man to be disturbed. Father Matthew continued his temperance work in St. Louis until the beginning of winter. His doings were reported at length in the papers. When the Apostle left St. Louis he was escorted to the boat by thousands of "total abstainers."

Two notable events of philanthropic character distinguished the year 1847. From across the water came reports that Ireland and Scotland had sustained almost total failure of crops. It was said that hundreds had died for want of proper nourishment and that thousands more would perish unless relief reached them. St. Louis acted promptly. The friends of Ireland met, with Colonel John O'Fallon presiding. They chose a citizens' committee and obtained contributions in money and food. About the same time citizens of St. Louis who were of Scottish descent, organized under the leadership of Kenneth McKenzie, the fur trader. They raised a considerable sum of money, which was forwarded to Scotland.

From conversions of non-Catholics, the Catholic church gained strength in St. Louis before the war. As early as 1848 Archbishop Kenrick began a notable undertaking. He had public announcement made that during Lent he would deliver evening lectures. His subjects were such as Evidences of Christianity, Divine Revelation, Mysteries of Religion, Doctrines of the Church, Ritual Observances and so on through an elaborate course of information on the Catholic faith. About the same time that the archbishop announced his lectures, a Catholic newspaper called the St. Louis Newsletter was started. Father O'Hanlon was made the editor. The Newsletter was published weekly and it made a feature of the archbishop's lectures. Not only was the public given to understand that the lecture course would be open to anybody who chose to come but a special effort was made to show non-Catholics that they were welcome. Owners of pews threw them open to all comers. It soon became apparent that a considerable proportion of the attendants upon these lectures were non-Catholics. The cathedral was thronged, the attendance including some of the most prominent people in the city. The editor of the Newsletter of 1848 has left a record of this religious awakening in St. Louis:

> It was scarcely possible to understand how the archbishop could find a moment's time to prepare and arrange the heads of these discourses, much less to deliver them in that orderly and logical manner in which they were molded; but they were indeed most instructive to the priests, as to the laity present, for while each lecture evinced a profound knowledge of the subject, it was enforced by reasoning and illustrations which carried conviction to the minds of all dispassionate hearers. I found that the archbishop

was accustomed to jot down on a small sheet of paper the divisions of his sermon for each evening, while he trusted to a well stored memory for the abundant matter his theological erudition had gleaned, and a measured fluency and accuracy of language came to his aid without any apparent effort. I was fortunate to procure these notes after they had been used, and soon the archbishop undertook to revise my reports, before they were sent to the printer. I have reason to know these resumes served a very useful purpose and they formed a feature of the Newsletter which was particularly interesting to all its readers. The result of this course of instruction was to bring an additional number of non-Catholic visitors to the cathedral. As their interest and spirit of inquiry grew, many of them desired interviews with the archbishop to receive further explanations and instruction. Several well-disposed and distinguished persons were thus prepared for admission to the church. Whether conditionally or unconditionally administered, baptism was received by many, and afterwards these became practical and fervent Catholics. Not alone the archbishop but several of his priests engaged in the duty of catechising and receiving converts of the greatest respectability and of a thoughtful intelligent class. As in the Apostolic time, the Lord daily added to His church those who were to be saved. So St. Louis began to acquire a distinction for Catholicity.

Archbishop Kenrick gave a great deal of attention to the Newsletter. He not only contributed articles but advised as to editorial policy. He counseled that while in its main feature it should be distinctively a Catholic newspaper, yet it should maintain a high literary character through essays, reviews and especially in well selected reprint. He used to recommend the use of scissors and paste pot, saying to the editor, "Selected sense is much better than original nonsense."

Thirty years after Archbishop Kenrick had inaugurated and carried out a policy, if that word may be used, of interesting and impressing non-Catholics, another great preacher with remarkable power for awakening religious thought came forward in the Catholic church of St. Louis. It is told of Patrick John Ryan that when he was thirteen years old, in Naughton's school in the parish of Rathmines, he was chosen as the spokesman to deliver a special address to Daniel O'Connell, imprisoned in 1844 at Richmond, Bridewell. The boy was the born orator. He had a taste for literary effort. His schoolmates selected him to prepare the address and read it to the patriot.

Father Ryan was only a deacon when with a determination to become a missionary priest in America, he reached St. Louis toward the close of 1852 and was sent to Carondelet. With him came Patrick A. Feehan, who became bishop of Nashville and afterwards archbishop of Chicago. The two young deacons were sent to the seminary to remain until of age for ordination to the priesthood. Father Ryan became a bishop in 1872 but long before that he was famed for his eloquence. After his ordination in 1854, he was attached to the cathedral. He became best known as pastor of St. John's, where for twenty years he preached regularly, his sermons drawing non-Catholics in large numbers. It became the custom with strangers in the city over Sunday to attend St. John's on Sixteenth and Chestnut to hear a sermon by Father Ryan.

Father Tom Burke, the Dominican of international fame as an orator, came to St. Louis between 1870 and 1880 and remained some time. He was on a lecture tour of the United States. While he was here Father Tom, for that everybody called him, heard Bishop Ryan then but recently consecrated. There was no jealousy of Father Ryan; the humility of the man forbade it,

but intense admiration for his power as a speaker. The St. Louis priests asked Father Tom what he thought of their pulpit orator.

"Well, in good truth," replied Father Burke, "when I heard Lacordaire in Paris, I thought the whole church could not produce his equal, but now that I have heard your good and great assistant bishop, I do not hesitate to say that as a pulpit orator he immeasurably surpasses that celebrated preacher of our order."

After the manifold duties of bishop made it impossible to preach weekly at St. John's, Father Ryan adopted the custom of occupying the pulpit on the first Sunday of the month, unless he was too far away to get home. "Bishop Ryan's Sunday" obtained a fixed place on the religious calendar of St. Louis. On those Sundays St. John's was uncomfortably crowded.

The outside calls upon Bishop Ryan grew numerous and pressing. By invitation, the eloquent prelate preached twice before the Missouri legislature. He was very obliging. Twice he went to Columbia to address the students of the University of Missouri. The Sanctity of the Church and Modern Skepticism were two subjects upon which Bishop Ryan preached or lectured in the leading cities of the country. The last traced popular opinion through various phases with deductions in favor of Catholicism. In 1882, Bishop Ryan delivered one of the most notable of his many lectures before an audience which filled Mercantile Library hall. It was explanatory and conciliatory, calculated to win consideration of the principles of Catholicism. The audience included several pastors of Protestant churches.

From the days of his student life, Father Ryan had a liking for the press. He wrote much for periodicals when other duties permitted. Out of Father Ryan's eloquent preaching and the interest it aroused in Catholicism, developed one of the most notable features in the history of St. Louis journalism. Joseph B. McCullagh, editor of the Globe-Democrat, printed in full one of the bishop's addresses. Bishop Ryan had two kinds of sermons, the dogmatic and the moral. Mr. McCullagh selected a dogmatic discourse, one that brought out the salient and distinctive qualities of the Catholic faith. Then he opened the columns of the paper to all creeds. For months "The Great Controversy" was carried on in the Globe-Democrat, filling in the aggregate some hundreds of columns.

Archbishop Kenrick rarely spoke of his experiences. He led in the missionary work which made Catholicism so strong in St. Louis and vicinity during the period of great immigration ten years before the Civil war. He had a free colored servant, "William." In a vehicle, accompanied by William, the archbishop drove through the country without regard to seasons or weather. One day he insisted on fording a swollen creek in St. Charles county and went under, having a narrow escape. But of these incidents he was reticent.

The archbishop's advice to young priests, probably, revealed the lesson of his own experience. He was accustomed to say that when a profession is embraced the first duty is to acquire all the knowledge necessary to discharge it fully and conscientiously. Until that is done extraneous duty should be avoided. "Therefore," he said, to young priests, "lose no day that you shall not apply some part of it to the learning of dogmatic and moral theology as

also to the reading of commentaries on the Scriptures." The history of the church and the lives of the saints, he recommended also, and he deemed it highly important to have a favorite book of devotion to "nourish piety within the soul." Careful preparation for preaching was recommended.

The extraordinary growth of Catholicism in St. Louis, the theological strength of the clergy, the thousands of conversions of residents, not so much from other churches as from the mass of the indifferent, are better understood when the example and precepts of Peter Richard Kenrick are known.

"The archbishop's bank" was a financial institution of St. Louis for many years, beginning about 1850. A German priest, Rev. Father Heim, originated the idea. To accommodate the working people of his parish, Father Heim received their savings on deposit and took care of the money. There was distrust of banks by these people to such a degree as to discourage savings. John Byrne, Jr., looked into the plan of Father Heim and advised Archbishop Kenrick to extend it. An office was opened near the cathedral, books were prepared and accounts were opened. Laboring people, especially those new in the country, flocked in numbers to the bank and made their deposits, on which interest was allowed. The money was loaned to priests and religious orders to build and mortgages were taken, revenues being pledged for the payment of interest on the mortgages and for their final redemption. The city was growing. New parishes were being established. There was demand for the money and the security was good. Archbishop Kenrick conducted his banking business in no perfunctory manner. He was an actual manager. He supervised all of the departments. He looked closely after the balancing of the accounts with an expedition and accuracy which amazed those who had known him previously as a wonderfully successful preacher. For a long time the archbishop held title deeds to property given for new churches, schools and institutions. He was charged with almost countless obligations. He called to his assistance when the business became too burdensome the help of Joseph O'Neil. Gradually the business of the archbishop was wound up in a most satisfactory manner and modern methods took the place of "the archbishop's bank."

Three times the Young Men's Christian association was started before it secured a permanent and flourishing hold in St. Louis. In 1853, nine years after the original Young Men's Christian association was founded in London, a St. Louis association was started. Samuel Cupples and Henry Hitchcock were officers. The Civil war caused this association to disband. After several years another beginning was made by Rev. Shepard Wells and General Clinton B. Fisk. This movement failed. In 1875 twelve young men met at the Union Methodist church, then on Eleventh and Locust streets, and organized the Y. M. C. A., which has grown to the present impressive strength. The officers were H. C. Wright, Frank L. Johnson, Dr. L. H. Laidley, Charles C. Nichols, and E. Anson More. The association occupied one rented room after another down town, until in 1879 Mr. Moody conducted one of his revivals. The evangelist appealed to the business men of St. Louis to provide the Young Men's Christian association with a building. Stephen M. Edgell, Carlos S. Greeley and John R. Lionberger headed a subscription which reached $40,000. The Union Methodist church was bought for $37,500. In 1885 the as-

THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Type of church architecture, 1909

sociation occupied the former residence of John D. Perry on Pine and Twenty-ninth streets and built a gymnasium. In 1892 the property on Eleventh and Locust was sold for $125,000. A lot on Grand and Franklin avenues was bought for $51,250 in 1894. On this a building which cost $200,000 was erected. The business management of the association has been excelled only by its Christian influence. In its third of a century the St. Louis Young Men's association has had two general secretaries—Walter C. Douglas and George T. Coxhead. The latter has held the position twenty-three years. For many years the association had one presiding head—Thomas S. McPheeters. It has added branch after branch to the central until the whole city is its field of operation. In the northern and southern parts of the city the branches occupy their own buildings and grounds. The railroad branch occupies a model Y. M. C. A. building erected at a cost of $80,000, to which Miss Helen Gould was the chief contributor. This branch was dedicated in October, 1907, with Miss Gould in attendance. Queen Victoria knighted the man who first thought of the Y. M. C. A. and put his thought into action. The honor roll of most useful citizens contains the names of the men who have made the St. Louis Young Men's Christian Association.

In fifty years the St. Louis Provident Association has expended for the relief of the poor of St. Louis $1,450,000, has investigated 175,000 cases. About 1860 the most charitable man in St. Louis, by common consent, was James E. Yeatman. He lived on Olive street in what was called Yeatman's row. The poor, Mr. Yeatman had always with him. One very bad night he was called to the door and was told a tale of distress by a woman who represented that her child was desperately ill and that she had no means to buy food or medicine. Mr. Yeatman took the address, gave some temporary help and went back to his fire. He couldn't rest. He got his overcoat and started out. Around the corner at Tenth and Locust streets lived Dr. Pope, the eminent surgeon. He was just leaving the house to take his buggy for a visit to a patient. Mr. Yeatman insisted that Dr. Pope go with him to see the sick child. The doctor demurred and then yielded. The two good Samaritans made their way to an alley above Franklin avenue and found the house. But the supposed abode of distress was lighted and a sound of revelry came through the cracks of door and window. Mr. Yeatman knocked. The door was opened. There stood the woman holding a child. Behind her surrounding a table upon which stood the beer bought with Mr. Yeatman's charity were three or four lusty fellows.

"Where is that sick child?" asked Mr. Yeatman.

"Here she is," said the woman, indicating the one in her arms.

Dr. Pope looked at the little sleeper closely and said with some emphasis, "I prescribe soap and water. Good night."

The next day Mr. Yeatman invited a few business men to meet him. That was the genesis of the St. Louis Provident Association, which handles from $35,000 to $50,000 a year, helping the poor to help themselves and protecting charity from abuse.

Once in its history the St. Louis Provident Association faced a crisis which threatened to close its doors. Philanthropy knows what a panic means. The

winter of 1893-4 drained the resources of the charity organizations. One day Mr. Scruggs and Mr. Cupples found themselves facing an empty treasury and the demands for relief almost without precedent. They sent for Adolphus Busch and on a Sunday afternoon the three men sat in the parlor of Mr. Cupples' home and discussed ways and means to keep the institution open. The next day Mr. Busch came back. He brought $10,000. Half of it was his individual gift. The remainder was from Mr. Lemp and other brewers. The Provident Association did not suspend.

More than one hundred philanthropic organizations occupy the St. Louis field. With very few exceptions they are conducted upon the cardinal principle of helping the unfortunate to help themselves. The heart of St. Louis is charitable but in the exercise of charity, practical judgment goes with the humane sentiment. That, in large measure explains why St. Louis has no slums, like the plague spots of the other large cities of the country. As he rode about St. Louis in the fall of 1908, Archbishop Farley of New York commented:

"In St. Louis the workingmen and poorer classes are much better taken care of in their homes than similar classes in New York. This results in contentment and prevents social troubles. I have seen no districts in St. Louis that I could call squalid. In fact, there seems to be no real squalor in the city."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GROWING OF ST. LOUIS.

I believe, my fellow citizens, that this project will be fully completed; that this enterprise will be realized; that there will be a great park here; that in a short space of time it will be surrounded by elegant private residences, and that the talk about a narrow-gauge railway to reach it will be superseded by the actual fact of street railways reaching it. All of the great cities of this country have outgrown anticipation. This has been the case with our own city, and, in my judgment, and indeed in the judgment of others who have given this matter critical attention, St. Louis will continue increasing in population and developing in size until it will outgrow all the other cities in the country.—Francis P. Blair, Opening of Forest Park, 1872.

Laclede's hardy colonists, "the first thirty," poling their bateau along the western bank of the Mississippi, made their landing and later their permanent settlement about the foot of Market street. In 1909 Market street is still the dividing line with half of the city north and half of the city south of it. Business has spread naturally north and south. The residence section has moved westward. This has been the law of the evolution of St. Louis through the generations.

The river frontage of the city for twenty miles is given up to railroad yards and heavy manufacturing plants. The overflow of manufacturing and the crowding of traffic find relief either by crossing the river to the great American Bottom or by following certain natural valley routes north and south of the main residence district. As the city grows the business district expands. Year by year it encroaches upon the residence sections. To accommodate those residents, who must move and those who come to St. Louis to make new homes, the succession of rising ridges and plateaus to the westward must be occupied.

The growth in population of the United States from 1890 to 1900 was 21 per cent. The growth of St. Louis in the same period was 27 per cent. The growth of one western residence section of St. Louis between those years was 239 per cent. This section is from Vandeventer avenue westward to and along the north side of Forest Park. It is bounded on the north by Page avenue. Within this residence section there were 14,286 people in 1890; there were 48,492 in 1900; there were 55,843 in 1903. Since the World's Fair in 1904, the development of this section has been even more astonishing than before. Could he see Forest Park and its surroundings in 1909, Francis P. Blair would marvel at the fulfillment of his own prophecy.

The first land titles were issued from Laclede's house. Two years since the founding had barely passed before settlers were seeking deeds. The land was Spain's, given away by Louis XV to his "dear cousin," Charles. But Spain was having trouble to reconcile the republican Frenchmen of New Orleans to the new authority. No Spanish officer had come to establish the new sovereignty over St. Louis. St. Ange de Bellerive was here. After

delivering Fort Chartres down the river on the east side to the English captain, Sterling, St. Ange and his French soldiers had come over to St. Louis. In January, 1766, he began to exercise functions of government. Up to that time the word of Laclede had been law. But Laclede had fur trading business to look after. There were forms of authority, details of government, with which the founder could not concern himself. St. Ange became de facto governor. Four years the French officer maintained order, issued the deeds which confirmed the verbal grants of land and acted as military commander of the post. Then on the 20th of May, 1770, came Don Pedro Piernas the first Spanish lieutenant governor. St. Ange retired. His acts were confirmed. In recognition of his services he was offered a commission as captain in the Spanish army.

The first title to land in St. Louis was issued in April, 1766. It was for a lot upon which to build a house. Several other titles, or concessions as they were called, were granted. Then, in August of that year, the St. Ange government enlarged its activities and deeded to Laclede a large tract in what is now Mill Creek valley. The deed was in French. Translated it read;

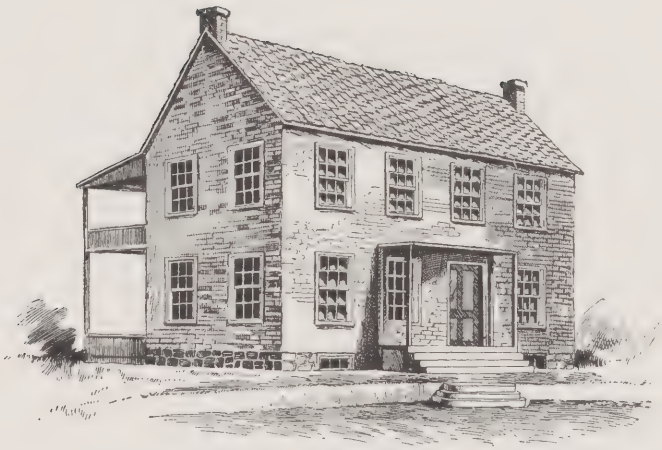
We, Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, captain commanding for the King at the post of St. Louis, upon the Spanish part of Illinois, and Joseph Lefevre de Inglebert, sub-delegate of the Intendant of Louisiana, and justice of the peace, in virtue of the power to us given by the governor and intendant of Louisiana, and, upon the demand of Mr. Laclede Liguest, a settler of the post of St. Louis, have conceded and hereby do concede to him, in fee simple, a tract of land situated on the prairie of the village of St. Louis, of eight arpens, adjoining on one side the land taken by the settler named Tayon, and the frontage extending upon the Little River, with a depth of eighty arpens, according to lines which shall be given by the person detailed to survey the land, which tract of eight arpens and more if any is found towards Little River the said Mr. Laclede, or his assigns shall enjoy in fee simple, under the condition that this land shall be improved within one year and a day, provided also the same shall remain liable to the public and other charges that it may please his majesty to place thereon.

Given in St. Louis the 11th of August, 1766.

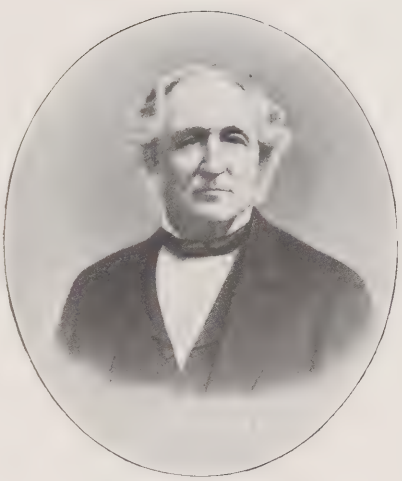
(Signed) ST. ANGE.
LEFEVRE.
LABUXIERE.

Lefevre, who joined in the making of the deed, had come from the east side of the Mississippi with St. Ange a few months previously. He was a lawyer, one of two in the settlement. The other was Labuxiere, who had moved to St. Louis from the English side of the river. In April, 1766, a deed was given to Labuxiere, or as sometimes written, Labusciere. The Labuxiere deed was signed by St. Ange. It established title to a lot fronting 300 feet on Rue Royale, now Main street and extending eastward 150 feet to the river front.

Quite naturally Labuxiere and Lafevre, having taken up residence in the new settlement, set about the practice of their profession. They found the settlers occupying the ground which Laclede had allotted them. There were no deeds. Transactions in realty were out of the question. As soon



RESIDENCE OF THOMAS F. RIDDICK, 1818



GREEN ERSKINE

GEORGE R. TAYLOR

as St. Ange was ready to act, Lefevre and Labuxiere were prepared with the legal forms. Laclede as founder of the settlement was entitled to early consideration. He asked to have formally confirmed to him—what? His home on the square between the Place d'Armes and the church lot? Not at all. Laclede's engineering bent of mind had, immediately after locating St. Louis, grasped the advantage of the mill site. The Little river, La Petite Riviere, the settlers had named it, meandered more than three miles through what is now the network of railroad tracks, the Mill Creek valley. It was a constant stream of considerable head. Its source was Rock Spring. Two other great springs fed it. Near what is now Seventh street, the topography favored a dam. At small cost of labor a fall of ten or twelve feet could be created. Laclede located on Little river a mill site. Soon after the land office of 1766 was ready to do business, he secured the formal title to his property. Nowhere near the settlement was there another water power.

The dam was built. The mill was running very early in the history of St. Louis. It formed a considerable part of the estate which Laclede left at his death in 1778. Auguste Chouteau was administrator of his stepfather's property. In conformity with the custom of those days the mill was offered to the highest bidder. Not once but three times, upon different dates, the mill was publicly offered. The final report of the constable, or huissier, as he was called, is an interesting document. It is a revelation of the methodical official procedure which was observed at a time when St. Louis, in the view of some historical writers, was only a temporary trading post. DeMers was the constable. His report of the sale of the mill opens:

In the year 1779, on Sunday, the 20th of June, in virtue of the decree of Don Fernando de Leyba, captain in the regiment of infantry of Louisiana, commander-in-chief and lieutenant-governor of the western part of Illinois, dated the 19th day of the current month, annexed at the bottom of the petition of Mr. Auguste Chouteau, who is the administrator of the estate of the late Mr. Laclede, dated on the same day, I, Francis De Mers, constable, (huissier) in the jurisdiction of Illinois, residing in St. Louis, purposely went before the main door of ingress and egress of the parochial church of the said post of St. Louis, at the end of the great mass, from which church people went out in great number. There I have, with high and intelligible voice, declared and made known to the public that I was to proceed forthwith (for the first adjudication) to the sale of a water flour mill, moving and turning with two sets of stones with its building in wood and machinery and tools, as the same exists at this day, situated near the village of St. Louis, upon the creek called the Little river, belonging to the estate of the said late Mr. Laclede, where all persons shall be admitted to bid, provided they give good and sufficient securities who reside in this post, which persons shall pay the amount of the adjudication in deer or beaver skins in good order at the St. Louis price, one-half within one year from this day and one-half within one year later which will be the month of June, 1781. By my repeated clamor, the public being assembled, the said mill and dependencies were bidden for by the person named Moreau in the sum of 1500 livres in peltries. After many announcements often repeated, no person presenting himself to bid over, I have declared that the second auction of the mill shall take place the next Sunday, the 27th day of the current month, at the same time and place, when and where all persons shall be admitted to bid under the conditions explained. I left with my witnesses who signed with me, the undersigned constable in the year and day as above.

DE MERS,
DIEGO BLANCO,
L. RICHART.

In the same form the huissier reported the procedure of the 27th of June when Moreau again bid 1500 livres and a person named Cambas bid 1501 livres. The third and closing sale was on the next Sunday the 4th day of July. The huissier's report announced the result:

The said mill and its dependencies were bidden for by Cambas to 1500 livres, by the person named Deschapine to 1600 livres, by the said Moreau to 1700 livres, by Cambas to 1800 livres, by Deschapine to 1900 livres, and by Auguste Chouteau to 2000 livres, in peltries. After I had made many announcements, no person bidding any more, and after I had waited until noon, the public going away, the Mr. Auguste Chouteau asked for the deed of his bidding which was granted him. The said mill and dependencies were adjudged to Mr. Chouteau by Mr. Fernando de Leyba, the aforesaid lieutenant-governor, for the sum of 2000 livres in deerskins which the said Mr. Chouteau has promised to pay to the said estate, in conformity with the terms before explained, under the special and general mortgage of all of his movable and immovable goods present and future, Mr. Chouteau has offered as his security Mr. Sylvester Labbadie, merchant in this post, who has voluntarily accepted the said security, and binds himself to pay the sum when it becomes due in default of the said Mr. Chouteau, under the obligation of a mortgage of all of his movable and immoveable goods, a schedule of which he has submitted to this jurisdiction. The following persons have signed the original with us, Don Fernando de Leyba, lieutenant-governor, the constable De Mers and the assisting witnesses, Diego Blanco, a sergeant in the troops of this garrison, and Louis Richart, a soldier of said garrison.

(Signed) CHOUTEAU,
LABBADIE.
DE MERS,
DON FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

LOUIS RICHART,
DIEGO BLANCO.

A copy conformable to the original at St. Louis, the said year and day.

(Signed) FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

The arpen, or arpent as it was spelled in later times, was French measurement of land. An arpent was the equivalent of three-fourths of an acre. The original plot acquired by Laclede for his mill site was 640 arpents, or 480 acres. But this was increased by Laclede to 1100 acres. The founder of St. Louis owned in Mill Creek valley a body of land nearly as large as Forest park. Back to this sale by DeMers at the church; back of that to the St. Ange deed of August, 1766, is the chain of title to millions of dollars worth of realty now occupied by Cupples station and the terminal tracks.

While he awaited the coming of the Spanish, St. Ange did a land office business. In the four years that he performed the duties of commandant he issued the titles of many grants to settlers. The record of these grants was kept in the "Livre Terrien." Real estate men of later generations knew these as the "provincial land books." When Piernas, the first Spanish lieutenant-governor, came in 1770, he accepted in a general way the forms that St. Ange had used and issued similar titles to grants. A little more elaboration of official signatures was about the only modification. Successors to Piernas perpetuated the system of real estate record devised by Labusciere, notary, and approved by St. Ange. This went on for thirty years until the time of Delassus. Six books of the "Livre Terrien" series, each bound in leather, contained the records of the grants. It does not appear

that St. Ange, or the Spanish governors, required any payment to the government for these grants. The smaller concessions of land were homesteads. They confirmed to the settler the right to the soil he had occupied and improved. The larger grants were in consideration of some service rendered to the royal government.

But while St. Ange exercised authority to issue the titles to grants at St. Louis, and while the successive governors continued to do the same, these titles were not complete. Survey of the land granted was an essential step. And furthermore it was a provision of Spanish law that the grant made by the lieutenant-governor at St. Louis must go to the governor-general at New Orleans for final confirmation.

The land-holding settlers at St. Louis were not wise in their generation. They secured their forms of title from the lieutenant-governors. As soon as Piernas came a "surveyor of the colony of Illinois" in the person of Martin Duralde was named. The grants were surveyed. The property included in the grants was definitely described. So far the provincial land books were in order. The transfer of sovereignty to the United States found the great majority of the St. Louis landholders napping. Only eleven of them had completed their titles. During thirty-four years the habitants of St. Louis had held their lands or had traded them without regard to final confirmation, save in the few exceptions mentioned. The treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800 conveyed back to France the Province of Louisiana. It made no provision to cover rights of property. It was a secret treaty. The habitants of St. Louis went on trading in realty of defective title. Not until 1802 was the treaty announced at Barcelona by proclamation. And then the King said he hoped the French Republic "would protect the inhabitants in the peaceful possession of their property, and that all grants of property, of whatever denomination, made by my government, may be confirmed, though not confirmed by me." Six months later, April 30, 1803, France, in ceding the Louisiana Territory to the United States put into the treaty this clause:

> The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the meantime they shall be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

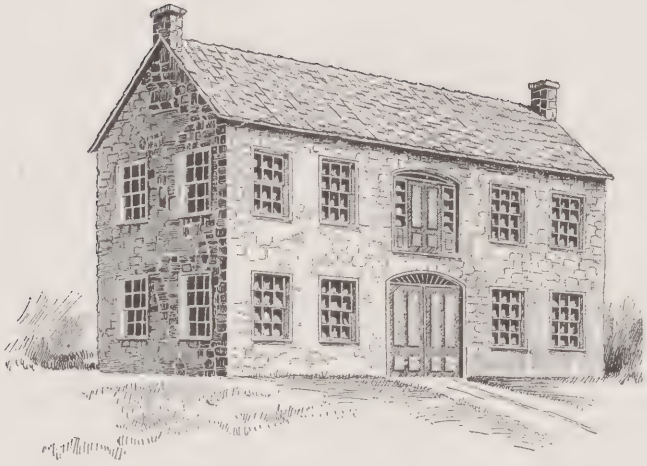
"Inchoate" was the term which applied to the title of almost every piece of property in the settlement when the American captain raised the flag over St. Louis, March 10, 1804. The landholders awoke. Before the month was out Congress had acted. The first legislation for the Louisiana Terrritory was upon this chaos of property rights. The initial law for St. Louis and all of the rest of the Purchase was approved by President Jefferson on March 26, 1804. It recognized the strength of the rudimentary titles. It sought to quiet the fears of the habitants who were in actual possession of land without complete titles. It was of general character, laying the basis for investigation and adjustment of all claims. Before every

Congress, for a quarter of a century, were measures relating to land titles in St. Louis. Not until 1866 did the legislation cease. Congress finally sent to the United States District court for adjudication the few claims remaining unsettled.

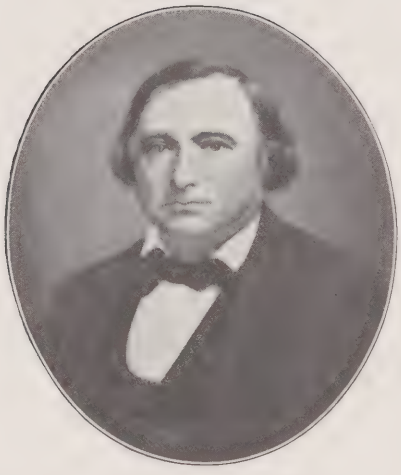
So far as the earlier land records of St. Louis went, they seemed to have been kept well. The trouble with them was in part indefiniteness of survey, but more the general failure to complete the titles. Settlers occupied and claimed their land. They recorded their holdings. Communication with New Orleans where the governor-general lived was a matter of months of travel. There were no mails. It is not difficult to understand why the grants were not presented for final confirmation.

To the credit of the United States is the fact that the rights of the settlers under the inchoate titles were respected scrupulously. To confirm all claims that could be established was the policy prompting Congress. The first act, passed in March, 1804, confirmed the grants made to actual settlers before December 20, 1803. This act limited holdings to one square mile. The next act of Congress confirmed grants made prior to March 20, 1804. The next year Congress provided that habitants having duly registered warrants from French or Spanish authority for land upon which they were living should have their titles confirmed to them. Congress went still farther. An act confirmed their holdings to persons who had settled on land before December 20, 1803, and were still in possession. Congress appointed a recorder of titles and associated with him two commissioners. This commission took up the investigation of claims and proceeded to apply the laws which Congress had passed. The commission issued 1,342 confirmation certificates. Many claims were not approved because the provisions of the laws did not meet the cases. The commissioners advised that the government be more liberal in its treatment of claimants. Another law was enacted. This was in 1812, a few months after the first commission had finished a three years' investigation. The second examination conducted under the more liberal provisions resulted in 1,746 confirmations additional to the first lot. On 801 claims rejection was recommended. In 1832 Congress provided for another commission to report upon claims still existing. This commission reported and the report was confirmed. But dissatisfied claimants continued to agitate. They importuned at Washington. Their assertions affected values at St. Louis. In 1866 Congress made a finality of legislation on land titles in St. Louis by sending all remaining claims to the Federal court. These claims were not numerous, but they echoed in the court for many years.

Some mistakes were made in the earlier legislation by Congress. These were corrected in subsequent acts. Honest intention of the American government to give the founders and original landholders of St. Louis their property rights was evident. In some cases these rights were but little more definite than squatters might acquire. Congress after Congress took action. Commission after commission investigated and reported. Some cases were in the courts through generations. Justice at times seemed blind



RESIDENCE OF MAJOR WILLIAM CHRISTY,
Built of stone, 1818



JOSEPH K. BENT

ROBERT W. POWELL

and slow. In the end the equity of the first comers won out almost invariably. The title of possession and occupancy proved more potent than technicality. The sanctity of the inchoate titles of the French and Spanish periods was upheld with all the power of the United States authority. The realty of St. Louis rests upon record as firm as the physical foundations of the city.

The St. Louisan of the first decade did not go far for his building material. Upon his quarter or half or whole block of ground was growing the wood. Laclede noted that fact when he marked the trees for Auguste Chouteau in December, 1763. Along the river front and outcropping in many places elsewhere was a ledge of limestone easily quarried. Architecture varied much, according to means and taste. The post house was most popular. Early settlers in St. Louis did not build many log houses after the plan of American pioneers on the Atlantic seaboard. They chose trees of less diameter and set them on end. For the better of this class of houses the post was hewed about nine inches square. The cheaper houses were built, sides and ends, of round, undressed posts set as closely as possible three feet deep in the ground. When the house builder went to the trouble of hewing his posts, he sometimes set them on a stone foundation above the earth. This preserved the post longer. The flooring was of slabs. The ceiling was seldom over ten feet from the floor. Almost every house in St. Louis had some kind of a porch, or gallery as it was called, in front. The size of the gallery indicated the circumstances of the habitant. Wooden houses were from twenty to thirty feet in length and were divided into two or three rooms. The chimneys were of stone, built often in the center of the house in such manner as to give fireplaces on both sides.

Brackenridge, after close observation of the early architecture of St. Louis, concluded that the French settlers were wise. He said:

> In the building of these houses the logs instead of being laid horizontally, as ours, are placed in a perpendicular position. The interstices are closed with earth or stone, as with us. This constitutes a more durable dwelling, and it retains its shape much longer. The roof is extremely broad, extending out with a gradual slope for the purpose of affording a covering for the gallery. The houses are built in a very singular form, and, it is said, copied from the West Indies. They do not exceed one story in height and those of the more wealthy are surrounded with spacious galleries; some only on one or two sides. These galleries are extremely useful; they render the house cool and agreeable in summer, and afford a pleasant promenade in the heat of the day.

The case of S. E. vs. E. P. has been on trial with seven generations of St. Louisans. The first house built in St. Louis had an E. P. In those days the east piazza was not mentioned. But nearly every house erected in St. Louis for forty years had a gallery. And, if possible, the gallery was on the east side. Where the house did not front to the east, the house owner felt that he lived at a disadvantage unless he had a gallery on the east side. The gallery was the almost universal feature of home architecture. If the house was of a single story and space was scant within the four walls, the roof projected forward and made a covering for the gallery. If the house was the mansion of a fur trader grown opulent, it might have a gallery

for the second as well as for the first story. Be it ever so humble, there was no real home without a gallery in St. Louis until after 1800. And nowhere in the archives or the correspondence of the first two generations of St. Louis is there a reference to a hot summer. "The year of the hard winter,"—l'annee du grand hiver—is recorded. That was in 1799. It was intensely cold. "The year of the smallpox"—l'annee de la picotte—was in 1801. It left its mark on the community and was duly recorded. "The year of the flood"—l'annee des grandes eaux—was 1785. The great waters covered the American Bottom on the east side and extended to the bluffs. But there was no summer in the forty so hot that the habitants thought to chronicle it. Suppose the temperature rose higher than the average, the St. Louisan of 1764-99 lengthened his stay on the gallery. If the night was sultry he sat late on the gallery until the southern breeze crept up the river and swept along the gallery. Facing east, open to the north and south, the gallery invited, coaxed a draft, if there was a breath of air stirring.

Then came the American with his imitation of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore residential architecture. He built flush to the street; often in rows; with southern exposure if possible. Southern exposure was the American's substitute for the gallery or the east piazza. It was the only concession the newcomer made to the climate. The American sweltered for his high-priced front foot and the St. Louis summer gained an evil reputation.

Writing from St. Louis about 1811, John Bradbury, the English naturalist, described the climate as he had found it from experience extending through several seasons:

> The climate is very fine. The spring commences about the middle of March in the neighborhood of St. Louis, at which time the willow, the elm, and maples are in flower. The spring rains usually occur in May, after which month the weather continues fine, almost without interruption, until September, when rain again occurs about the equinox, after which it remains again fine, serene weather until near Christmas, when the winter commences. About the beginning or middle of October the Indian summer begins, which is immediately known by the change that takes place in the atmosphere, as it now becomes hazy, or what they term smoky. This gives to the sun a red appearance, and takes away the glare of light, so that all the day, except a few hours about noon it may be looked at with the naked eye without pain; the air is perfectly quiescent and all is stillness, as if nature, after her exertions during the summer, was now at rest. The winters are sharp, but it may be remarked that less snow falls, and they are much more moderate on the west than on the east side of the Alleghanies in similar latitudes.

St. Louis owed in some part its widespread reputation as a fiery furnace in summer time to the newspaper treatment of the heated periods forty years ago. One of the morning papers of Tuesday, August 27, 1872, thus opened its account of the conditions of the preceding day:

> The heat yesterday was terrific; it was fearful and its results absolutely appalling to the sick and the infirm. The blazing atmosphere smote them and scorched them like an avenging Nemesis. Even the strong man whose imprudence led him to invest himself in physical exertion was stricken down and compelled to pay the debt of nature. There were seventy deaths in the city that were reported, of which twenty-seven were from the direct effects of prostration by heat or through the effects of heat and whisky. There were thirteen cases of sunstroke reported in which the patients were not dead.

This account of the visitation was headed "A Terrible Scourge." The newspapers impressed the dangers of the heated term in this language:

We warn all readers during this intensely hot weather to beware of whiskey and beware of exertion. We advise everybody as they value their lives to seek a shade and do just as little work as possible. We verily hope that the terrible scourge which is upon us may speedily pass by.

The gallery, under the modern name of piazza, has come back to St. Louis home architecture. And it is placed upon the east side of the house wherever practicable. The passing of the monotonous row is evident. The lungs of the St. Louis before the American occupation are being restored in the parks and playgrounds of 1909. In the case of E. P. vs. S. E. the verdict is for the plaintiff.

Two stone buildings Laclede erected on his block. One was fifty feet front by thirty feet deep. This was the business and store house of Maxent, Laclede & Co. The other was sixty feet front by twenty-three feet deep. It had a gallery across the front which faced east upon the Plaza. This was familiarly known as "Laclede's House." It was the seat of government. The ground surrounding was three hundred feet square.

"Laclede's House" had one principal story above a high basement. When St. Ange marched in from Fort Chartres the soldiers were quartered temporarily in the basement. This ground floor was used also for storage purposes. The main floor was divided into a central room and side rooms. There Laclede had his office. There St. Ange ruled and after him the Spanish governors until the roof began to leak and the wood work to show need of extensive repair.

Laclede planned this house and selected the material for it. The other stone houses, some smaller, followed closely the type Laclede had fashioned. They had the basement story and the high gallery. They divided the main floor into central and end rooms, making five or four or three according to individual preference.

One of the most imposing stone residences was built in what was at the time the extreme southwestern part of the settlement, about Elm street and Broadway, for Rene Buet, who moved over from Cahokia. The house had a frontage of forty feet; it stood on half a block of ground, one of Laclede's early land grants. Buet was a single man of means. Michael Lami bought the house and, with the Duchouquette family, lived there until his death in 1784. The Duchouquette family lived in the house until 1800, when the place was sold to Dr. Saugrain. The Saugrain family occupied the house nearly sixty years. In Dr. Saugrain's time a botanical garden was maintained.

The habitants builded well with the material at hand. Among the antiquities preserved in the Desloge family is a shingle from the old Pratte homestead in the lead country south of St. Louis. The cedar wood seems as sound as the day it was roughly fashioned. It served its purpose in the roof "more than a hundred years to the day." There wasn't a metallic nail in the old mansion. The shingle was fastened in its place with a wooden pin. When the house was demolished it was found to be so well put to-

gether that a charge of dynamite under one corner was the most economical form of wrecking. In this house lived a family of twenty-six children. Perhaps this was the largest family of the colonial period of St. Louis and vicinity. Families of ten children were not extraordinary during the first and second generations in St. Louis. Charles Gratiot had that number; so did Gregoire Sarpy; so did Joseph Robidou, whose son founded the present city of St. Joseph. Joseph Marie Papin had fourteen children and Hyacinthe St. Cyr had fifteen.

Dr. Robert Simpson, the second postmaster, who became an authority on fishing for bass and croppie in Chouteau's Pond, described St. Louis as it appealed to him when he came, an assistant surgeon of the army in 1809:

> The town was all under the hill, and laid out in squares, and these squares were divided into four lots so that each owner had room for a garden and some fruit trees. There were no brick houses, but many of stone, some few frame, but mostly log buildings, some cabin fashion and others in French style, large logs dressed on two sides set some eight feet in the ground with shingle roofs. Just such a house was the one I purchased in the fall of 1811 and in which I lived for a number of years. The shingles were thick, and instead of nails were hung with pegs or straps across the rafters and made a very good roof, but was rather musical in windy weather.

In the colonial period St. Louis grew southward much faster than northward. South of Chouteau avenue, along the river front, were the country seats, the choice residence section of St. Louis, between 1780 and 1800. Shortly after Gabriel Cerre moved over from Kaskaskia, he obtained a concession of about sixty-four acres. His north line was Park avenue. Cerre was of Canadian birth. He had been in business at Kaskaskia a quarter of a century before he came to St. Louis. Here he continued as a merchant another quarter of a century. In the winter he lived in his town house. When summer came he moved to this country place, which was highly improved. Gabriel Cerre's youngest daughter married Antoine Soulard, the civil engineer who had been in the French navy and who was highly educated. Soulard became the official surveyor under appointment by the Spanish governor of St. Louis soon after his arrival. In the division of Gabriel Cerre's estate, the country place went to the Soulards. When the city expanded below Chouteau avenue this country seat of Gabriel Cerre, in part, was known as Soulard's addition.

Joseph Brazeau obtained a concession of eighty-five acres adjoining Gabriel Cerre on the south. He built his residence near the river front and farmed the land. There were no children in the family; the condition of the Brazeaus was exceptional for that period in the growing of St. Louis. When Joseph Brazeau died, his widow, following his wishes, transferred this and other property to John B. Duchouquette. The consideration was that she should receive an annuity of $350 as long as she lived. Duchouquette had married Marie Brazeau, a niece of Joseph Brazeau. Marie Brazeau had three brothers and four sisters, all whom married. She bore six children, among whom the Duchouquette place, as it had become known, was divided. Out of the Brazeau or Duchouquette country place were made the Lesper-

RESIDENCE OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

JAMES STEWART

THEOPHILE PAPIN

RESIDENCE OF MRS. JULIA MAFFITT
Type of mansions on Lucas Place in 1870-90

ance, Picotte, Papin and Duchouquette additions to the city. Barton street was the southern boundary.

Benito Vasquez, who decided to retire from Spanish army life and spend the rest of his days in St. Louis, was given the next ploce on the river front. His concession was not so large. It was two arpents front on the river and ran back to what is now Broadway. The place passed through several hands and became the home of ex-Governor Delassus after his return to St. Louis in 1816. In 1831 the buildings were remodeled into a powder mill. Benito Vasquez received a second concession of forty-two acres adjoining his grant. This property in time passed to the possession of Dr. William Carr Lane. With the growth of the city along the river front, the years came when the owners of the estates having water frontage saw the business advantage of turning their acres of orchard and garden into lots. As early as 1836, Dr. Lane, the first mayor, established the town of St. George, a community independent of St. Louis. St. George was between Lynch and Victor streets. It had a river frontage and was bounded on the west by Carondelet avenue, now Broadway. Today St. George is a part of the manufacturing district along the river south of Chouteau avenue.

The next of these river front country seats belonged to Eugene Poure, who was better known from New Orleans to Prairie du Chien as Beausoleil. His head reminded those who saw it of a "bright sun." Poure's widow sold the place for $200. The ground was fenced. There was a house of posts. John J. Matoid added a barn and sold for $600. John Rice Jones of Kaskaskia greatly fancied the place and agreed to give Hubert Lacroix, the owner in 1796, the price of $1,000 cash, $1,000 in three years, 1,000 pounds of flour and 500 pounds of bacon. The place had been improved with three houses, a barn, a lime kiln, a bake house. After the cash payment Jones defaulted. Lacroix asked to have the property appraised. Charles Gratiot and Charles Sanguinet, two of the most prominent men of St. Louis in that day, were appointed. They concluded that "they could not conscientiously appraise the property at more than $200." The next step was to sell at auction. The place brought $201. Manuel Lisa bought on speculation. He sold his bargain to Pat Cullen and Joseph Berry for 800 silver dollars or 800 pounds of good powder. That was the year the Americans took possession. Cullen and Berry held the place three years and sold to Silas Bent. The tract of fifty-six acres was improved with a fine stone house and other buildings. It was the home of the judge for twenty years, and was known to two generations as "the Bent place." It adjoined the arsenal on the north.

On what are now the arsenal grounds and Lyon Park was for some years in the early history of St. Louis an Indian village. Some Delawares and Shawnees who wished to travel the white man's road lived there. Part of this ground, fifty-seven acres, was embraced in a concession to Joseph Marie Papin in 1787. It remained in the possession of the Papin family until the government bought land and established the arsenal. Just below the arsenal stood for nearly a century a small stone house. It was put there

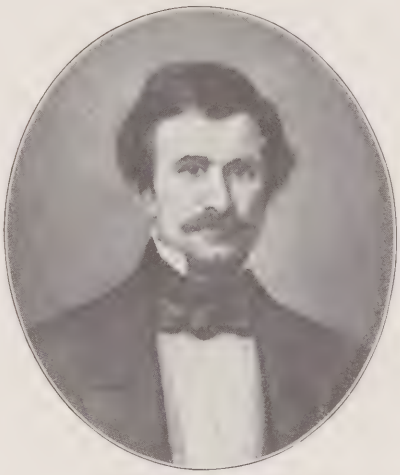
to perfect the title of John Mullanphy, who bought forty acres for $500. The tract was in the vicinity of President street. In early days the landing of the Cahokia ferry was located there. Still further south was the Dubreuil place of twenty-seven acres, originally a concession by the Spanish governor to Sylvestre Sarpy. This tract changed hands in 1838 for $680.

These country seats, with their white limestone, wide galleried mansions, their gardens and orchards and well tilled fields along the river front from Chouteau avenue to where the city workhouse is now gashing the palisades, were the glory of St. Louis one hundred years ago. Almost from Chouteau avenue to the arsenal the land along the river was originally "covered with heavy timber," according to both Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. About where the Annheuser-Busch brewery is the timber line gave way to an open space called by the first settlers "Petite Prairie." The Peoria Indians under their chief, Petit Dinde or Little Turkey, were allowed to build a village at the lower edge of this forest, near the Little Prairie.

Laclede's plan of St. Louis located three streets parallel with the river, but on the plateau above it. There was no street immediately upon the river front. The first of the streets was Rue Royale. As the reverence for royalty diminished with the habitants, they called this street Rue Principale. Quite naturally, with the Americanizing of St. Louis, the name was changed to Main street. Houses fronted on the east side of Rue Royale and their backyards extended to the edge of the limestone cliff, thirty-five feet above the sandy shore of the river. The second parallel street was Rue de l'Eglise. It took its name from the church. The first Americans called this Church street. Pennsylvanians were strong in numbers and influence during the formative period following the acquisition. They gave to the city the first mayor. They introduced the system of numbering streets. Church street became Second street. Laclede's third parallel street was Rue des Granges,—the street of the barns. The Americans called it Barn street. This name was appropriate, for the barns of many of the early settlers were on this street, convenient to the pasture and common fields which stretched away to the westward. Laclede did not lay off the settlement beyond Barn street. When the Americans came, with their ideas of real estate speculation, they turned Barn street into Third street and added Fourth, Fifth and other streets as rapidly as the market would absorb the supply of town lots. In the talk of the town Fourth street for years was called "American street."

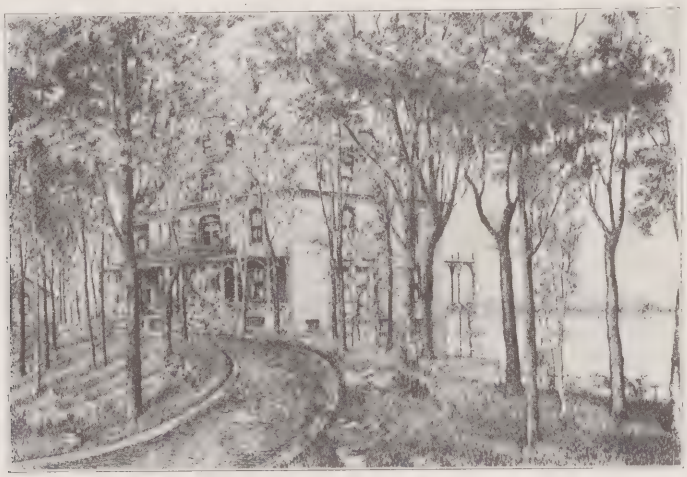
When the time came to make up the official history of this early surveying and platting and naming, Auguste Chouteau and others told interesting facts bearing upon the colonial period of St. Louis. They testified before Theodore Hunt, who had been appointed by the United States government to gather this important evidence before the witnesses passed away. Auguste Chouteau, describing the plan of the settlement as Laclede gave it to him and as it was carried out, said: "The main streets were laid out to be thirty-six feet wide and all the cross streets were laid out to be thirty feet wide. The blocks were generally laid out to be 240 feet fronting on

THE COUNTRY HOME OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, SR.,
IN HIS OLD AGE



JOSIAH H. OBEAR

CHARLES H. PECK



RESIDENCE OF CHARLES P. CHOUTEAU.
About 1880, on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River.

main streets and running back 300 feet to other main streets." This was the French measure. The French foot was nearly thirteen English inches.

The Civic League of 1908 regretted the utilitarianism which turned the public square on the river front to commercial account. In his testimony of 1825 before Commissioner Hunt, Auguste Chouteau told that the first intention had been to lay out a street on the edge of the limestone cliff overlooking the river. This would have given St. Louis the esplanade which the Civic League, 145 years afterwards, thought would be an ideal water front. The question at issue was whether the market square was inherited by the municipality, or was to be considered government property, and as such to be classed as school land under the Act of Congress. Auguste Chouteau stoutly maintained that this square belonged to the inhabitants of St. Louis, not to the Spanish or any other government. He gave a deposition on the subject. He said that "when he first came and laid out the town under the direction of Laclede they established the warehouse where the market house now stands. They intended then to have a street fronting the Mississippi with lots running back 300 feet. After that the plan was altered and a main street was laid out, leaving lots of about 150 feet deep between it and the river. The town was laid out and surveyed by this deponent upon this plan. After this the warehouse was removed to the square where he at present resides." (The west side of Main between Market and Walnut.) "When the Spanish authorities came to this town, Piernas and Perez, the lieutenant-governors, they granted the south part of the square to Benito Vasquez and Bonaventure Collel. The balance was reserved for a Place Public. To the knowledge of this deponent, Madame Loisel, the midwife of the place, applied to Perez for a lot in this square. Mr. Perez told her it should not be granted, but should be reserved for the use of the inhabitants. And it has so remained from that time to this day. The deponent does hereby declare that this square belongs to the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis for their use as a public place. And if any persons should contend that it does not, but that it belongs to the school lands, that he having been the first in possession of the same will contend to his right for the same, he only relinquishing it for the benefit of the mayor, aldermen and citizens of the town of St. Louis as a Place Public."

Charles DeHault Delassus, the last of the Spanish governors, testified before Commissioner Hunt in substantiation of Auguste Chouteau, that this square "was considered a public place or rendezvous, and so much so that while acting as lieutenant-governor under the Spanish government, although he had power to grant lots or land, he would not and could not have granted that place which was used as the Place of Arms of the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis."

John Baptist Trudeau stated that when he came to St. Louis in 1774 he was told the whole square had been reserved for the use of the inhabitants. In 1825 he said he could say that to his knowledge this square of right belonged to the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis.

As early as 1810, Henry N. Brackenridge expressed the regret which this generation feels over the treatment of the river front:

> It is to be lamented that no space has been left between the town and the river; for the sake of the pleasure of the promenade, as well as for business and health, there should have been no encroachment on the margin of the noble stream.

Edmund Flagg, coming a quarter of a century later, was impressed in the same way:

> Water street is well built up with a series of lofty limestone warehouses; but an irretrievable error has been committed in arranging them at so short distance from the water. On some accounts this proximity to the river may be convenient; but for the sake of a broad arena for commerce; for the sake of a fresh and salubrious circulation of air from the water; for the sake of scenic beauty, or a noble promenade for pleasure, there should have been no encroachment upon the precincts of the "eternal river."

In the great fire of 1849 St. Louis had an experience similar to those of other American cities visited in the same manner. The fire destroyed twenty-three steamboats. It swept Front street from Locust to Market, with the exception of two or three houses. It burned over some fifteen blocks in the business district. The loss of the boats and their cargoes was $439,000. The total value of property destroyed was over $3,000,000. Instead of paralyzing the community or retarding its progress the great fire proved, to quote the words of one who suffered temporarily from it, "a benefit and a blessing like the tree that gathers more vigor when cropped of its luxuriance." Not only was St. Louis rebuilt with a better class of structures, but property holders on Main street secured the widening of that principal business thoroughfare. They met immediately after the fire and petitioned the Council to set back the building lines at their own expense. This was done and the street was widened to the limits it now has. St. Louis went ahead at a pace more rapid than it had ever known before the fire. This has since been the experience of Chicago and of Baltimore.

Unfortunately one of the movements inaugurated to take advantage of the fire and to improve the business front of the city was not carried out. It was proposed that the city should buy the property between the levee and Commercial street, from Vine street to Market street, and leave the space open for future treatment as a part of the levee. It was argued that this would prevent any fire that might start among the steamboats from spreading to the business district. It was urged that the restriction of business buildings to the west line of Commercial street, or Commercial alley, as it was afterwards more commonly called, would avert the occasional damage caused by unusual rise of the river. In brief, this movement to leave open the long strip of the city front has been renewed several times since the fire, and in 1908 took the form of a proposed riverside park. The movement failed just sixty years ago because the city, crippled somewhat by the losses of the fire, did not feel able to purchase the blocks which it was proposed should not be rebuilt. When the steamboat business was at its height in that period, this levee property was held at $1,000 a front foot. Luther M. Kennett, one of the most enterprising of St. Louis mayors before the war, advocated earnestly the purchase by the city of the strip from Locust to Wal-

nut street east of Commercial alley. It was found that the cost to the city would be between $1,500,000 and $2,000,000. Afterwards this property declined to a fraction of the value of the flush steamboat times.

Baptiste Riviere came to St. Louis "in the first boat" with Auguste Chouteau. He was about twelve years old. His father drove the cart which brought Madame Chouteau and the children a few weeks later from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. When he was eighty years old Baptiste Riviere gave before Commissioner Hunt his recollections of the site and the suburbs of St. Louis. "Immediately where the town stands," he said, "was heavy timber. But back of the town it was generally prairie with some timber growing. But where the timber did grow, it was entirely free of undergrowth. The grass grew in great abundance everywhere and of the best quality." Riviere was one of the principal witnesses before Theodore Hunt. His recollections were stated in clear and positive terms. Auguste Chouteau gave this sworn certificate of Riviere's character: "He has known Baptiste Riviere au Baccane for sixty years, and said Baptiste Riviere has always sustained the character of an honest man and a man of truth."

The settlement as Laclede drew the plan and Auguste Chouteau laid it out was between the river and Third street. Franklin avenue, first called Cherry street, on the north and Poplar street on the south were the other boundaries. It was divided into forty-nine squares, of which fifteen were along the river front, nineteen between Main and Second, and fifteen between Second and Third streets.

Pierre Chouteau, Sr., described to Theodore Hunt the custom of granting barn lots. He said he was well acquainted with the grants made for barn lots by the Spanish authorities and likewise with the grants made for barn lots by the French authorities. The French granted many more barn lots than the Spanish. It never was the custom to give more for a barn lot than 60 to 80 feet square.

Francis Duchouquette was one of the pioneer settlers whose testimony helped to establish the fact that the government reserved the rights to the river frontage. He told Theodore Hunt that "in the grants for town lots by the Spanish authorities there was always understood to be a reservation between the lots fronting the river for a tow for the boats. He said he had known that when a fence or fences were put up so as to interfere with the tow or road such fence or fences were pulled down by persons who found themselves obstructed. This was always considered the custom of the country."

Auguste Chouteau testified that he was well acquainted with what was the custom as to the grants for the lots fronting the Mississippi river in this town. There was always left a space between the lots so situated and the river for a tow or road. He never did know during the time the French or Spanish governed this country of any lot being fenced to the river either to high or low water mark.

Former Governor Delassus said: "No concession could be granted to obstruct or impede the public ways. Concessions on navigable waters

could not extend farther near the edge of high water than 20 or 30 feet, which space was reserved for the public use as a tow, road or path."

Laclede crossed his three parallel streets with two or three east and west thoroughfares and with several lanes. One of the streets was Rue de la Place. It led from the river westward past La Place, the public square, past Laclede's house, past the church and the graveyard and up to "the Hill." The plaza, or public square, gave the street its name. When the Pennsylvanians applied the Philadelphia plan, they bestowed upon Laclede's cross streets and lanes the names of trees. Rue de la Place became Walnut street. On the north fronts of La Place, of Laclede block, of the church and graveyard block, was another principal east and west street,—Rue de la Tour. It led up the hill to Fort San Carlos, or St. Charles, the principal feature of which was the round tower. The street of the tower —Rue de la Tour—was appropriate in its time. But the Americans turned La Place to utility. They could not be content with their practical minds to see an open square on the valuable river front where the keel boats unloaded and where commerce centralized. They built a market house on La Place. The tower at the fort was doomed. Rue de la Tour became Market street.

Transactions in St. Louis realty did not wait on written titles. Laclede's verbal grants, or assignments, were good enough for some investors. James Denis was a joiner. He was given a lot on the southeast corner of Second and Walnut streets. On the lot he built a house of posts. In January, 1766, which was before the first written deed passed, Denis sold the house and lot to Antoine Hubert, the merchant. The consideration was $220. This was probably the first real estate transaction in the history of St. Louis. Denis estimated the value of the house at $200. The lot, which he had held about eighteen months under Laclede's verbal assignment to him, was valued at $20. This transfer of real estate in the new settlement was recorded with care by Labusciere, who that very month began to keep the records of St. Louis. It is the first transfer on the record. Denis was evidently a born real estate man. In March, 1766, which was also before the issue of written titles by the St. Ange government, Denis made another sale. This second transaction was the transfer of a lot sixty feet front. It joined the first one, fronting on Second street. Hubert was again the investor. The lot was not improved. Hubert gave for it $20 and six quarts of rum. This was a notable advance in real estate values of St. Louis.

Pierre Berger gave Francois Latour a mortgage in September, 1766. This was the first instrument of the kind in St. Louis. It covered all that Pierre had. It called for the delivery of a certain number of bundles of deerskin to Francois within a specified time. If Pierre failed to make delivery his property was to go to Francois. There were some financial transactions of those times wherein the number of skins was given as the consideration. They were between individuals usually. In trade and commerce the rule was to give the skins a fixed value by the pound and thus establish their value as currency. When Judge J. B. C. Lucas bought his first piece

DOUBLE RESIDENCE AT SIXTH AND OLIVE STREETS.
About 1869, occupied by Mrs. Maffitt and C. P. Chouteau

C. G. GERHART

W. A. RUTLEDGE

ONE OF THE EARLY ROWS BUILT IN ST. LOUIS
Presented by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to his daughter and son
THE GROWING OF ST. LOUIS

of real estate in St. Louis the price was "six hundred dollars in deerskins."

The thoroughgoing, business character of Auguste Chouteau was shown in the prompt action he took to get the title to the mill tract of nearly 1,200 acres confirmed by the United States government after 1804. He was so successful that it is said "there has never been a single suit instituted about lands derived from Auguste Chouteau or his legal representatives." The Laclede grant, after the purchase at the church door became known as the Auguste Chouteau tract. It was confirmed by Spanish authority and was accepted by the United States as binding. It escaped all disputes and controversies of title. No land commission ever raised question as to the legality of the grant. In 1832 most of the property still remained in the possession of the Auguste Chouteau estate. It was divided among seven children. The subdivision was in parcels of five acres as far west as Seventeenth street. Beyond Seventeenth street the parcels were from ten to twenty acres. The extreme western part of the tract was divided into parcls of sixty-five acres. Some sales of property in the Auguste Chouteau tract were in considerable tracts. About 1840 Robert Ranken purchased from Henri Chouteau sixty-four acres for $7,000. Later Mr. Ranken secured another tract of sixty-four acres from Edward Chouteau for $6,500. The land thus acquired remained in the possession of Mr. Ranken and his heirs until it was valued at millions of dollars.

The Missouri Pacific Railroad company bought of the Auguste Chouteau tract eleven acres, where the railroad shops stand, for $11,000. The company also bought four blocks which are now covered with tracks between Seventh and Eleventh streets, for $120,000.

The first addition to the town of St. Louis was made jointly by Auguste Chouteau and J. B. C. Lucas about 1815. The Chouteau tract, acquired in the settlement of the Laclede estate, came almost to Chestnut street on the north. North of the Auguste Chouteau tract lay a long strip of land from Fourth street westward and from St. Charles street southward, which J. B. C. Lucas had acquired by purchase. Auguste Chouteau and J. B. C. Lucas donated to the city of St. Louis the square on which the court house stands, bounded by Fourth, Fifth, Market and Chestnut streets. They then laid out their property to the westward as an addition to the city.

"The Hill" where the court house and the Planters House are was more of an elevation than now appears. When Fourth street was graded, between 1830 and 1840, it was cut down four feet. Francois Gunell, the tradition is, had the contract to grade. In the block on which the Planters stands was a depression or a gully, thirty feet deep. J. B. C. Lucas, who owned the ground, offered Gunell three cents a cubic yard to dump the dirt he was taking from Fourth street into the hole. At the conclusion of the job the contractor brought in a bill for $60 against Judge Lucas. At this point the story becomes almost incredible. Judge Lucas offered to deed Gunell one-half of the ground to pay the bill of $60. The contractor declined, saying he needed the money.

When James H. Lucas and Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt came into their inheritance on the death of Judge J. B. C. Lucas, the estate was in land. It

amounted in the values of that day to $45,000 or $50,000. The land was unimproved, but it was burdened with no debts. James H. Lucas began to build. His first improvement was on the Fourth street block opposite the Planters. Borrowing $20,000 in Philadelphia he erected a building on the northeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut. Then he put two buildings about midway of the Fourth street block. As he could command the means Mr. Lucas covered the Fourth street front from Chestnut to Pine with renting property. That ground was cleared and built over a second time after the death of Mr. Lucas. It is occupied now by the third improvement—the Pierce building.

Mr. Lucas increased his estate by steadily improving the ground until he was worth $7,000,000. Determination and patience were his marked characteristics.

When James H. Lucas was supposed to be worth at least $2,000,000 he told a friend in conversation at the Planters one day that he frequently found himself without enough ready money to go to market with. Mr. Lucas was a quiet, self-contained man except in the presence of a few intimates. When this reserve was thrown aside he could be very entertaining. Although he accumulated a great fortune, he was much of the time a borrower. When he had money he was ready to invest it in public enterprises. Most of the gifts of Mr. Lucas for public purposes took the form of real estate. Mr. Lucas gave to the city the lot at Sixth and Chestnut on which the stone jail stood until the Four Courts was occupied. He gave the space known as Twelfth street, building a long narrow market house for public convenience in the center of it, from Olive to Chestnut. The hay market was in the wide space at one end and the coal market was at the other end. Mr. Lucas gave the site on which the Planters was built. He gave the Historical society its location. He gave Missouri park. He subscribed to every public enterprise that was started. For a time the Planters bore the name of Lucas. Missouri park was at first known as Lucas park. The select residence section west of the park was called Lucas Place. The market was known as Lucas market, and the spacious Twelfth street was long known as Lucas Market Place. In 1908 a member of the family with a tinge of bitterness in manner called attention to the fact that the name of "Lucas" had disappeared from all of these.

With what estimation his fellow citizens held James H. Lucas was seen in the presentation of a marble bust to Mrs. Lucas by a voluntary association of business men of the city. This bust was the work of J. Wilson McDonald, and was given to Mrs. Lucas with some ceremony in May, 1870. In the address of presentation this tribute was paid:

> He has liberally contributed toward the erection of churches and charitable institutions all over the city. He has donated property for public uses, laid out streets and avenues, and improved, built up and adorned many portions of the city with elegant and costly edifices. He has made the market which bears his name, and Lucas Place monuments of his liberal, public spirit, enterprise and good taste. His name is inseperable with the history of St. Louis. He has literally grown with her growth and in strength with her strength.

In 1872, when he was 72 years of age, James H. Lucas made partial distribution of his estate. He gave to his wife and eight children property valued at $2,000,000. The year before the distribution the taxes on the estate amounted to $126,000. At that time Mr. Lucas owned 225 stores and dwellings and had over 300 tenants. His income was $40,000 a month

To an Irish bachelor, St. Louis is indebted for the artery of the wholesale district. Jeremiah Connor was the second sheriff, succeeding James Rankin. He lived in a one-story stone house on the west side of Second street about midway between Pine and Olive. The house had two rooms and a porch; the lot ran back to Price's orchard, which was on Third street. Connor lived alone. The front room was his office. In the back room the sheriff slept. When the common fields lying over "the Hill" were divided into long strips, an arpent front and forty arpents deep, Connor secured two of the strips. This gave him a piece of land 380 front on Fourth street and a mile and a half deep, to Jefferson avenue. He laid it out with an east and west avenue eighty feet wide through the center, with lots 150 feet deep on either side. In those days a street of that width seemed extravagant. There was no other subdivision to compare with this in liberality of street dedication. Connor had his own way. He gave nearly twenty-five per cent of his real estate to public use. Lucas and Chouteau had laid off the first addition to St. Louis on the south of Connor, and Christy had laid off a strip on the north. The Irishman outdid them in the magnificence of his real estate plan. He didn't live to see houses built on the first avenue of St. Louis. He died in 1823.

The site of St. Louis University on Washington avenue between Ninth and Eleventh streets was the gift of Jeremiah Connor. The early St. Louis sheriff presented this ground through Bishop Dubourg. The time was 1820. In placing the property in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers for educational purposes, the bishop wrote a letter. He demonstrated, even at that early day, when St. Louis had about 2,500 inhabitants, the remarkable judgment which the Catholic clergy of St. Louis have shown in forecasting the future of the city. The letter was to Father Van Quickenborne at the head of the institution. The bishop wrote:

> And it may well be, that if the town increases and spreads, as it now promises to do, these two blocks will advance in value to the degree that in the end they will furnish you the means wherewith to establish yourself more permanently and with larger and better buildings at some other site, which in that future day becomes more desirable.

In 1886 the ground was sold by the university for $462,000. It is now the heart of the wholesale district and worth several times that amount.

How much is a city block in St. Louis? That depends. Auguste Chouteau, to whom Laclede gave the plan of the settlement, said the settlers who moved over from the east side of the river in the spring of 1764, "commenced building their cabins and entered their lines agreeably to the lines of the lots which I had drawn following the plan which Monsieur Laclede had left with me." The ideal of Laclede was a block 240 feet front on the streets parallel with the river and running back 300 feet. He made the north and south streets 36 feet wide and the cross streets 30 feet wide.

When the first Spanish governor, in 1770, yielded to the petition of the residents for a survey of their lots, he appointed Martin Duralde "surveyor of the colony of Illinois." Duralde said the way he surveyed the property holdings in this settlement, then six years old, was as follows: "I caused to accompany me the proprietor and his nearest neighbors, to serve as witnesses and to point out to me precisely the true situation of the concessions. I attained my object and caused the land to be bounded in my presence, with stones at the four corners."

Sixty years later errors in boundaries were corrected by corner stones which Duralde set. Twenty years after that, Henry W. Williams, a marvelously painstaking and accurate investigator of titles, found chains of titles going back to Laclede's verbal assignments and Duralde's stone corners without concession by French or Spanish government and without confirmation by the United States. They rested on possession for eighty-four years and were good.

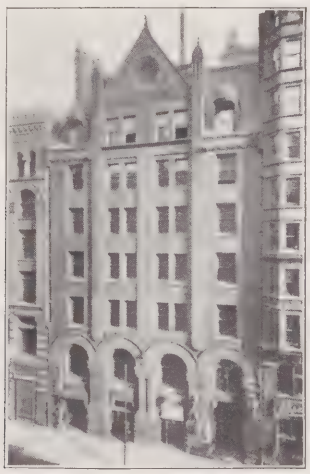
How much is a city block in St. Louis? Lucas said it should be, not what Laclede decreed, but 338 feet square. This was agreed to by Auguste Chouteau. The two of them laid off the streets and blocks between Clark avenue and St. Charles street on this basis. O'Connor, who got the narrow farm adjoining on the north, did not believe in cross streets. When the streets were opened north from St. Charles to Lucas avenue it was necessary to condemn. Then came the jogs, or offsets, in the street lines. Christy and Carr decided that the ideal block was 376 feet long. They used that as the unit in their additions. A little farther north, in the vicinity of Cass avenue, the Mullanphys thought 270 feet was a proper frontage for a block. Still farther out real estate owners adopted 500 feet for a block. Thus the city has spread with an arrangements of streets which makes a map of St. Louis look a little more symmetrical than a patchwork quilt.

For many years St. Louis grew and spread by accretions, block by block, street by street. Transportation and manufacturing interests preempted the river front and the lower levels, avoiding the grades. Residence streets followed the undulations of the higher ground. There was the minimum of method or foresight in the making of the city. A partial awakening came when Henry Shaw established his world-famed Missouri Botanical Gardens and added thereto Tower Grove Park, endowing them permanently for the benefit of the city. Thirty-five years ago, in face of much opposition, St. Louis acquired 1,376 acres of natural woodland in the then unimproved suburbs and created Forest Park, one mile wide and two miles long, at that time the largest park save Fairmount, Philadelphia, possessed by any city in the United States. Forest park, with its 10,220 feet length east and west, was added to the other considerations which determined for generations the trend of the city's residence growth.

Notwithstanding the irregularities of growth, St. Louis made a pleasing impression upon many of the early comers. Edmund Flagg, fresh from the

BENT HOMESTEAD,
On the river front, near the arsenal

COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR.



TURNER BUILDING
First skyscraper in St. Louis

THE ALEXANDER McNAIR HOUSE,
Property of the first governor of Missouri

THE COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF CHARLES GRATIOT,
Southwest of Forest Park

Atlantic seaboard, in 1836, to become a St. Louis editor, wrote of the city which was like none other:

There is about it a cheerful village air, a certain rus in urbe, in which the grenadier preciseness of most of our cities is the antipodes. There are but few of those rectilinear avenues cutting each other into broad squares of lofty granite blocks, so characteristic of the older cities of the North and East, or of those cities of transmontane origin so rapidly rising within the boundaries of the valley. There yet remains much in St. Louis to remind one of its village days; and a stern eschewal of mathematical, angular exactitude is everywhere beheld. Until within a few years there was no such thing as a row of houses; all were disjoined and at a considerable distance from each other; and every edifice, however central, could boast its humble stoop, its front door plat, bedecked with shrubbery and flowers and protected from the inroads of intruding man or beast by its own tall stockade. All this is now confined to the southern or French section of the city; a right Rip Van Winkle-looking region, where each little steep-roofed cottage yet presents its broad piazza, and the cosy settee before the door beneath the tree shade, with the fleshy old burghers soberly luxuriating on an evening pipe, their dark-eyed, brunette daughters at their side. There is a delightful air of "old-fashioned comfortableness" in all this that reminds us of nothing we have seen in our own country, but much of the antiquated villages of which we have been told in the land beyond the waters. Among those remnants of a former generation which are yet to be seen in St. Louis are the venerable mansions of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, who were among the founders of the city. These extensive mansions stand upon the principal street, and originally occupied, with their grounds, each of them an entire square, enclosed by lofty walls of heavy masonry, with loopholes and watch towers for defense. The march of improvements has encroached upon the premises of these ancient edifices somewhat; yet they are still inhabited by the posterity of their builders, and remain, with their massive walls of stone monuments of an earlier era.

Who built the first brick house in St. Louis? When, in the decade of 1830-40 brick yards were doing a thriving business and everybody in St. Louis wanted to live in a brick house, the local historians started a controversy about the honor of building the first structure of this kind. Tradition had it that Pierre Berthold sr., coming west from a trip saw a bricklayer in Marietta, Ohio, and persuaded him to come to St. Louis. This first bricklayer, who also was a brickmaker, was John Lee. He turned out the brick, finding St. Louis clay admirably adapted for the purpose. He built a store on Main, between Chestnut and Market streets, for Berthold and Chouteau. After that Mr. Lee had more orders for brick houses than he could fill. He did well, raised a large family. Among his descendants are some of the best known people of St. Louis.

Thomas Fiveash Riddick was president of the short-lived Bank of Missouri when he built the first brick house on south Fourth street. Riddick didn't occupy the mansion long. Charles Milliken occupied the house, which was considered one of the finest in St. Louis. Judge Luke E. Lawless bought it. Edward Walsh occupied it. But the chief historic interest attaching to the Riddick mansion is based on the use of it and of the whole square from Fourth to Fifth, from Cerre to Poplar, under the name of Vauxhall Garden. For many years that was the popular place for meetings and for celebrations. Vauxhall Gardens in its best days drew the best people of St. Louis. Later the character of the resort changed; the attendance was not select.

The builder of the first sky-scraper in St. Louis was a Virginian, a

lawyer by profession, George R. Taylor. He was a native of Alexandria, and began practice there. In 1841 Mr. Taylor became convinced that John Adams was mistaken in his prophecy that Alexandria would become one of the greatest commercial ports of the world. He took down his shingle and moved to St. Louis. He startled this community by building a six-story structure. Up to that time St. Louis had been fairly well satisfied with two-story business houses. The city was without a hotel which appealed to local pride. George R. Taylor conceived, financed and completed Barnum's St. Louis Hotel, although two years was required for the construction, and the cost was $200,000. After the fire of 1849 came the building of the Merchants Exchange on Main street, the most imposing structure of its time. George R. Taylor managed that public enterprise so skillfully that his fellow stockholders presented to him a $1,000 set of silver. He failed in one of his public spirited movements, for which failure every generation since has had occasion to feel regret. As a member of the council, Mr. Taylor tried, after the fire, and before rebuilding began, to have the city purchase the strip of ground between Commercial street and the levee and add it to the river front of the city. He did succeed in getting Main street widened.

The Green Mountain state contributed to St. Louis a family of hotel keepers, the Barnums. Theron Barnum was the nephew of the man who made Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore "the best hotel in the United States" about 1825. He had some experience keeping a hotel at the terminus of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad when Ellicott's Mills was the transfer point between the railroad and the stages. The wife of Theron Barnum was Mary L. Chadwick, of Connecticut They came to St. Louis in 1840 and took charge of the hotel on Third and Vine streets and conducted it until 1852. Out of Theron Barnum's popular hotel keeping came the movement in which George R. Taylor enlisted the help of George Collier, Joshua B. Brant and J. T. Swearingen to build Barnum's hotel. Theron Barnum made his hotel famous for a ragout. No distinguished visitor came to St. Louis without hearing of the highly favored stew, the recipe for which Barnum guarded jealously.

Yeatman's Row was one of the early introductions of Philadelphia residential architecture. It was "elegant," according to the account of a newspaper in 1847. The row was 299 feet long, extending from Eleventh west on Olive street. Mr. Yeatman's was the central section. Others who shared in the row were Messrs. Franklin, Mead, Lucas, Cook, Garland, Sellew, Crinion and Mayger.

"Made in St. Louis" was a popular sentimental consideration. When the building of stores on "the American street," as some called Fourth street, began, the constructors dwelt with pride on the fact that they were utilizing home material. On one block William M. McPherson and John R. Shipley built business houses of "Missouri marble." On the next block "Missouri iron" was made conspicuous by the architectural plans.

"The Ten Buildings" occupied the east side of Fourth street from Lo-

BARNUM'S HOTEL,
As it Appeared Before the Civil War

THOMAS WALSH

DAVID H. EVANS

RESIDENCE OF JOHN P. CABANNE,
Built in 1819.

THE CITY'S EVOLUTION

cust to Vine. This was a uniform block divided into ten parts. The three next to Locust were built by James H. Lucas, the next three by Anne Lucas Hunt, the next two by William M. Morrison, and the two at the Vine street end by the estate of George Collier. The row was four stories high, with what the architect, William Rumboldt, informed that generation were tympanums at the corners and in the center. When finished "The Ten Buildings" formed the most notable triumph of business architecture in St. Louis. The row was considered finer than any single business structure west of New York city.

Diagonally across Fourth street from the Ten Buildings, filling the block on the west side from St. Charles to Washington avenue, was erected about the same time in the fifties "Verandah Row." It received the name from the immense verandah above the second story, extending to the curb line.

The time was when the east side of Fifth street, or Broadway, as it is now, had altogether the best of the west side in popularity. That was when Eugene Jaccard, with his glittering array of jewels and precious metals, moved into a grand new building on the corner of Olive and Fifth, where the Commonwealth Trust Company now is. Jaccard drew the trade and the travel to the east side. Property on the west side was so slow that the Darby building, the site of which is the sixteen-story Third National Bank building of today, went begging a long time for tenants.

Probably the most imposing business structure in St. Louis before the war was a great iron and marble building on Olive street between Second and Third. It was planned and built by Socrates Newman. Born in St. Louis, Mr. Newman, after trying politics and other employment, joined George C. Graham in an iron foundry. The concern was enterprising. It turned out the first large water mains laid in the streets of St. Louis. Having made some money, Mr. Newman took a trip to Europe. Coming home with new ideas, he built what was a wonderful office building for that period. The structure was so far ahead of the city that the builder in after years frequently referred to it as "Newman's Folly."

Chestnut street, between Second and Main, was the fashionable residence section in 1830. Here was "Quality Row." In one of the two-story brick houses of this continuous row lived Wilson P. Hunt, the postmaster. The postoffice was in a small wooden building at Second and Chestnut streets. Other occupants of the brick row were Henry Von Phul, the merchant; Henry L. Cox, cashier of the United States Bank; J. W. Reel, the merchant, and Thornton Grimsley, the inventor and manufacturer of the cavalry saddles. On Vine and Second streets was located one of the institutions of the city at that time. It was known as the "Arcade Baths."

A recollection of St. Louis as he knew it in 1830 was left by W. A. Lynch. At that time Mr. Lynch lived on Second street near Walnut. He said:

> Immediately opposite my residence was an old dilapidated French house, at one time the residence of Gov. McNair and afterwards used as a courthouse. The Chouteau block north of Walnut street wall contained the old family mansion, with garden and fruit trees, protected on the south and west sides by the old stone wall. The church

square was well enclosed with an old picket fence, so generally used by the early settlers of St. Louis. The improvements consisted of a garden, some shrubbery, and flower plants in the foreground, a one-story stone house in the southwest corner and the priest's house in the southeast quarter of the block, occupied as a residence by Bishop Rosatti. The old wooden church had been removed and a large brick church had been erected on the northeast corner of the grounds, originally designed for a fine church but it was never finished, although used for divine services until the completion of the present cathedral. The graveyard occupied the north half of the block and contained many graves marked by tombstones and crosses, but the time for innovating improvements had arrived and during the winter of 1830-31 the whole of the old graveyard was dug over and the remains, with the exception of those which were claimed by friends, were placed in a pit and now lie under the floor of the present cathedral. The others were interred in the new cemetery located on the St. Charles road near the intersection of Franklin and Jefferson avenues. The old brick church was rented and converted into a warehouse; a livery stable was built on a portion of the ground and fire originated in the stable in the spring of 1835, destroying the stable and contents, also the old brick church with its contents.

When Dr. Gabriel Tutt in 1835 moved from his home in Virginia he brought with him his negro servants, his horses and his wagons. He camped for some weeks on Charles Cabanne's farm, now one of the best residence districts of St. Louis. Mr. Cabanne tried to induce Dr. Tutt to buy his farm. He offered the land for $20 an acre. Dr. Tutt declined. He thought the farming land in Cooper county was better, and settled near Boonville. The sons of Dr. Tutt, Thomas E. Tutt and Gardner Dent Tutt, came back to St. Louis a generation later to become prominent in the commercial and financial life of the city.

The three homes which Dwight Durkee, the merchant and banker, occupied illustrated the rapid trend of the residence section westward in one man's lifetime. Mr. Durkee was of a Genesee county, New York, family. He came to St. Louis previous to 1840. His first home was a choice residence neighborhood on Collins near Main street, half a dozen blocks north of his wholesale dry goods store on Main and Market streets. He moved to Twelfth street and later to Twenty-eighth street. His third home at the time he made it was considered a country place. But he lived there long enough to see it the center of the choicest residence section and then to become unfashionable.

In the public buildings of St. Louis architecture and material have varied widely. The court house, which was begun in 1839, and upon which $1,200,000 was expended, was planned to be semi-classic in the form of a Greek cross, with a dome that was accepted as a model by architectural critics. Maine granite was the material employed in the Federal building. Cream colored Joliet stone was used with not admirable effect for the Four Courts, a building which in some lines suggested the Louvre of Paris, with mansard wings and a cupola. The building cost three-quarters of a million of dollars, and proved to be as shocking as the court house was satisfactory in taste and utility. The city hall was classed as Victorian Gothic in style, built of stone and at a cost of $2,000,000. Built in the form of quadrangles, of red granite, in Tudor-Gothic style, the buildings of Washington University have been pronounced by visitors among the most pleasing structures of St. Louis.

A reservoir on top of one of the mounds was the beginning of water works for St. Louis. The mound selected was east of Broadway, not far from Ashley street. It was adjoining the home of General Ashley, one of the show places of St. Louis in 1830. About that year the movement for water works obtained practical form. This reservoir held 230,000 gallons which, according to contemporaneous comment, was "amply sufficient for the wants of the city of that period." The water was pumped from the river into this reservoir a distance of about four blocks. Before 1840 an increase in the capacity of the reservoir was necessary. It was 60,000 gallons. The city had grown in ten years from 6,000 to 16,000.

The next decade, from 1840 to 1850, sent the population up from 16,000 well toward the 100,000 mark. The water problem became serious. As a temporary expedient, wooden walls were erected to increase the capacity of the mound reservoir to 400,000 gallons. This was soon inadequate as to capacity. Moreover, it lacked the pressure to distribute the water to all parts of the city. A mile or more to the westward, north of Cass avenue, about Twenty-second street, the city obtained a site and built a reservoir with walls of masonry to hold 7,900,000 gallons. Almost before that was finished plans were made for a reservoir to contain 32,000,000 gallons. The engines worked night and day to meet the demand. In 1854 the city was using 3,500,000 gallons a day. That year St. Louis had forty miles of water pipe. A new industry had been born. Until about 1847 water pipe was brought to St. Louis from iron works up the Cumberland or the Ohio rivers. John Stacker obtained the first contract to supply the city with water pipe. In 1846 or 1847 the Garrisons proposed to manufacture water pipe and were encouraged by an order from the city. That was six-inch to ten-inch pipe. In 1849 Palm and Robinson began to make twenty-inch pipe. Two years later Graham & Co, became water pipe makers. Peter Brooks was highly complimented in the newspapers when he had completed his addition to the waterworks in 1843. The addition was described as "one hundred feet each way and twelve feet deep." It was constructed of planks and was "caulked and pitched" like the hull of a steamboat.

Mayor Krum proposed, in 1848, an aggressive policy of street paving. He urged the council to grade and macadamize a large number of streets in what today is the business part of the city. Twenty-five of the principal physicians united in a protest against macadam. They said:

> The undersigned, being requested to express their opinion as to the effects produced on the public health by the dust which arises in such large quantities from the macadamized streets in St. Louis in dry weather and fills the atmosphere, beg leave to state,—
>
> First, that it is extremely deleterious to the eyes, producing inflammation of those organs.
>
> Second, that being inhaled into the air passages, it produces various diseases of those parts, such as chronic laryngitis, bronchitis, consumption, etc.

Thirty feet for streets was considered ample so long as St. Louis lay east of Fourth street. When J. B. C. Lucas and Auguste Chouteau laid out their additions westward from Fourth street they adopted sixty feet

as the standard for the east and west streets. The supervising architect of the Treasury, Mr. Mullett, came to St, Louis to see the site of the post-office. He was serious when he saw Olive and Locust, Eighth and Ninth streets. He proposed to all of the property holders opposite the site to draw back their building lines nine feet, the government to do the same with its building lines. Mr. Mullett's suggestion was unanimously rejected with scorn. The custom house was cut down so that its walls were set back from twenty to thirty feet from the street lines. That is the way the spacious sidewalks in front of the postoffice came about.

The narrowness of the streets of the business section of St. Louis did not impress itself when they were occupied by residences. It was the custom upon most of these streets, especially the cross streets, to set back the residences behind a little grass plot. Then the street seemed wide enough.

Early in the decade of 1850-1860 the people of St. Louis awoke to the drain upon the city treasury by street improvements. The municipality was spending $40,000 a year in such betterments. To stop this the Legislature passed an act providing that the original improvement of streets must be at the expense of the property through which they are made.

North St. Louis was a town independent of St. Louis when laid out in 1816. William Christy, William Chambers and Thomas Wright were the creators. They set apart a market place, a school location and church site. The bounds of the town of North St. Louis were the river, Twelfth, Madison and Montgomery streets. In 1841 North St. Louis was annexed.

South St. Louis was something more definite than geographical. The name belonged legally and officially to an addition of the city dedicated in 1836 by between twenty and thirty property holders. The territory included was from the hospital on the north to the workhouse on the south.

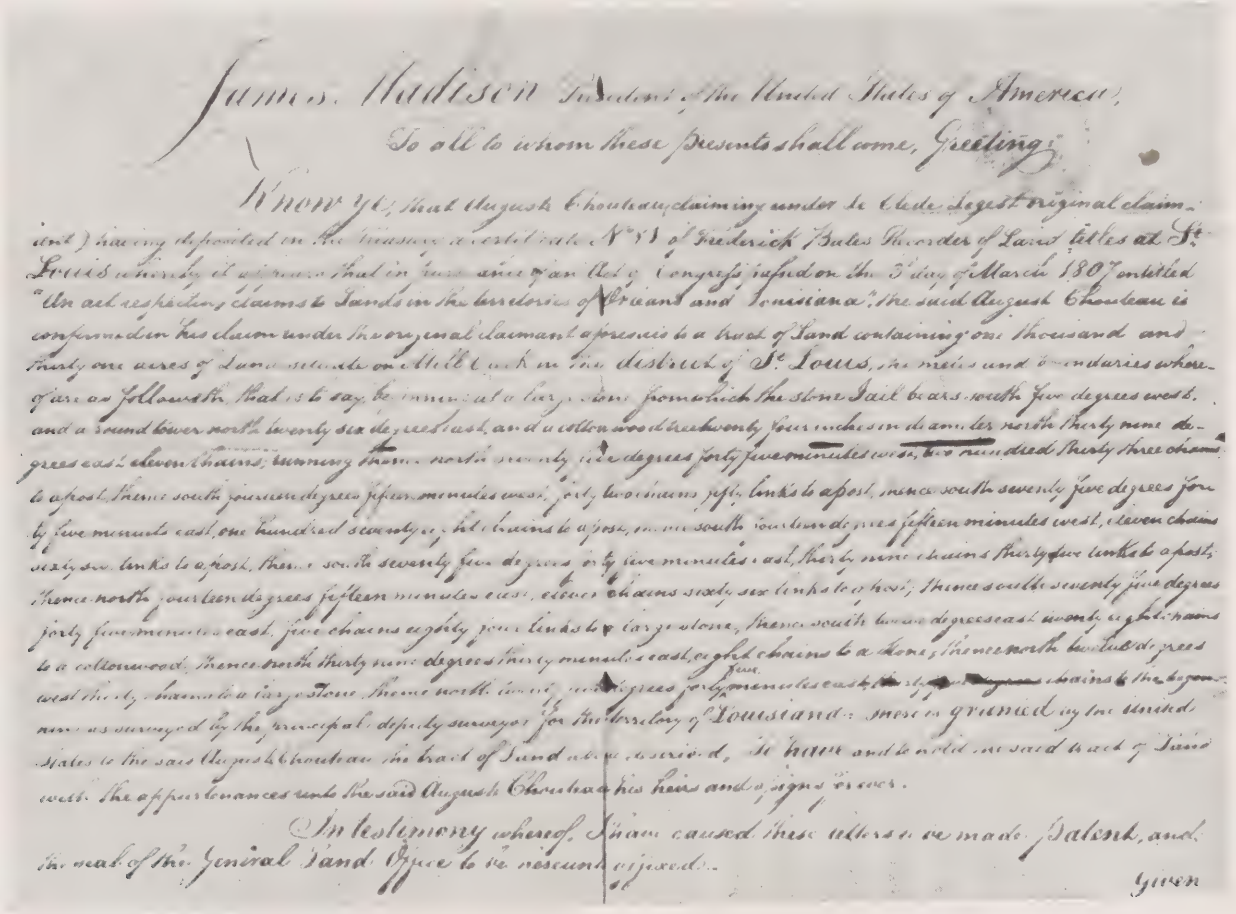
Highland was a village adjacent to St. Louis in 1848. The founder was John R. Shepley. Highland lay between what are now Jefferson and Leffingwell avenues, Laclede avenue and Eugenia street. Seven years after it was laid out Highland was absorbed by St. Louis.

Fairview was an addition to the city in 1848. It was in the southwestern suburbs between Rosatti and Morton, Sidney and Victor streets.

In 1849 Lowell was laid out as a suburb. It extended from Bellefontaine road to the river and from Grand avenue to what is now Adelaide avenue. E. C. Hutchinson, Josephine Hall, Edward F. Pittman, Robert Hall and William Garrett were among the founders. Lowell had an independent existence until 1876, when it became a part of St. Louis.

Evans Place was an addition of twelve blocks north of Page and between Prairie and Taylor avenues. The Evans family with Montgomery Blair dedicated the ground.

Fair Mount was a well elevated tract of twenty-five blocks in the northwestern part of the city. It was brought in as an addition in 1869. The boundaries were King's Highway, Mackland avenue, Bischoff and Northrup avenues.



James Madison President of the United States of America;

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

Know ye, that August Chouteau claiming under Le Clede (Legest original claimant) having deposited in the Treasury a certificate N° 81 of Frederick Bates Recorder of Land titles at St. Louis whereby it appears that in pursuance of an Act of Congress passed on the 3d day of March 1807 entitled "An act respecting claims to Lands in the territories of Orleans and Louisiana", the said August Chouteau is confirmed in his claim under the original claimant a certain tract of land containing one thousand and thirty one acres of land situate on Mill Creek in the district of St. Louis, the metes and boundaries whereof are as follows to that is to say, beginning at a large stone from which the stone Said bears south five degrees west, and a round lower north twenty six degrees east, and a cotton wood tree twenty four inches in diameter north thirty nine degrees east eleven chains, running thence north seventy five degrees forty five minutes west, two hundred thirty three chains to a post, thence south fourteen degrees fifteen minutes west, forty two chains fifty links to a post, thence south seventy five degrees forty five minutes east, one hundred seventy eight chains to a post, thence south fourteen degrees fifteen minutes west, eleven chains sixty six links to a post, thence south seventy five degrees forty five minutes east, thirty nine chains thirty four links to a post, thence north fourteen degrees fifteen minutes east, eleven chains sixty six links to a hoss, thence south seventy five degrees forty five minutes east, five chains eighty four links to a large stone, thence south two and degrees east twenty eight chains to a cotton wood, thence north thirty nine degrees thirty minutes east, eight chains to a stone, thence north two and degrees west thirty, chains to a large stone thence north [illegible] degrees forty minutes east thirty [illegible] chains to the beginning as surveyed by the principal deputy surveyor for the Territory of Louisiana: which is granted by the United States to the said August Chouteau the tract of land above described, To have and to hold the said tract of land with the appurtenances unto the said August Chouteau his heirs and assigns forever.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the seal of the Genl Land Office to be hereunto affixed.

Given

AUGUST CHOUTEAU'S TITLE TO ONE THOUSAND ACRES IN MILL CREEK VALLEY CONFIRMED BY THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE ACQUISITION OF LOUISIANA TERRITORY

Rock Point was an addition to the city by Stephen D. Barlow as executor of the will of W. C. Carr. It was dedicated in 1853, having a front on the river between Dorcas and Lynch streets and extending back to Carondelet avenue, now Broadway,

Rock Springs was an independent village in the western suburbs before the war. It was laid out by John B. Sarpy in 1852 and brought into the city in 1876.

Rose Hill was the name which the Gambles, D. C. and Hamilton, gave to an addition they platted to the northward of Cabanne. The nineteen blocks included were between Union avenue and Hodiamont and lay in a body south of Easton avenue, or the St. Charles Rock road as it was called when the addition was established in 1871. The building up of Rose Hill, making it one of the most populous sections of the city, has been a feature of the rapid extension of the residence movement westward since the World's Fair.

Henry Clay came to St. Louis in 1846 to conduct a sale of real estate. The land which he owned was known as "Clay's old orchard tract." It was about 220 acres. The statesman subdivided it into tracts of from five to forty acres and offered it for sale. He appeared at the Court House door on the day set and made a few remarks to the assembled citizens about the land. He stated that he wished to reserve a single bid for himself. Several of the choicest pieces were offered for bids. Mr. Clay's reserved bid was announced to be $120 per acre. Nobody was willing to raise that bid. Mr. Clay then offered the whole tract for $100 an acre. He was quite disappointed at the lack of activity on the part of the crowd, Three years after Mr. Clay endeavored to sell the land at $100 an acre, a considerable portion of it sold at an average of $250 per acre and in 1853, seven years after Mr. Clay's visit, sixty acres of this land sold at $450 an acre. In 1857, another piece of the tract sold at $1,050 an acre. In 1859, thirteen years after Mr. Clay's offer of the land, some of it sold at $2,000 per acre. A part of Mr. Clay's tract is embraced in Calvary cemetery.

The buying and selling of real estate became a distinctive vocation in St. Louis about 1848. Previous to that time the real estate agent, save in connection with other business, was not known. Leffingwell and Elliott opened a real estate office. Contrary to expectation they continued to do business. Hiram W. Leffingwell was of Massachusetts birth. He taught school, studied law, surveyed land and raised wheat before he came to St. Louis and dealt in real estate. Although Mr. Leffingwell was probably the pioneer real estate man in transactions of magnitude, John Bryne, Jr., began in a modest way somewhat earlier. His office was in a little building on Chestnut street near Fourth. It was established in 1840. Chestnut street has always been Real Estate Row. In nearly seventy years, the business has moved due westward along that street and over "the Hill" only a few blocks. John Byrne, Jr., was a New York City boy. He came to St. Louis just after the panic of 1837 and tried the dry goods business two years. Eugene Kelley kept a neighboring store at the same time but went back to New York and founded a great banking house.

The first great auction sale of St. Louis realty was that of the Stoddard Addition. It realized $701,676. The prices for these Stoddard addition lots were considered quite satisfactory. Ground at Locust and Beaumont brought fifteen dollars a foot. The same price was paid for the corner of Franklin and Ewing avenues. At Washington and Garrison avenues the successful bid was five dollars and seventy-four cents a front foot. At Lucas and Ewing avenues and at Lucas and Leffingwell avenues the highest bids were ten dollars a foot. Within eight years, in 1859, this same Stoddard addition property went up to sixty and one hundred dollars a front foot.

When Stoddard Addition was laid out Leffingwell and Elliott had a sharp controversy with some of the owners of the land embraced in the large subdivision. These owners wanted the maximum of front feet and the minimum of depth. They stood for narrow streets and shallow lots. The real estate men insisted on plotting for a large city with wide streets, deep lots and spacious alleys. They had their way by the exercise of considerable persuasion. At that time, September 10, 1851, Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie was observed annually in St. Louis. One year a reproduction of the battle was given on Chouteau's pond. The real estate men chose the anniversary for the beginning of the three days' sale of auction lots in Stoddard addition.

Richard Smith Elliott, who came to St. Louis in 1843, described St. Louis as it was in that year:

> We spent the winter of 1843-4 in St. Louis and took boarding first in the then outskirts of the city, in the brick mansion owned by Mrs. John Perry, on the corner of Sixth and Locust streets. Luther M. Kennett was building the first marble front ever in St. Louis on the next lot north, but folks generally thought it was rather far away from business, then mostly transacted on the Levee, Main and Second streets. From our windows we could look westward to a clump of forest trees at Eighteenth and St. Charles streets and could see the camp of some Indians on a friendly visit to Colonel Mitchell, the superintendent. Beyond the Indian camp were farms. I had very little to do and often strolled away up Sixth and Seventh streets where but few houses obstructed the view and I sometimes went even as far as Chouteau's pond, and would look at the outside of the old stone mill, in which ten years later I aided to start the first stone sawing by steam in St. Louis, and would try to imagine what a nice cascade the water trickling over the mill dam would make if there was only enough of it. Mr. Renshaw's lone mansion was at the corner of Ninth and Market, but there was little if any city growth beyond. On Morgan street and Franklin avenue, I was told that I could get lots at seven or eight dollars a foot. I did not think it worth while to regret that I had no money to buy with.

About 1850, St. Louis real estate men laid out what was designed to give this city the finest drive in the world. The closely built residence section at that time extended not far west of Seventh street. Leffingwell and Elliott were civil engineers. They took the ridge which is now traversed by Grand avenue, laid out a roadway along the crest from Carondelet to the river above Bremen, a distance of between twelve and fourteen miles. The route was natural for the purpose intended. It was without much change of elevation. Except for the descent across Chouteau's pond, the proposed roadway occupied high and commanding ground almost the entire route. The views from the proposed roadway were very fine, both east-

ward and westward. The real estate men went before the county court and asked for a condemnation of this roadway, which they called Grand avenue, making it either 120 or 150 feet wide. The members of the court were amazed. At that time the regulation width of a roadway in and about St. Louis was forty feet. After a great deal of arguing, the engineers and real estate men were able to obtain from the court favorable action on eighty feet. This was the beginning of the Grand avenue of today. If Leffingwell and Elliott and their associates had been successful they would have established a magnificent boulevard instead of the avenue only fairly adequate for the traffic of 1909.

"It will be the greatest street in America some day," Mr. Leffingwell used to say in 1850, as he pointed to the boulevard 120 feet wide laid down on the map which hung in his office. Mr. Lindell was one of the real estate owners who became deeply interested in the proposed boulevard. He laid out an addition near the Fair Grounds to conform to the plan. Thereupon Mr. Leffingwell named the boulevard "Lindell avenue." But when the county court reduced the width to eighty feet the name was changed to "Grand avenue."

The Lindells were from Maryland, Worcester county. The first of them received a grant of land and came over from England long before the American Revolution. His son, John, became famous as a successful farmer. Peter Lindell, a grandson of the founder of the family in Maryland, left the farm and became a trader on the Ohio river. Owning his own boat and stocking it with goods, he made stops wherever there were settlers. In exchange for his goods he took furs, pelts, hemp and tobacco. When the stock of goods was exhausted, and the boat was loaded with products, Peter Lindell made a trip to Pittsburg, and turned over his cargo for more goods and some money. In two years the business had developed so well that Peter sent for his brother, John Lindell, and later another brother, Jesse Lindell, was taken into the trading syndicate. The Lindells became well known all along the Ohio. In 1811, Peter Lindell gave up the floating trade and established himself as a merchant in St. Louis, opening a store on Main street. In a short time he made a great impression upon the community of 1,500 people by building three brick houses. As he made money from his store, he put it into real estate.

Peter Lindell was a man of splendid physique. In company with Mr. Collier he made a trip to the Eastern cities. The two St. Louisans stopped for the night at a roadside cabin near Shawneetown. As they went in Mr. Collier was recognized by a desperado whom he had offended some time before. The fellow declared his intention to kill Mr. Collier and started for his gun. Mr. Lindell interfered, and with his fists administered such a thrashing that there was no further trouble.

In 1826 Peter Lindell retired from mercantile life and devoted himself to his real estate business. He lived many years a retired life, one of the wealthiest men of the city, but known personally to few people. When his brothers died he took upon himself the care of their families. In times of financial stress, he came to the rescue of more than one man seriously

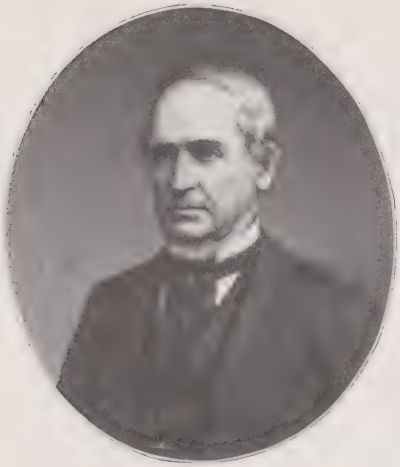
involved. But his good acts of generosity were unostentatious. By the justice of fate, long after his death, Peter Lindell's name was bestowed upon what has become one of the grandest city thoroughfares in this country.

Leffingwell labored through two generations to make Grand avenue a boulevard. He said this project promised one superiority over every similar thoroughfare in any other city. About 1887 he described it in this way:

> Following the boulevards of other places you find but two material points of rest—the city at the point of departure, and at the far other end the public park as the point of termination. It is reserved to Grand avenue alone to boast a succession of no fewer than five public parks, all beautiful and some of them the finest in the country; of a bridge promising a magnificence of architecture equal to its gigantic proportions; of a botanical garden, the just pride of the entire west—and of water works and grounds which people travel hundreds of miles to see. That such a multitude of parks and public places have since been located along the line which I projected in the pioneer days of '46 is a strong indorsement of the then selection, and, I may add, the most flattering compliment I ever received for the work.

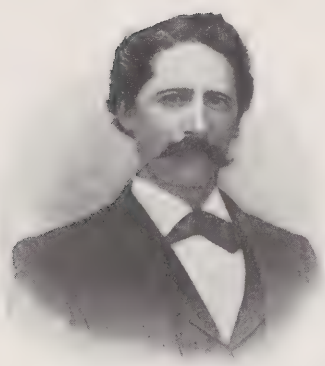
Soon after the Grand avenue project was started, about 1850, Henry Shaw, carrying in one hand a bunch of roses, entered the real estate office of Leffingwell and Elliott on Chestnut street. A decade before he had retired from his hardware business and had taken up his residence for most of the year on a farm three miles southwest of the city. Pointing with his cane to a map of St. Louis and the boulevard which Mr. Leffingwell was proposing, Mr. Shaw remarked in the most casual way that he was going to create and maintain a botanical garden free for visiting citizens and strangers. He indicated the present location of the garden and added that he had in mind to lay out and present a park extending from the garden to the boulevard. That was the first announcement of the greatest gift of its kind made to any American city. Over half a century elapsed. The park of 300 acres, with its wonderful forestry, its statues in bronze of Shakespeare and Humboldt, its miles of drives and walks, its flower beds, reached a degree of landscape development and beauty such as no other part of the country could show. The botanical garden, with its library and herbarium, its plant houses, became known the world over. When the Universal Exposition of 1904 was held the daily record of visitors to the garden, kept by the director, Dr. William Trelease, followed exactly the increase and decrease of World's Fair attendance. There was the evidence of the widespread fame which "Shaw's Garden" had attained.

As early as 1816, three citizens, William Chambers, William Christy and Thomas Wright set apart thirteen acres on the river front to become a park. They did not convey a complete title but gave the land to the city in trust to be maintained as a park. Under trusteeship this land was to "remain a commons forever." It was expected to be a benefit to those who bought lots in the addition of Chambers, Christy and Wright. The city made some park improvements but tired of the trusteeship. Although the courts sustained the city's control as against the heirs, the attempt to make a park out of Exchange Square, as it was called, was abandoned.



OLIVER A. HART

THE OLD RUSSELL FARM,
About Ninth street and Russell avenue, residence of Thomas Allen



MARCUS A. WOLFF

M. B. O'REILLY

At the time when General Ashley bought his place of eight acres extending from Biddle to Bates street, the present Broadway, upon which he fronted was called Federal avenue. The general placed in the front yard a fine fountain, the first seen in St. Louis.

Thornton Grimsley had so much to do with the selection of Lafayette Park, under the suggestion of Mayor Darby, that the place for some years went by the name of Grimsley's Folly. The conservative citizens of that day denounced Mayor Darby and Alderman Grimsley because the park was so large and so far from the settled part of the city.

The Fair Grounds tract was intended for a park over fifty years ago. At the time Henry Shaw was laying out his arboretum on the south side, John O'Fallon let it be known that he intended to donate sixty acres for a park in the northern suburbs. This was the older portion of the Fair Grounds lying west of Grand avenue and north of Natural Bridge road. Colonel O'Fallon mentioned his purpose in 1854. But before the gift to the city was consummated the Agricultural and Mechanical Association was organized. The tract was deemed especially suitable for fair grounds and was transferred to the organization.

A park proposition which in 1866 met with favor and to which the city council gave some consideration embraced twenty acres lying along Theresa avenue and extending across the Mill Creek valley from Market street to Chouteau avenue. A measure to buy the land was advocated, but it failed. The locality was a popular one when the city's growth was east of Beaumont street. Overlooking the proposed park tract was a suburban resort known as the Bellevue. Theophile Papin told in 1866 of having counted nearly twenty springs feeding the Chouteau mill pond. He described them as "fine, abundant wholesome fountains." With the expansion of the city westward and the draining of the pond all but two or three of these springs dried up or became chocked so that they did not flow.

In 1871 Senator Henry J. Spaunhorst filed a bill before the Legislature for the establishment of a park which was to extend eastward from Kings Highway, covering much of the territory now embraced in Forest Park. This was to be named St. Louis Park; it was to be surrounded by avenues 150 feet wide, to be named respectively: East, West, North and South avenues.

The Forest Park movement became active in 1869 under the inspiration of H. W. Leffingwell, "the old gray eagle" of the real estate fraternity. A bill passed the Legislature in 1872. Just before that an acre and a quarter at the southeast corner of Lindell avenue and Kings Highway was in the market for $2,800. No buyer would have it. The passage of the park act started one of the nearest approaches to a boom in the history of the real estate transactions of St. Louis. Would-be investors came from New York, Chicago, Cincinnati and Indianapolis to get in on the ground floor. They bargained for $1,800,000 worth of St. Louis property most of the proposed purchases being conditional on the park bill going through. Real estate men were confident that the transactions would reach $10,000,000 to $12,000,000 in the year. A court decision adverse to the park act paralyzed

the real estate market. Before the legal snarl was straightened, the panic of 1873 came on. St. Louis at length obtained the park but the real estate harvest was spoiled by the delay.

In the 1,326 acres of Forest Park were twenty-nine parcels. They ranged from 294 acres down to lots. Charles P. Chouteau and Julia Maffitt were the owners of the 294 acres tract. Isabella DeMun owned another large tract. The appraisers valued the entire 1,326 acres at $799,995. The appraisers were three real estate men, perhaps the best known of their day in St. Louis,—Theophile Papin, John G. Priest and Charles Green. The constitutionality of the act creating the park was tested in court. In the supreme court the act was sustained. Untrained vision sees at a glance Forest Park is diversified. The variation of altitudes is perhaps greater than can be found in any like area within the limits of St. Louis. At one place in Forest Park the surface is only twenty-two feet above the high water mark of 1844. This is in the valley of the Des Peres. Another place within the park is 175 feet above that high water mark. To put it differently, the altitudes of Forest Park vary over 150 feet.

A preliminary opening of Forest Park took place on the 29th of June, 1872. Vehicles carried the guests of the commissioners from downtown to a place under the trees a short distance from Kings Highway. In the current account of the celebration it was said:

"The place was very attractive; the trees are of oak, hickory, ash, walnut, elm, sassafras and sycamore, and the ground is rolling and smooth, with no underbrush, while the golden waters of the Des Peres flow near, and crystal springs gush boldly from the rocks." Speeches were made by Henry T. Blow, Carl Schurz, Frank P. Blair, H. C. Brockmeyer, H. W. Leffingwell, Stilson Hutchins and Nat C. Claiborne. Col. Claiborne gave Capt. Skinker, of Skinker Road, the credit for the final selection of the site by the Legislature at Jefferson City. He said:

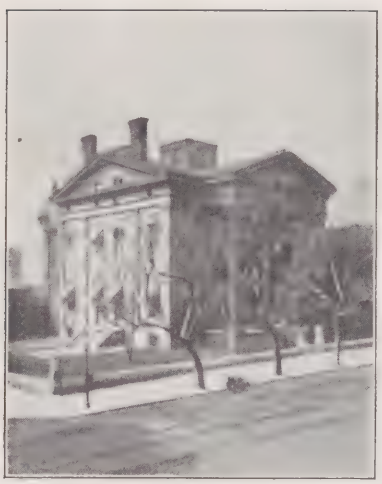
> Captain Skinker and Mr. Forsyth came up to Jefferson City. Mr. Gerhart came up with a project for the northern park. Mr. Skinker seeing the park was likely to go north, wrote a letter to Nicholas M. Bell, giving a highly poetic description of his location and recommending it as admirably adapted to a park. That letter contained more poetry than Byron, Moore and Milton ever dreamed of. When the bill for the park came up Mr. Skinker was told of the effect produced by his poetic letter. The bill passed

Possibly one reason why St. Louis made slow progress with park projects in the early days was the good fortune enjoyed in respect to suburbs. No matter where the building line has been in the almost century and a half, St. Louis has been favored with beautiful suburbs. Flagg described what he found here in 1836:

> The extent between the northern suburbs of St. Louis and its southern extremity along the river curve is about six miles, and the city can be profitably extended about the same distance into the interior. The prospect in this direction is boundless for miles around, till the tree tops blend with the western horizon. The face of the country is neither uniform nor broken, but undulates almost imperceptibly away, clothed in a dense forest of blackjack oak, interspersed with thickets of the wild plum, the crab apple and the hazel. Thirty years ago this broad plain was a treeless, shrubless waste, without a solitary farmhouse to break the monotony. But the annual fires were stopped; a young

J. G. LINDELL

PETER LINDELL



MANSION OF JAMES H. LUCAS

THE EAST PIAZZA,

Popular type of St. Louis residence of 1909

forest sprang into existence; and delightful villas and country-seats are now gleaming from the dark foliage in all directions. To some of them are attached extensive grounds adorned with groves, orchards, fishponds, and all the elegancies of opulence and cultivated taste; while in the distance are beheld the glittering spires of the city rising above the treetops. At one of these, a retired beautiful spot, I have passed many a pleasant hour, The sportsman may here be indulged to his heart's desire. The woods abound with game of every species; the rabbit, prairie hen, wild turkey, and the deer; while the lakes which flash from every dell and dingle, swarm with fish. Most of these sheets of water are formed by immense springs issuing from sinkholes and are supposed to owe their origin to the subsidence of the bed of porous limestone upon which the western valley is based. Many of these springs intersect the region with rills and rivulets, and assist in forming a beautiful sheet of water in the southern suburbs of the city. A dam and massive mill of stone was erected here by one of the founders of the city; it is yet standing surrounded by aged sycamores. The neighboring region is abrupt and broken, varied by a delightful vicissitude of hill and vale. The borders of the lake are fringed with groves, while the steep bluffs, which rise along the water and are reflected in its placid bosom, recall the picture of Ben Venue and Loch Katrine. This beautiful lake and its vicinity is indeed unsurpassed by any spot in the suburbs of St. Louis. At the calm, holy hour of Sabbath sunset its quiet borders invite to meditation and retirement. The spot should be consecrated as the trysting place and love and friendship. Some fine structures are rising upon the margin of the waters, and in a few years it will be rivalled in beauty by no other section of the city.

During the first half century the two great landmarks of the city were Chouteau's pond and the Big Mound. They disappeared about the same time. Newspapers chronicled "The Last of Chouteau's Pond" in 1870. The pond was really a lake, covering over one hundred acres. The north shore was very irregular, extending from Seventh street and Clark avenue past the Collier White Lead factory. Just east of the lead factory an arm reached northward to Olive street at between Tenth and Eleventh streets. Beyond the lead factory was a peninsular on which the Four Courts stands. This high ground projected into the pond directly southward and was occupied by the old Henry Chouteau mansion. The peninsular extended southward from Clark avenue to near Poplar street. Beyond Twelfth street the shore line of the pond extended northwest and west breaking into small arms. At its best the lake afforded a boating course of over one mile. The southern bank of the pond was made prominent by the high ground near 14th street. About Gratiot and Fourth streets the banks contracted in the early period and formed a narrow, rocky gorge, through which the waters flowed with considerable turbulence to the river. This was Mill creek. The rise of the little river which fed the pond was at Rock Springs on the Manchester road, four miles from the court house. As late as 1840 Chouteau's pond was a beautiful sheet of water, with high, grassy banks well shaded with forest trees. The water was clear and full of fish. On the bank was a free bath house for the boys. The groves around the grounds were favorite picnic resorts. In 1870 all that remained of the pond, long before partially drained, was a hole of dirty, stagnant water, diminishing as the ashes and garbage of the city were dumped on its edges.

About 1872, before the bridge was opened, a movement to widen Third street gained headway. From Locust street south to Carondelet avenue the proposition was to take twenty-five feet from the west side of Third.

With this in view, the Chamber of Commerce was set back from the building line. Third street was to be the great banking and brokerage and commercial thoroughfare, extending from the bridge entrance to Chouteau avenue. The financial institutions of the city were to be anchored there for all time. The newsaper offices were expected to remain there. Five daily papers were located in as many blocks on Third street at the time the movement was inaugurated. The custom house and the telegraph offices were there. Of Third street widened, the capitalists of the city entertained great expectations.

When a community reaches the metropolitan stage of development and dignity, a financial artery becomes one of its essential and vital parts. The stature of any body politic may lengthen. The muscles may bulge. The stride may become bolder. The artery pulsates fuller and stronger but it is fixed in its place. Threadneedle street is where and what it was in the London of generations ago. New York has never had but one Wall street. The Bourse of Paris will be the Bourse of Paris fifty years hence. Philadelphia has given Broad street a distinctive financial character which will continue. Chicago's wealth is massed on LaSalle street. Boston has her State street.

It comes about that within a short radius, perhaps upon a few blocks of a single street the financial institutions of a city group themselves. Having settled upon the locality these institutions remain through the years. The business district expands. The residence sections in their successive annexations indulge in vagaries and surprises. Manufacturing suburbs come into being and thrive. Skyscraping office buildings do not huddle together. Their architectural nature is to scatter within certain bounds. The wholesale district is a law unto itself and no man can predict whither it goeth twenty years hence. But the financial aorta endures; it is a fixture in the community. It follows no changing fashion or fancy of location. It is the organ of the municipal life which is the stayer.

The gravitation of banks, trust companies and stocks and bonds houses to Fourth and Fifth streets was one of the notable tendencies in the development of St. Louis. It was quiet and slow but steady and telling. A street known only by a numeral name has nothing of sentimental attraction. "Fourth street" was prosaic and non-suggestive. Broadway was borrowed. But in some mysterious way they have drawn within a few blocks north and south of Olive street great banks and trust corporations and many stocks and bonds houses, to say nothing of two scores of individual brokers.

Thirty years ago this character of Fourth street and Broadway was not foreshadowed in any degree. There were banks on Second street and Third street. Sixth street and Washington avenue had banks. Fourth street was without banks, and Broadway had only one or two financial institutions. Fourth street about 1870 was a street of quick financial activities. It abounded in institutions which received deposits not subject to check and which did a rapid business in discounts commonly called "rake offs." A certain state politician of high degree, a member of the legislature, had

occasion to tell an investigating committee what disposition he had made of a roll of currency handed to him contemporaneously with some important legislation. He testified that he put the money in a bank. Pressed for particulars the statesman finally elaborated his answer; he said he meant "a faro bank."

Lower Fourth street was the street of gambling houses. Upper Fourth street was the retail shopping thoroughfare. Broadway was beginning to be worthy of its name. The complete change of character in the street has had its evolution within twenty years. Today the financial heart of the city centers on Fourth street and Broadway, between the courthouse and Washington avenue.

As a political subdivision St. Louis occupies a unique position among American cities. Thirty-four years ago the city and county of St. Louis were permitted by the state to separate. The city assumed all debts of the county and was relieved of all county government. The western limits of the city were made an arbitrary curved line with a general north and south direction. If there was more curvature of this line on the west and of the river on the east, St. Louis would be egg shaped. The river bends to the east and the boundary line curves to the west, but river and line meet in north and south points. The length of the city along the river is about twenty miles. The greatest width is about six miles and this is midway between the north and south ends or points.

Thirty-four years ago the limits of the city seemed to the wise men of that generation to be ample. If those separatists looked forward in imagination to a city greater than they had provided for they did not allow it to check their plans. Under a new charter St. Louis became a new political subdivision of the state. The county of St. Louis set up its own government without debt, establishing its county seat about two miles west of the new limits of St. Louis. A period of thirty years has brought about unforeseen conditions. In 1876 Grand avenue, or Thirty-sixth street, was the limit of the residence section with many square miles of unimproved ground east of it. West of Grand avenue to the city limits stretched farm lands. In 1909 St. Louis has in proportion to the whole a smaller amount of unimproved ground within the present city limits than it had east of Grand avenue when the separation took place.

To the south to the southwest, to the west and to the northwest the home building has passed over the arbitrary boundary of the city. Beyond that boundary have come into existence a half hundred of communities which are parts of the city of St. Louis in all the metropolitan utilities, but not politically. They are in St. Louis county, but their residents do business in and belong to the great city of St. Louis.

Through Happy Hollow meandered the water from Chouteau's Pond after it had gone over the dam or the wheel. Happy Hollow was a tree-bordered ravine. It had its beginning west of the present Broadway and south of Spruce. The course was southwesterly toward the river about the foot of Chouteau avenue. To Happy Hollow the colored laundresses carried the family washing. Among the sycamores they stretched the lines.

In the early morning they scrubbed. Toward nightfall they carried home the clothes, clean and dry. Taking the children with them, they made blue Monday an outing. Happy Hollow lingered a pleasant memory in local history after it ceased to be the town laundry.

A locality which retained its unofficial designation longer than most of the other sections was Kerry Patch. It was a strip of two or three blocks wide and extended from Biddle to Mullanphy streets, along Seventeenth. Irish immigrants coming in great numbers about 1842 found this locality unoccupied commons. They built little houses without much regard to street lines and made themselves homes. Kerry is a part of Ireland famed for beautiful scenery. Its application to "the Patch" was hardly appropriate but it clung.

Where Twelfth and Pine streets intersect ran a deep gully. Its beginning was about the present site of the Jefferson hotel. Curving through what is now City Hall square, the gully was a landmark of such proportions that the early settlers bestowed a name upon it. They called the gully "La Raceroe," because of its course, something like a great hook. The gully carried the flood waters of a considerable section into Chouteau pond.

Between Market and St. Charles streets, from Tenth to Twentieth street was a well wooded section. It was called "Lucas' Grove."

Duncans island which came into existence long after St. Louis was founded received its name from Bob Duncan who built a cabin and filed a claim on it. At first it was a sand bar off Market street. The lower end grew until it was above the water level. Bushes appeared. The sand became soil which encouraged vegetable growth. David Adams a noted hunter on the plains took up his residence on the island.

Wilson Primm was considered the best authority on the familiar nomenclature of St. Louis and its suburbs. Judge Primm's explanation of River Des Peres was this:

> A number of the religious order of Trappists or Monks from Canada had under the authority of the Bishop at Quebec, Canada, settled at Cahokia in what is now known as St. Clair County, Illinois. A few members of this order attracted by the beauty at the mouth of this stream, commenced the formation of an establishment there; but through fear of Indian depredation or fearful of sickness they abandoned the work which they had begun. Henceforth the stream was known and called the Des Peres, the River of the Fathers.

Bonhomme, which is the name of the road lying along the ridge of University City, Clayton and beyond, was derived, according to Judge Primm, from the nickname of Jos. Herbert. This man lived in what is part of St. Louis county. He was easy going, honest, obliging and popular, so much so that the French settlers bestowed upon him the name of "Bonhomme" Herbert, being descriptive of his disposition. From the location of Herbert's place the Bonhomme road, Bonhomme township and Bonhomme creek received their names. Judge Primm thought in all probability the naming of the creek came first and that it was so called in Herbert's honor La Riviere au Bonhomme which was anglicized into Bonhomme creek.

GEORGE I. BARNETT

J. E. KAIME

JOHN BYRNE, JR.

HOME OF GILES F. FILLEY,
On Lucas Place, before the Civil War

THE BRANT RESIDENCE,
On Chouteau avenue. Headquarters in war times, now a factory

Creve Cour, Judge Primm said, means a weight on the heart. It was named, according to the tradition which Judge Primm preserved, by reason of an expression made when Alexis and his wife moved out to the borders of the lake. Alexis had been a bellringer at the Catholic church in St. Louis in the colonial period. He took his wife to the new home on the shore of the lake. When she came into St. Louis after a year's residence in the wilds to visit her relatives they asked her how she liked her home. She replied in French that it was a weight on her heart. She meant that she missed the ringing of the church bells and felt doleful or depressed in the new surroundings. Some color is given to the tradition by the fact that Alexis and his dissatisfied wife moved back to St. Louis and Alexis resumed the old vocation of bellringer of the church on Walnut street.

Judge Primm held to the theory that St. Louis obtained the name of Pain Court from an old parish of that name in France. He said:

> In early days this town was called "Pain Court," which in French literally means a loaf of bread that is short, or insufficient in length or of insufficient weight. This appellation may have been given it by way of derision on account of the nicknames which the St. Louisans gave to other towns, such as Misere to Ste. Genevieve, Viede Poche to Carondelet; but in reality it was the name of the parish in which the post of St. Louis was situated, as shown by the official records of the Spanish government. In France there is still a parish of that name.

Judge Primm in a description of the origin of the nickkname applied to Carondelet vigorously combatted the tradition that Viede Poche meant empty pocket. He said that anyone who knew Carondelet under the Spanish government, and even long after the change of sovereignty understood that the residents of that village were with rare exceptions the owners of land, were industrious and well to do. After they had gathered their crops they hauled fire wood to St. Louis and sold it to the early settlers. In the opinion of Judge Primm the name of Viede Poche was bestowed on Carondelet because the inhabitants of that village were better sportsmen than the people of St. Louis. On Sundays the St. Louisans were in the habit of going to Carondelet to race and play cards in the afternoon. Either the Carondelet men had faster horses or were better players for the St. Louis visitors, Judge Primm said, generally returned home with emptied pockets. This was so often the case that when a St. Louisan was invited to visit Carondelet on Sunday afternoons he would reply in French, using the word Viede Poche in the sense to make his answer: "Of what use? It's a pocket emptier."

The tradition that the Indians gave the name of Meramec to the river because it abounded in catfish, Judge Primm was inclined to believe on the testimony given him by Captain Samuel Knight, who was his neighbor and a farmer and fisherman. Captain Knight said to Judge Primm that in the fall of the year 1820 while he was out deer hunting he wandered to the mouth of the Meramec river. The water was so clear that objects at or near the bottom were plainly discernable. There he saw great numbers of catfish, so many that they actually dammed the river. These catfish, Captain Knight said, were lying side by side as close to each other as the fingers

of the hand, their heads in a line, occupying the entire space from shore to shore; they were motionless; they made no attempt to seize the small fish which swam near them. Captain Knight said he mentioned this astonishing spectacle to Ben Fine, McGregor Fine and John Horne, who had lived for years near the mouth of the Meramec, and that they informed him they had seen the same curious spectacle every fall during their residence there. The name of the river has been given in various forms of spelling in the history of St. Louis, but the way commonly used is Meramec. Judge Primm said that this way was slightly inaccurate, that the proper spelling should be M-a-r-a-m-e-c, which was the form used during the Spanish regime.

THE CHOUTEAU HOUSE.

Touch not a stone! An early pioneer
Of Christian sway founded his dwelling here,
Almost alone.
Touch not a stone! Let the Great West command
A hoary relic of the early land;
That after generations may not say,
"All went for gold in our forefathers' day,
And of our infancy we nothing own."
Touch not a stone!

Touch not a stone! Let the old pile decay,
A relic of the time now pass'd away,
Ye heirs who own
Lordly endowment of the ancient hall,
Till the last rafter crumbles from the wall,
And each old tree around the dwelling rots,
Yield not your heritage for "building lots."
Hold the old ruin for itself alone;
Touch not a stone!

Built by a foremost Western pioneer,
It stood upon St. Louis' bluff to cheer
New settlers on.
Now o'er it tow'r majestic spire and dome,
And lowly seems the forest trader's home;
All out of fashion, like a time-struck man,
Last of his age, his kindred and his clan,
Lingering still, a stranger and alone—
Touch not a stone!

Spare the old house! The ancient mansion spare,
For ages still to front the market square—
That may be shown,
How those old walls of good St. Louis rock,
In native strength, shall bear against the shock
Of centuries! There shall the curious see,
When like a fable shall our story be,
How the Star City of the West has grown!
Touch not a stone!

—M. G. FIELD, New Orleans, Picayune, about 1835.

CHAPTER XXII.

IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION.

The difference between St. Louis and Chicago, Cincinnati and New Orleans, is not only, or mainly, that of larger and smaller, but that of origin, of history, of relative constituent elements in the sources of pride and in the social and other problems to be met. . . . This city has a life, a history, an influence upon the Mississippi Valley all its own.—Bishop C. F. Robertson.

"Our friends, the Spaniards are doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship." George Rogers Clark wrote from St. Louis in July, 1778. Here the Hannibal of the West found money, gunpowder and clothing secretly stored and awaiting delivery to help the American cause. The wonderful exploits of George Rogers Clark and his 350 Virginians and Kentuckians in 1778 and 1779 are thrilling chapters of American histories. Scarcely mentioned in these histories is the fact that before he started on his campaign, Clark sent two of his trusted lieutenants to St. Louis to sound sentiment toward the American colonies and to determine in what degree the leading men of the community could be depended upon for cooperation. After he received the encouraging reports from St. Louis, George Rogers Clark started down the Ohio to make his bloodless capture of the British post, Kaskaskia, July 4, 1778.

Very practical was the sympathy with which St. Louisans redeemed the promises they had given to George Rogers Clark's advance agents. A St. Louisan, Francis Vigo, made the trip to Vincennes and brought back to Clark the information he needed to make the expedition against that British post successful. As Vigo was leaving Vincennes to return the British stopped him. He asserted his right as a resident of St. Louis. A pledge that "on his way to St. Louis he would do no act hostile to British interest" was required. Vigo came back direct to St. Louis. He had barely landed when, having fulfilled the pledge, he jumped back into his boat and went as fast as he could to Kaskaskia with the news that the French were waiting to welcome the Americans and that Vincennes could be taken. Clark made repeated visits to St. Louis before he started in February, 1779 across the Illinois prairies. He needed money and provisions. St. Louis raised nearly $20,000 for the little American army. Father Gibault, the priest who alternated between St. Louis and Kaskaskia, gave his savings of years,—$1,000. When the expedition, with recruits from St. Louis and Cahokia and Kaskaskia, marched away to the eastward, Father Gibault and his Kaskaskia parishioners knelt and prayed for American success at Vincennes. Fifteen months later the firing line of American independence ran along the stone, brush and log ramparts of St. Louis.

The St. Louis of 1764-1780 came well by its Americanism. For two or three generations, the governors-general at New Orleans had been writing home to the French government about the growth of a republican

spirit. The youth who came out to New France with the intention of bettering their material condition brought with them the theories and the arguments that were spreading in France. Governors-general complained and warned that the tendencies threatened to make trouble. Laclede came from the Pyrennees with companions at a time when revolt against monarchy was in many minds. As he grasped the opportunity to found his settlement he drew to him some of the lower Louisiana people who had become imbued with republican ideas but more of Canadian and Illinois parentage, to whom the ties with the mother country were traditional rather than positively loyal. Had numbers made the revolution of Lafreniere at New Orleans successful, there is no doubt the self-governing, self-developing community of St. Louis would have been found quickly in line and heartily in spirit with the new nation. St. Louis, in the first six years of its existence progressed farther than any other community of the continent toward what were to be American ideals.

The late Bishop C. F. Robertson, of the diocese of Missouri, became deeply interested in what St. Louisans did to aid the American colonies during the Revolution. He was especially impressed with the services rendered in 1778 by Francis Vigo, of whom he wrote:

There had been resident in St. Louis for several years Colonel Francis Vigo, an Italian by birth, but one who had been in the Spanish military service. He had, however, left the army and was engaged in the Indian trade on the Missouri and its tributaries, much respected in St. Louis, and enjoying the confidence of the governor in the highest degree. A Spaniard in his allegiance, he was under no obligation to assist us, but, on the other hand, as his country was at peace with Great Britain, any breach of neutrality on his part towards that country would subject him to loss and vengeance. But in spite of all this, from his attachment to Republican principles and sympathy with a people struggling for their rights, Colonel Vigo overlooked all personal consequences, and so soon as he had heard of Clark's arrival at Kaskaskia, he left St. Louis, crossed the line, went down there and tendered his means and influence, both of which were gladly accepted. Knowing Colonel Vigo's influence with the inhabitants of the country, and desirous of gaining some information from Vincennes, from which he had not heard for some months, Colonel Clark proposed to Vigo that he should go and learn the actual condition of things at the post. Colonel Vigo immediately started with but one servant, but on approaching Vincennes was captured by a party of Indians and brought to Governor Hamilton, who was then in possession of the place. Being a Spaniard and non-combatant, he could not be confined, but was only compelled to report himself every morning. He learned the condition of the garrison, its means of defense, and the position of the town.

In the meantime, Hamilton was embarrassed by the detention of Vigo, and the French inhabitants threatened to stop the supplies unless he was released. The governor consented, on condition that Vigo should sign an article "not to do any act during the war injurious to British interests." He refused to sign this, and the pledge was modified, "not to do anything injurious to British interests on his way to St. Louis." Colonel Vigo put his name to this, and the next day departed down the Wabash and the Ohio, and up the Mississippi, with two voyagers accompanying him. He faithfully kept the very letter of his bond. On his way to St. Louis he did "nothing injurious to British interests." But he had no sooner set foot on shore, and changed his clothes, than in the same pirogue he hastened to Kaskaskia and gave the information by means of which Clark was enabled to capture Hamilton and the most important post of Vincennes.

A citizen of St. Louis had thus an influential part in bringing to success a result than which few others have done more to shape all the fortunes of the west.

More than this, when Colonel Clark came to Kaskaskia, it was with great difficulty that the French inhabitants could be persuaded to take the Continental paper which alone Clark and his soldiers had with them for money. Peltries and French coins were the only currency used by the simple inhabitants. It was not until Colonel Vigo, the adopted citizen of St. Louis, went there and gave a guarantee on his property for the redemption of this paper that Colonel Clark could, with difficulty, induce the unsophisticated Frenchmen to take the currency. Even then twenty dollars of this Continental currency had only the purchasing power of one silver dollar. The douleur, as they called the dollar, meant pain and grief to them.

It was only by such aid that Colonel Clark was enabled to maintain the posts which he had conquered on the Wabash and the Mississippi until the close of the war, by which he saved to the nation the vast territory lying between the Ohio and the Lakes.

Colonel Vigo, at the close of the war, had on hand more than twenty thousand dollars of the worthless Continental money for which he had surrendered his property and for which, to the end of his life, he never received one penny. He was given a draft on Virginia, which was dishonored, and died almost a pauper, holding the same dishonored draft in his possession. After his death the state of Virginia acknowledged the justice of the claim, and furnished evidence to prove that it was one of the liabilities assumed by the general government in consideration of the act of cession of the land to it by the state.

Mention ought also to be made of Father Gibault, who lived at Vincenes, but who had the curacy at Kaskaskia and who was there when Clark took possession of the place. He it was who was influential in procuring the release of Colonel Vigo from his detention at Vincennes, and who joined with him in contributing from his cattle and his tithes for the maintenance of the American troops, without which aid they must either have surrendered or abandoned their enterprise. Judge Law says, that next to Clark and Vigo the United States are more indebted to Father Gibault for the accession of the states comprised in what was the original Northwestern Territory than to any other man.

American historians have given little or no international significance to the British attack upon St. Louis. When they refer to it, they call it an attempted Indian massacre. This is readily explained. Record evidence regarding the attack, from the St. Louis side, is wanting. Recently more has been learned. The source has been the Canadian archives. It abundantly verifies the hitherto doubted assertions of Reynolds in his History of Illinois that the expedition was planned and conducted by the British.

The commandant at St. Louis was Don Ferdinand de Leyba. He had been in office less than two years when the attack occurred. He refused to believe that there was any danger. Only a few days before he sold a considerable portion of the powder on hand. When the alarm was given Don Ferdinand hid in the government house. Such orders as he hastily issued were confusing and harmful to the defenders. The Spanish garrison, under Cartabona remained in the fort. When the fright was over the sturdy French settlers called Don Ferdinand a traitor. It is more probable that he was a weakling. On the 26th of May the British and their Indian allies attacked. On the 27th of June Governor Leyba died. He was buried the next day in the graveyard on Second and Walnut streets. If he left an official report of the affair of the 26th of May, it has never been discovered. By word-of-mouth the St. Louis narrative was handed down. This included the rumor without details that Don Ferdinand killed himself. The French settlers had won a great victory, one of far reaching consequences. They did not know it. They realized that they had saved their homes from

savages. From this point of view they told their children the story of "the great blow."

In local annals it become 'L'anne du grande coup." More than a century was to pass before "the year of the great blow" obtained its full historical significance. In the Carolinas the tide had turned against the British. In 1778-9 George Rogers Clark had occupied Kaskaskia with his Virginians. He had made friends with the Spanish officers and with the French settlers at St. Louis. Francis Vigo, a Sardinian by birth, had brought to Clark the information that Vincennes might be taken by a quick march across the prairies of Illinois. Vigo with Charles Gratiot, the Swiss, and Gabriel Cerre had backed Clark with money and credit. Frenchmen from St. Louis and Cahokia had enlisted for the expedition with the handful of Virginians. The French women of Cahokia had made the flags for the American allies to carry. Vincennes had fallen. Its British commander, General Hamilton, "the hair buyer," they called him because he paid Indians for American scalps, had been sent a prisoner to Virginia. These events in rapid succession preceded the attack of the Indians on St. Louis—"the great blow"—of 1780.

This attack was attributed at the time to British influence, but historians have been inclined to treat the affair as "a raid by the savages inhabiting the northern lake country incited by guerillas, probably for plunder." Quite recently, within the past two years, copies of important documents from the Canadian archives, coming into possession of the Missouri Historical Society, have revealed the facts about the expedition against St. Louis.

Pencour is the name given to St. Louis in all of these documents. Patt Sinclair, as he signed himself, lieutenant-governor of Michilimackinac, organized the expedition. He reported from time to time the progress and results to the British general, Frederick Haldimand, in command at Quebec. From these documents it is made apparent that the movement directed by Sinclair was to be general against St. Louis, Kaskaskia, and other Illinois settlements. The recovery of Vincennes was even contemplated. Anticipating the easy capture of St. Louis, Sinclair intended the column sent in that direction to proceed down the river capturing and destroying the settlements as far down as possible.

How much Haldimand and Sinclair had staked on this expedition against St. Louis the later correspondence between them showed. On the Atlantic seaboard the British for a year and more had carried on their most active operations against the southern colonies. They held Savannah and had overrun part of Georgia. Their armies were in the Carolinas. The policy was to move northward from Georgia, making use of the slave conditions as an element of weakness to the American patriots. The British leaders thought in this way to subdue colony after colony. Their plan to cut the colonial military strength into parts by taking possession of the Hudson and a line of communication with Canada had failed signally after the defeat at Saratoga.

With the British navy and land forces concentrating about Savannah and Georgia, Haldimand and Sinclair counted upon a naval demonstration against the mouth of the Mississippi and New Orleans, at the same time that their forces of Canadians and Indians swept southward down the Mississippi and the Illinois and over the prairies between the Mississippi and the Wabash. It was a campaign well thought out. It enlisted more than the military element. It appealed to the self-interest of the Canadian fur traders. The savagery and rapacity of the Indians were inflamed.

Had the plans of Haldimand and Sinclair succeeded, had St. Louis fallen, had the naval demonstration by the British fleet been made against New Orleans, the war of the Revolution would have left the west bank of the Mississippi, the whole Louisiana Territory, under the British flag.

But even while Sinclair was informing Haldimand of the details of intended occupancy of St. Louis and other places on the west side of the Mississippi, the expedition had failed, the three divisions were in full retreat. In the correspondence Sinclair refers to cypher messages. He also mentions, significantly the non-support of this expedition by the expected movement against New Orleans. Treachery among his own forces he gives as the cause of defeat.

Of the proposed "reduction of Pencour by surprise" Sinclair wrote confidently to Haldimand in February. He was assembling the expedition. The rendezvous was on the Upper Mississippi, at the mouth of the Wisconsin. Canoes and corn were collected. The Minominies, the Puants, the Sacs and the Rhenards were assembled. The force was not to start "until I send instruction by Sergeant Phillips of the Eighth Regiment." Sinclair contemplated not only the capture of St. Louis. He expected to hold it. He wrote:

> The reduction of Pencour, by surprise, from the easy admission of Indians at that place, and by assault from without, having for its defense as reported, only twenty men and twenty brass cannons, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. To gain both these ends, the rich fur trade of the Missouri river, the injuries done to the traders who formerly attempted to partake of it, and the large property they may expect in the place will contribute. The Scious will go with all dispatch as low down as the Natches, and as many intermediate attacks as possible shall be made.

In his next report, Sinclair told General Haldimand that the expedition had started down the Mississippi. In that body were 750 men, "including traders, servants and Indians."

> Captain Langdale with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians will join a party assembled at Chicago to make his attack by the Illinois river, and another party is sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi.
>
> I am now in treaty with the Ottawas about furnishing their quota to cut off the rebels at Post St. Vincents (Vincennes), but as they are under the management of two chiefs, the one a drunkard and the other an avaricious trader, I meet with difficulties in bringing it about. Thirty Saginah warriors are here in readiness to join them, and the Island band can furnish as many more.

Sinclair's announcement of the preliminary successes of his campaign reveals how St. Louis was cooperating with the American rebels.

> During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at La Prairie du Chien, detachments were made to watch the river to intercept craft coming up with provisions

and to seize upon the people working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident. Thirty-six Minominies have brought to this post a large armed boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men and rebel commissary. From the mines they had brought seventeen Spanish and rebel prisoners, and stopped fifty tons of lead ore. The chiefs Machiquawish and Wabasha have kindled this spirit in the western Indians.

In a postscript, after the several parties were well on the way to St. Louis and the Illinois country, Sinclair unfolds his plans for permanent possession.

Phillips, of the 8th Regiment, who has my warrant to act as lieutenant during your Excellency's pleasure, will garrison the fort at the entrance of the Missouri. Captain Hesee will remain at Pencour. Wabasha will attack Misere (Ste. Genevieve) and Kacasia (Kaskaskia).

All the traders who will secure the posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the exclusive trade of the Missouri during that time. The two lower villages are to be laid under contributions for the support of their garrisons, and the two upper villages are to send cattle to be forwarded to this place to feed the Indians on their return. Orders will be published at the Illinois for no person to go there, who looks for receiving quarter—and the Indians have orders to give none to any without a British pass. This requires every attention and support, being of utmost consequence.

Pascal Cerre's recollections of the attack represent fairly the impressions the St. Louisans received at the time. They were not committed to paper until 1846. And then through the interest of the historian, L. C. Draper. They show how little was known by the habitants of the plans leading up to the expedition. Cerre was seven years old at the time of which he speaks. His father was Gabriel Cerre, a merchant of St. Louis, who had moved over from Kaskaskia in 1779. The elder Cerre was one of the little group of St. Louis who had outfitted George Rogers Clark to make his capture of Vincennes. Pascal Cerre told Draper that St. Louisans thought Jean Marie Ducharme got up the expedition against the settlement. The motive was revenge. Ducharme was a Canadian, a fur trader. In 1779 he had stolen up the Missouri river. He had established himself about twenty miles above Jefferson City, opposite what became known as Ducharme's island. There the Spanish soldiers found him, took his furs and goods away from him and sent him out of the country. Ducharme, as the Canadian archives show, did go with the British expedition but stands accused by Sinclair with "perfidy" and partial responsibility for the defeat. This is Pascal Cerre's account of the approach and the fighting:

At a place fourteen miles above St. Louis they left their canoes, and as they approached the object of their attack Ducharme divided his men into two detachments, one of which he himself headed and came down on the east side of the river. The other detachment took down on the west side of the river and posted themselves in ambush along the roads leading from St. Louis to the other settlements.

At the first alarm, just about midday, and many of the people at their dinners, a man ran through the town crying "To arms! To arms!" The people jumped from their tables greatly alarmed. The alarm gun was shot from the tower to warn the people who were at work out in the fields, and the women and children out after strawberries. Many of these were shot by the Indians secreted in the bushes by the roadside as they were fleeing to the town. Some of the Indians were quite near the town and killed one man between the big mound and the town. One French cart filled with these poor people put

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FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT ST. LOUIS

With flag flying from the staff in front of it

on the whip to their horses; seven of them were wounded as they passed the ambushed Indians, but they all got in. The attack lasted only that afternoon. Cerre doubts if as many as sixty or seventy of the people were killed, but is not certain about it.

Ducharme's party, with some of their long and large bored muskets, fired over the river and actually made some of their balls rattle on the roofs of the houses of St. Louis, but the people did not attempt to return the fire; they had to watch the other nearer and more dangerous foe.

Louis, a negro, who afterwards was the property of Gabriel Cerre, was among the number caught out of St. Louis. He was chased by an Indian with gun and tomahawk, who rapidly gained on the negro. He, looking over his head and seeing the Indian very close to him, with tomahawk raised, concluded there was but one chance for him, and that was to fall prostrate upon the ground. He threw himself flat, and, as he had hoped, the Indian unable to suddenly check his speed, stumbled over him, and in the fall dropped his gun; this Louis quickly seized and before the Indian could recover himself Louis shot him and brought in the gun as a trophy of victory.

The Canadian archives preserve a version of the attack on St. Louis by an eye witness. This account written down as soon as the defeated expedition returned to Mackinaw is titled "Information of a William Brown." Although a prisoner of the British, Brown talked willingly. He owned up to having served as a hunter for the British lieutenant-governor, Hamilton, before Vincennes was taken by George Rogers Clark in 1778. Then he volunteered with Clark to fight the Shawnees but deserted and went to Misere (Ste. Genevieve). In March preceding the attack, Brown reached St. Louis, or Pencour as his statement to Sinclair has it. Brown was taken prisoner by the British allies about 300 yards from the hastily constructed defenses of St. Louis. This is what he told Sinclair:

About the latter end of March John Conn, a trader, went down the Mississippi with the report of an attack against the Illinois by that route. Upon the arrival of Conn, the Spaniards began to fortify Pencour. The report was afterwards confirmed by a French woman who went down the Mississippi. The woman mentioned was the wife of Monsignor Honore. The post at the entrance of the Missouri was evacuated and the fort blown up, all the outposts called in, and the videttes of their cavalry (for all are mounted except the garrison) were placed around the village of Pencour. Platform cannon with a parapet were placed over a stone house. An intrenchment was thrown up and scouts sent out. Two days before the British detachment appeared before Pencour, Colonel Clark (George Rogers Clark) and another rebel colonel, we believe named Montgomery, arrived at Pencour, it was said, with a design to concert an attack upon Michilimackinac, but whether with that design or to repel the expected attack by the Mississippi it was agreed that one hundred from the west side and two hundred from the east side should be equipped and in readiness to march when ordered. We believe Clark and Montgomery to have been in the village of Cahokia when the Indians were beaten off. Colonel Montgomery, or some rebel officer, is killed with a private of the rebel troops who wore a bayonet marked 42nd Regiment. They imagined that no others were killed at the Cahokias as they filed off early to a rising ground lower down the river than the village, where all of the rebels were concealed in a stone house and could not be drawn out. Indeed, few stratagems were used, owing to Canadian treachery.

In the Spanish intrenchment numbers were killed, as the Indians occupied a ground which commanded the greatest part of it and made several feints to enter it in order to draw the Spaniards from such part of the works as afforded them cover. Thirty-three scalps were taken on the west side and about twenty-four prisoners, blacks and white people. Great numbers of cattle were killed on both sides of the river. The inhabitants were very much spared by all of the Indians excepting the Winipigoes and Scioux. They only scalped five or six who were not armed for the defense of the lines.

This is the story of eye witness, Brown, as taken down for the British official records of the expedition against St. Louis.

Acknowledging Sinclair's bad news and accepting his version of the unsuccessful "attacks upon Pencour and the Cahokias" General Haldimand wrote from Quebec the 10th of August, 1780:

> It is very mortifying that the protection Monsieur Calve and others have received should meet so perfidious and so ungrateful return. The circumstances of his and Monsieur Ducharme's conduct, you are best acquainted with and to you I leave to dispose of them as they deserve. If you have evident proof of their counteracting or retarding the operations committed to their direction, or in which they were to assist, I would have them sent prisoners to Montreal.

"I am glad to find," continued Haldimand, "that although our attempts proved unsuccessful, they were attended by no inconsiderable loss to the enemy." The congratulation is over the following which appears in Sinclair's report:

> The rebels lost an officer and three men killed at the Cahokias and five prisoners. At Pencour sixty-eight were killed and eighteen black and white people made prisoners, among them several good artificers. Many hundreds of cattle were destroyed and forty-three scalps were brought in.

Thus St. Louis received a baptism of blood in the war for American independence. Intimations that this British movement against St. Louis and the Mississippi Valley were directed from London appear in the correspondence. Sinclair speaks of "a copy of My Lord George Germain's letter" as having relation to the expedition. He says "the Winnipigoes and the Scioux would have stormed the Spanish lines "at St. Louis" if the Sacks and the Outgamies under their treacherous leader, Mons Calve, had not fallen back so early."

Concluding his narrative of defeat, Sinclair, adds: "A like disaster cannot happen next year, and I can venture to assure your excellency that one thousand Sioux without any admixture from neighboring tribes will be in the field in April under Wabasha."

St. Louis did not wait for Sinclair's April campaign. On the second day of January, 1781, Captain Beausoliel, with sixty-five St. Louisans and the same number of Indian allies, left St. Louis to strike a return "coup." Beausoliel was not the captain's real name. Eugene Poure he had been christened. But he was a bold man, a born leader, who followed the dangerous vocation of operating a bateau between New Orleans and St. Louis. A man who amounted to something in those days, who was admired by his fellow citizens, was likely to be known by a nickname. It came about that Eugene Poure as a tribute to his popularity was called Captain Beausoleil. The home of the captain was on Market street. By reason of his qualities of leadership, Poure had been made commander of the militia company organized among the men of St. Louis.

The expedition made its way up the Illinois valley encountering severe winter weather and suffering hardships. Some distance south of the present Chicago, Poure led his command to the eastward, passed around the head of Lake Michigan and reached the British post at St. Joseph. The attack

was a surprise. The capture was complete. The St. Louis expedition took what furs and other property could be transported raised the Spanish flag and marched back to St. Louis, delivering the British flag to Governor Cruzat. The expedition was well managed. Leaving St. Louis, Poure carried goods with which he successfully bought his way through the Indian tribes encountered. The route took the expedition near the present city of Danville where years afterwards bullets of Spanish manufacture were found by American settlers. Poure's force turned northward near South Bend. The gifts made to the Indians not only secured a peaceful journey but insured the surprise of St. Joseph, which was complete. The St. Louisans assaulted the fort and took the traders and British soldiers prisoners. They found a considerable stock of furs which they divided with the Indians. The return was made to St. Louis in March. Sinclair attempted no April campaign. The honors of both defense in 1780 and offense in 1781 were with the St. Louisans.

"I very early saw that Louisiana was indeed a speck in our horizon which was to burst in a tornado," President Jefferson wrote to Dr. Priestly in January, 1804, after Lower Louisiana had been delivered at New Orleans. This expression is from a letter by Mr. Jefferson in the state papers relating to the purchase of Louisiana Territory which were published by congress in connection with the World's Fair of 1904. But these state papers do not make public all that was going on during Mr. Jefferson's administration with reference to Louisiana Territory. Four years before Bonaparte made up his mind to cede, Jefferson sent a secret emissary to St. Louis. He desired to know the political sentiment of the people, and especially the feeling toward the United States. The president foresaw trouble if a foreign flag continued to float much longer on the west bank of the Mississippi. The secret mission to St. Louis was part of Mr. Jefferson's plan of preparation to acquire possession by force if necessary when the time was ripe. The person selected for this delicate mission was John Baptiste Charles Lucas. At a later date Lucas, in 1805, received from President Jefferson who remembered the valuable secret service rendered, the appointment of commissioner of land claims and judge of the territorial court. He came to St. Louis in September, bringing his family to make this his home. But about 1801 Judge Lucas made himself known to St. Louisans and to the Spanish officials as Pantreaux. He had a boat, two or three boatmen, a small stock of goods. Ostensibly he was a trader from up the Ohio, exchanging what he had brought from Pittsburg for furs at St. Louis. In reality he was distributing American ideas along the Rue Principale of St. Louis.

Perhaps Mr. Jefferson could not have found a better man to study the conditions at St. Louis and other French settlements on the Mississippi. Lucas could do more than observe. He was an ardent supporter of republican principles. He not only spoke the language of the people he visited, but he could talk to them of France. In Paris young Lucas, the law student, had a friend in the son of the landlord at Passy where Benjamin Franklin and Adams lived at the time of the American Revolution. He

listened to the Americans and he became an American at heart. Le Roy de Chaumont was the son of the Passy landlord. He caught the American fever and decided to come to the United States, buy cattle and live in western New York. John B. C. Lucas, differing in political sentiment with his father the king's attorney of an old Normandy family, came at the same time. That was in 1784. Albert Gallatin had come out to America four years earlier, just after graduating from the University of Geneva.

Somewhere the young Frenchman and the young Swiss began an acquaintance which developed into lifelong friendship. There was only three years difference in their ages. Gallatin settled near Pittsburg. Six miles out of town Lucas bought a farm. He busied himself learning the language of the country. Gallatin went to the Pennsylvania legislature and Lucas followed him into public life. In 1795 Gallatin was elected to congress and the same year Lucas went to the Legislature. At Washington Gallatin won the confidence of Jefferson and became closely associated with him. Gallatin shared Jefferson's interest in the critical situation on the Mississippi. Lucas visited Washington and made a strong impression upon Jefferson. He undertook the confidential journey to St. Louis and went from here to other places on the river, going as far south as New Orleans. He made his confidential reports to Mr. Jefferson. The president developed his policy toward the Mississippi problem, utilizing the information Lucas supplied. In 1803, Lucas, with all of the support the administration at Washington could give him for his valuable services at St. Louis and along the Mississippi, was elected to congress from Pennsylvania. As soon as the acquisition of Louisiana was concluded, Mr. Jefferson selected Lucas as the representative of the administration at St. Louis, making him at the same time commissioner and territorial judge.

Judge Lucas was not a large man. As he grew in years his hair became snow white; the fire remained in the jet black eyes. Judge Lucas had more than the courage of his convictions. He asserted his opinions. He was a very positive man. He never forgave Thomas H. Benton for the death of his son, Charles Lucas. Long years afterwards, perhaps a score, Judge Lucas, his daughter, Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt and James H. Lucas were guests at a Planters House ball. The judge saw Mr. Benton some distance down the room. An effort was made to prevent a meeting. Judge Lucas, with flashing eyes, made his way through the throng to Mr. Benton, stopped in front of him and looked at him. Then turning to James H. Lucas he said with deliberation and in tones loud enough for many to hear:

"It is a consolation, my son, that whoever knows Mister Senator Benton, knows him to be a rascal."

The senator did not reply. A few minutes later he left the ball room.

Aaron Burr found no encouragement in St. Louis for his southwestern empire. He came here in September, 1805, having retired a few months before from the vice presidency. General Wilkinson, commander of the United States army, was acting as governor of Upper Louisiana with his residence at St. Louis. He received Burr as his guest. To meet Burr the

leading citizens of St. Louis were invited to the governor's house. Wilkinson was very friendly at that time with Burr, although a year later he turned against him and reported to the administration at Washington what he claimed were the details of the conspiracy. The rebuff to Burr at St. Louis was prompt and convincing. The first St. Louisan invited to confer was Rufus Easton, Burr had known the young Connecticut lawyer in Washington. He had interested himself personally to have Mr. Easton appointed a judge of the new territory and had advised him by letter to form the acquaintance of General Wilkinson, when he reached St. Louis. That was in March of 1805. Four months later, coming down the Ohio river after his visit to Blennerhassett, Burr wrote from Fort Massac to Easton of his coming. At the conference in St. Louis he revealed enough of the plot to draw from Easton an emphatic refusal to be connected with it. Easton broke off friendly relations with Burr. Within a few days after the conference Easton wrote to President Jefferson that "General Wilkinson has put himself at the head of a party of a few individuals who are hostile to the best interests of America." This was in October, 1805. At a still earlier date, two months before his appointment as judge, Easton had communicated to another Connecticut man, Gideon Granger, Jefferson's postmaster general, his belief in the existence of a traitorous project to divide the Union. Easton had spent a considerable part of 1804 at Vincennes and at St. Louis. At both places there were reports current of the proposed movement to establish a southwestern empire to include the Louisiana Territory and Mexico.

Burr did not remain long in St. Louis after Easton took such a positive stand against him. He did not find any encouragement. Wilkinson, who thoroughly enjoyed ostentation, had an official barge, luxuriously equipped for those days, with twelve rowers in uniform. Burr took the barge and went down the river to Ste. Genevieve. Wilkinson began to show strong dislike for Easton. He circulated charges of official misconduct. Easton went to Washington and had a personal interview with Mr. Jefferson. Subsequently he made an official report of all he had learned about Burr's plot.

Burr came to St. Louis under the impression that he would find the French habitants ready to throw off United States authority. He met with no encouragement of that impression. On the contrary he quickly discovered that both the French residents and the American new comers were loyal to the United States government. Burr went away from St. Louis to spread his plans and to seek supporters along the Ohio and the lower Mississippi. From St. Louis, the authorities at Washington received from time to time the warning of Burr's movements. From St. Louis was sent the letter giving the information that Burr expected to have Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and Orleans Territory declare themselves on the 15th of November, 1806, independent of the United States. St. Louis and Louisiana territory, of which it was the capital had rejected Burr's overtures and were not in the combination. On this letter from St. Louis, United States officials at New Orleans proceeded to take care of Burr. They arrested his agents.

Burr was summoned before a grand jury. The President issued a proclamation. The boats on the Ohio which had been prepared for the expedition were seized. The movement collapsed.

Missouri in 1824—and that meant St. Louis in those days— made an astonishing record. The single member of the House of Representatives from the state was John Scott. He had been delegate from the Missouri Territory. He had been elected and reelected to Congress. In the presidential campaign of that year the candidates were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Crawford. Sentiment in Missouri was divided between Clay and Jackson. Clay carried the state. Clay electors were chosen. But when the electoral college votes were cast, the result was Jackson 87; Adams 83; Clay 41; Crawford 39. No one having received a majority the election of President was thrown into the House of Representatives. There the voting was by states. The ballot, if the states voted as the majorities or pluralities of the popular election had been, would have given Adams 12; Jackson 7; Crawford 4; and Clay 1. The single representative from Missouri cast the vote of that state for Adams, electing him President on the first ballot. Scott had been elected not by a majority, but by a plurality. That John Scott cast the vote of Missouri for Adams was the more remarkable in view of his place of nativity. He was a Virginian by birth. Shortly after graduating from Princeton he came west in 1804. His success in politics had been notable. Beginning as a delegate from the territory, he was the sole representative of Missouri in the popular branch of Congress up to 1826. The vote for Adams concluded Scott's political career. He lived to be eighty years old, in 1861, but he never held office again.

A few days before Martin Van Buren was inaugurated in 1837, he talked to Senator Benton about the trouble the Seminoles were giving in Florida. Missouri's Indian problems had been settled so successfully and so easily that public men at Washington had often marveled. The President-elect sought an opinion from the senator as to what should be done with the Florida situation which was grave.

"If the Seminoles had Missourians to deal with their stay would be short in Florida," the senator said.

Mr. Van Buren asked Mr. Benton if he though Missourians could do better in Florida than the regular army had done.

The senator said he certainly did think so, and told why. There the conversation ended. After the inauguration bustle had passed by President Van Buren one day asked Senator Benton if it was practicable to get Missourians to go to Florida and make a campaign against the Seminoles.

"The Missourians will go wherever their services are needed" was Senator Benton's reply.

Thereupon the United States Government did the extraordinary thing of calling upon the Governor of Missouri for two regiments of mounted men to go to Florida and fight the Seminoles. The governor issued the call, and the rough riders and scouts of the Missouri valley headed by General Richard Gentry, Colonel John W. Price and Major William H. Hughes, twelve or fourteen hundred strong, came marching into St. Louis. They

GABRIEL CERRE

CHARLES GRATIOT

THOMAS H. BENTON

FRANCIS P. BLAIR

camped at Jefferson Barracks, Benton made a speech. Men and horses required several steamboats for transportation. They were taken to New Orleans, and thence to Tampa Bay. On the gulf a storm drove some of the vessels aground. Many of the horses were lost. The Missourians got ashore, and under the direction of General Zachary Taylor marched into the Everglades. At Okee-cho-bee lake they found the whole body of Seminoles under Sam Jones, Tiger Tail, Alligator and Mycanopee. The Missourians fought on foot. They depended upon the tactics and knowledge of Indian character which had never failed them. Gentry, shot through the body, and fatally wounded, kept his feet for an hour directing the movements of his men. The victory over the Seminoles was complete, but the ranks of the Missourians were decimated. Early in the following year the object of the campaign having been accomplished, the Missourians returned to St. Louis.

St. Louis had the distinction of taking the lead in the movement to nominate William Henry Harrison. Long before the nominating convention was held, the St. Louis Bulletin came out for Harrison. It was the only metropolitan paper in the country taking this position. Nearly all of the whig party papers favored Henry Clay. What made the Bulletin more conspicuous in the pre-convention campaign was the fact that the writer of the vigorous editorials, which attracted attention the country over, was a Kentuckian—Samuel Bullitt Churchill, born and brought up near Louisville. Churchill was a young man who had come to St. Louis to practice law and had taken up journalism. He was a personal friend and admirer of Henry Clay but declared for Harrison as the man who could win in 1840. Churchill was appointed postmaster in St. Louis and went to the legislature. He was a conspicuous figure in the politics of St. Louis for twenty years. In 1861 he opposed secession but held to the belief of Frost and others that the border states should perserve neutrality between the north and south and try to avert war. When the war came Churchill returned to Kentucky to live.

What was known as "the whig vigilance committee" had much to do with the bringing about of the nomination of William Henry Harrison for president. The St. Louis member of that committee was John Baptiste Sarpy. His home, occupying a quarter of the block at Sixth and Olive streets, was the gathering place when whig leaders came to St. Louis.

Richard Smith Elliott, of St. Louis, while the editor of a Harrisburg paper, gave the log cabin and hard cider campaign of the whigs its winning start in 1840. A Van Buren paper in Baltimore printed this about William Henry Harrison:

> Give him a barrel of hard cider and a pension of $2,000 a year, and, our word for it, he will sit the remainder of his days in a log cabin by the side of a "sea coal" fire and study moral philosophy.

Elliott made a sketch of a log cabin with a coonskin tacked on the side, a woodpile with the ax stuck in a log and the usual familiar accessories. He employed a painter to transfer secretly the sketch to a transparency. On the 20th of January the whigs ratified the nomination of Harrison

which had been made in the preceding month. The transparency was carried into the mass meeting. It was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Harrison's log cabin became the emblem of the campaign. The homely idea swept across the country. In St. Louis the whigs built a log cabin for Harrison headquarters and maintained it to election day. Log cabins on wheels were hauled in the processions. It was a singing campaign. St. Louis whigs roared to the tune of Highland Laddie:

Oh where, tell me where, was your Buckeye cabin made?
Oh where, tell me where, was your Buckeye cabin made?
'Twas built among the merry boys who wield the plow and spade,
Where the log cabins stand in the bonnie Buckeye shade.

A St. Louisan was a composer of Harrison campaign songs. He was Alexis Mudd, member of one of the best known families of the city. Mr. Mudd was a merchant at the time he wrote campaign songs. His best effort was the "Log Cabin Raising," which was immensely popular. At the outbreak of the war, Alexis Mudd became major of "the Lyon regiment," as the Nineteenth Missouri was called.

A favorite song in St. Louis during the Harrison campaign was "Old Tippecanoe," which was sung to the tune of "Rosin the Bow," a rollicking air of the frontier:

They called us rag barons and dandies,
And only a ruffled shirt crew;
But they see now the bone and the sinew,
All go for Old Tippecanoe.

CHORUS.

All go for Old Tippecanoe!
All go for Old Tippecanoe!
But they see now the bone and the sinew,
All go for Old Tippecanoe.

The enthusiasm with which St. Louisans went into the Mexican war was irresistible. It ignored army orders. After the crack Legion had marched down Olive street to take the big steamer Convoy for New Orleans, Lucas Market place became the scene of more recruiting and mobilizing. Benton wrote from Washington that the "Army of the West" was to be organized to march overland to New Mexico. Then came the order to Stephan Watts Kearney to get together at Leavenworth three hundred United States dragoons and one thousand mounted volunteers, the rough riders of 1846. St. Louis was not asked to furnish any part of the Army of the West. Thomas B. Hudson and Richard S. Elliott, two young lawyers, began to organize a company of one hundred mounted men. They called them the Laclede Rangers. As soon as the ranks were full the Rangers were sworn in as a State organization, uniformed and mounted. Samuel Treat, Charles Keemle, Joseph M. Field and Peter W. Johnson took the officers down to "the Empire," on Third and Pine streets and presented to them swords. No commissions had come, but the Laclede Rangers

marched on board the Pride of the West and started up the Missouri to join Kearney. As the boat passed Jefferson City, the State commissions for the officers were sent on board. When the St. Louisans reached Leavenworth, there was no provision for their reception. General Kearney ordered that quarters be provided and that the command be sworn in at daylight. But no rations were issued. There was grumbling until Captain Hudson made a speech. He talked of the patriotism which had prompted the recruiting, of the rapid organization, of the trip up the river, of the acceptance of the company by General Kearney as a part of the "Army of the West" and he concluded:

> Yes, we shall knock at the gates of Santa Fe, as Ethan Allen knocked at the gates of Ticonderoga, and to the question "Who is there?" we shall reply, "Open these gates in the name of the great Jehovah and the Laclede Rangers!" But suppose the fellows inside should call out, "Are you the same Leclede Rangers who went whining around Fort Leavenworth in search of a supper?"

The Rangers gave the captain a mighty shout, rolled in their blankets and went to sleep supperless.

The Rangers from St. Louis made such an impression on General Kearney that he made them a part of the regiment of dragoons. They were turned over to a young lieutenant to be drilled and made fit for regular troopers, graduates of the "School of the Soldier." This lieutenant was Andrew Jackson Smith, who became a major general in the Civil war,—"Old A. J."—settled in St. Louis and held office in the city government for some years.

Colonel Robert Campbell's activities did not stop with the shipping of the Laclede Rangers to Kearney. The recruiting and the drilling on the open country around Lucas Market, as Twelfth street was to be known for half a century, went on. There was no market. Mr. Lucas had built the long narrow brick structure down the center of the wide space, but the city's growth had not reached Twelfth street. The country was open all around the market house, except for a row of dwellings in course of construction on Olive street. St. Louis had sent her old and well drilled militia, the Legion and her Laclede Rangers. The city now offered artillery. Two companies, each one hundred strong, the first captained by Richard H. Weightman, and the second by Waldemar Fischer, were accepted, with Meriwether Lewis Clarke as major. The artillerymen were made ready by the tireless Robert Campbell and sent up to join Kearney. Thus it came about that the city was represented by three hundred patriots in the famous marching and fighting of the Army of the West.

From Leavenworth the Laclede Rangers and St. Louis artillerymen marched to Sante Fe, thence to El Paso, to Chihuahua, to Saltillo and to Matamoras. They went by river from St. Louis to Leavenworth. They returned from Matemoras to St. Louis by the gulf and the Mississippi. Let the map be viewed and the march of that little army be traced! Succeeding generations may well be proud of the prowess of the St. Louisans who followed Mitchell and Clarke and Hudson in 1846 and 1847.

St. Louisans were conspicuous individually as well as for numbers in the "Army of the West." Henry S. Turner utilized his early army ex-

perience in the capacity of adjutant to the commander, Kearney. Francis P. Blair, then a young lawyer, sent west by his doctor for the benefit of the mountain air, was a scout, prowling miles in advance of the column to report signs of Mexicans or Indians. William Bent shared in this most dangerous duty. As the army reached the Raton mountains, Captain Waldemar Fischer, the St. Louis artilleryman, climbed the peak, to which the government gave his name. Fischer's peak—it is on the maps.

The march across the plains to Sante Fe was only the beginning of the wonderful deeds of the St. Louisans and their fellow Missourians. The Army of the West proceeded to occupy a domain that is now two States and two Territories. Kearney, with a small force, went on to make sure of California. Colonel D. D. Mitchell, the former fur trader and Indian agent of St. Louis, was ordered to take a picked force of one hundred men and "open communication with Chihuahua, hundreds of miles to the southward in the enemy's country across the Rio Grande. Did he hesitate? Not an hour. With Mitchell went Captain Hudson, Lieutenant LeBeaume and most of the Laclede Rangers. Major Meriwether Lewis Clarke, Captain Richard H. Weightman, Clay Taylor and one company of the St. Louis Artillery had gone with Doniphan to the Navajo country. Mitchell and Doniphan joined forces just above El Paso. They had an army of 900 men, St. Louis contributing about one-third of the force. They fought the battle of Brazito, captured a cannon and marched on. At Sacramento, just above Chihuahua, an army of Mexicans got in the way, occupying a strong position, outnumbering the invaders five to one. What did those St. Louis artillerymen do but, ignoring all of the rules and science of warfare, run their howitzers up within less than 200 feet of the Mexican earthworks and fire away at pistol shot range! Mitchell and Hudson charged at the head of the Laclede Rangers. The enemy fled leaving seventeen cannons, some of which were brought to St. Louis. The invaders entered Chihuahua to discover that General Wool, whom they had expected to find there, was 700 or 800 miles away. Headed by Mitchell with his 100 picked St. Louisans, the army of less than 900 marched over the tableland of Mexico toward Saltillo, found General Taylor and asked for more fighting.

In the conquered province of New Mexico civil government was organized. Charles Bent of the St. Louis family which lived on a river front country estate just above the arsenal, was governor. Stephan Lee, of St. Louis, the brother of General Elliott Lee, was made sheriff; James White Leal, of St. Louis, a Laclede Ranger, was made prosecuting attorney. The Pueblo Indians at Taos rose in revolt and killed these three officials. Retribution was swift.

In a fight with the Indians, John Eldridge and Martin Wash of the Laclede Rangers were compelled to use one horse. A shot struck Eldridge in the corner of the eye, went into Wash's cheek and came out of his neck. When their commanding officer came up these St. Louis boys were still fighting. Wash, who was spitting blood said:

"Lieutenant, I be hanged if I don't think I'm shot somehow."

That was the kind of nerve the Laclede Rangers carried with them.

When time dragged for the garrison in the ancient city, the detachment of the Laclede Rangers obtained the use of a hall and gave theatrical entertainments. Bernard McSorley, who came back to St. Louis to become a builder of sewers and a power in local politics, was the manager and the star. When the St. Louisans put on Pizarro in Peru, McSorley was Pizarro. Edward W. Shands played Elvira. Another Ranger, William Jamieson, was Cora. James White Leal of the Rangers was the leader of the minstrel part of the performance which followed the tragedy.

Kearney's proclamation annexing New Mexico to the United States reached St. Louis on the 28th of September, 1846. It declared "the intention to hold this department (New Mexico), with its original boundaries on both sides of the Del Norte as a part of the United States and under the name of the Territory of New Mexico.

There was considerable excitement in St. Louis over this wholesale acquisition of territory. The Missouri Republican said:

> For a strict constructionist of the constitution, the President seems to us a gentleman of about as easy manners as any offical we have ever met with, even in these days of a "progressive locofocoism!"

The Rangers and other St. Louisans who had been left to hold New Mexico while the other bodies pushed west to California and south to the heart of Mexico marched back across the plains when the war was over. They sang:

SOLO.

Listen to me! Listen to me!
What do you want to see, to see?

CHORUS.

A woman under a bonnet,
A woman under a bonnet,
That's what we want to see, to see!
That's what we want to see!

On the 18th day of May, 1847, the St. Louis Daily New Era put up the spicious figure in the country traversed. William Gilpin, Pennsylvanian by birth, Quaker by inherited creed, was a major. He saw the plains and the mountains with the eyes of a prophet. He told his comrades in arms they were passing through "a great grazing region;" that it would become "the land of beef and wool." He pointed to the Rockies, called them "the domes of the continent" and predicted discoveries of precious metals in them. There was loud amusement over the major's predictions. But the territory of Colorado was created, becoming in 1876 the Centennial State. Gilpin was the first governor of Colorado.

On the 18th of May, 1847, the St. Louis Daily New Era put up the name of Zachary Taylor for President "subject to the decision of the people in 1848." In 1848 St. Louis inaugurated an active campaign which led to the election of Zachary Taylor. Before the rest of the country had awakened fairly to the suggestion, almost before General Taylor thought

of himself as a candidate, St. Louis was holding mass meetings and declaring for old "Rough and Ready."

Dred Scott and his family were emancipated in St. Louis but not until the law of the land had been exhausted for them. St. Louis lawyers participated without compensation in the proceedings. The decision of the United States supreme court gave great impetus to the anti-slavery movement. Surgeon Emerson of the United States army, stationed at St. Louis, owned Dred Scott and took him with him when he was transferred first to Rock Island and later to Fort Snelling. Children were born. When Emerson came back to St. Louis, Dred Scott sued for freedom of his family on the ground that they had been living in a part of the United States where slavery was prohibited. The St. Louis circuit court sustained this view but the State supreme court reversed it. Then Dred Scott's family was sold to John F. A. Sanford, whose residence at the time was in New York. This gave the opportunity to try the case in the United States courts. The United States circuit court at St. Louis decided against Dred Scott. The case went to the United States supreme court and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney rendered the opinion that slavery was not prohibited north of latitude 36 degrees and 30 minutes, as Congress had declared, because the act was in violation of the constitution. Chief Justice Taney defined slavery as the law, made so by the constitution at the time of its adoption. Only a constitutional amendment could abolish slavery.

No other community, north or south, approached St. Louis in the proportion of citizenship under arms for the Civil war. When President Lincoln, on the 15th of April, issued his first call for 75,000 men, St. Louis had organized ready to be mustered in five regiments of 5,500 men under Colonels Blair, Boernstein, Sigel Schuttner and Saloman. Five more regiments were organized and armed so that the morning report of June 1 showed 10,730 St. Louisans under arms for the Union. The most of these troops were sworn in for three months and then enlisted for three years or the war. The truth was that the Union men of St. Louis began organizing into companies early in January. Rifles and muskets were bought with money subscribed by citizens. A regiment was armed secretly and was drilling on sawdust covered floors. The sum of $20,000 was raised privately toward equipping the first four regiments. Contributions came from New York, Boston, Hartford, Providence and other eastern cities. A Union army was ready in St. Louis weeks before the firing on Sumter.

The intensity of Union sentiment was shown in the action of a great mass meeting which John Peckham called to order at the court house on the 25th of July, 1862. The crowd filled the rotunda, and the galleries and overflowed into Fourth street. The resolutions declared "that the preservation of the Union is to St. Louis an interest greater than all other interests, and that we will, regardless of all other interests, contribute in men and means the last man and the last dollar of which our city is possessed, if necessary, to reinforce our armies."

Up to Dec. 31, 1863, the St. Louis volunteers who entered the service

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TOWN HOUSE OF CHARLES GRATIOT

It was at the corner of Main and Chestnut Streets

for three years or the war numbered 15,310. Those who came from outside of St. Louis county and enlisted here are not included. St. Louisans who enlisted in organizations elsewhere are not included. The 15,310 St. Louisans enlisted in forty-three Missouri regiments which were organized in St. Louis in 1861, 1862 and 1863. They were United States Volunteers. In addition were the State Militia organizations raised in St. Louis. A full regiments of these St. Louis Militia men under Colonel John B. Gray, guarded the military prisons, protected bridges and performed other duties in and about St. Louis. The Sappers and Miners Home Guards of St. Louis, of which J. D. Voerster was the commander, built fortifications. Captain Henry Nagel raised and commanded the Carondelet Home Guards. Another military organization of St. Louis was the First Regiment of Enrolled Missouri Militia, with William P. Fenn as colonel. There was also the St. Louis County Battalion of enrolled militia, in which the Henleys, the Aubuchons, the Castellos and representatives of scores of the pioneer families were enlisted. The St. Louis police were organized in military form and armed with guns, with J. E. D. Couzins as major. There were the Old Guard, of which N. H. Clark was captain; James Richardson and A. G. Edwards, lieutenants; the Independent Cavalry company, with Frederick Walters as captain; the Corps of Detectives, with George J. Deagle, the theatrical man, as captain. A full regiment was recruited under the patronage of the Merchants Exchange and was called the "Merchants' Regiment." Clinton B. Fisk, secretary of the exchange, was the first colonel. This was the first regiment mustered into service under the President's call of 1862. It was recruited by the business men of St. Louis in a whirlwind of patriotic enthusiasm. When Colonel Fisk was made a brigadier, William A. Pile became the colonel.

In 1864 St. Louis went on raising more regiments as if the army sent into the field was not the city's full quota. The Fortieth Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, was made up of St. Louisans. Two companies were recruited largely from printers and newspaper employes. George W. Gilson was captain of one of them. Philip F. Coghlan was lieutenant of the other. Samuel A. Holmes was colonel. Truman A. Post, son of Rev. Dr. Post was the regimental adjutant. A second regiment, the Forty-first, was recruited at the same time, with Joseph Weidemeyer as colonel. Henry J. Bischoff was one of the captains.

While many thousands of St. Louisians went out as United States volunteers, other thousands organized, drilled and were armed as Enrolled Missouri militia for defense of the city and for emergency duty. There was a period in 1864 when all St. Louis business houses closed at 3 P. M. for the daily militia drills. The test of this thorough organization came in September of that year. Price invaded Missouri and marched toward St. Louis. The militia mobilized in three brigades and went into camp at Carondelet, and at the head of Olive street. A small detachment of Confederate cavalry captured the postoffice, at Cheltenham, now a part of St. Louis, but then a suburb four miles out. The main army changed its course and moved northwestward to Jefferson City. The eight St. Louis

regiments of enrolled militia which turned out for this expected coming of Price's army numbered about 6,000 men. There were under arms in St. Louis 15,000 men. These militia regiments were officered by the most prominent citizens. Colonel John Knapp commanded the Eighth Regiment, but when the three brigades were called into service he became chief of staff to General Pike, commanding the division of enrolled militia. Ex-Mayor John M. Krum was colonel of the Ninth; George E. Leighton, of the Seventh; Tony Niederweisser, of the Sixth; C. D. Wolff, of the Fourth; M. W. Warne, of the Sixteenth; Charles L. Tucker, of the Seventeenth. Among the regimental officers were Lieutenant-Colonel J. Grif. Prather, Surgeon Leopold Meyer, Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Sloan, Major Henry Senter, Adjutant Eben Richards, Jr., Major William L. Catherwood, Quartermaster Charles C. Whittlesey, Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar F. Lowe, Major O. B. Filley, Adjutant William C. Wilson, Quartermasters George P. Plant and Chester H. Krum. Some of the captains in this St. Louis army of defense of the city were George H. Morgan, William B. Pratt, E. P. Rice, George Knapp, Daniel G. Taylor, Henry Cleveland, Edward Morrison, Daniel M. Grissom, William McKee, Hugh McDermott, William H. Crawford, William H. Stone, Gerard B. Allen, Louis Espenschied. Among the lieutenants were William A. Northrop, Richard D. Compton, J. C. Dubuque, James Smith, James V. Fisher, B. D. Killian, Edward Byrne.

The Enrolled Militia of St. Louis were in the field several weeks until all apprehension of attack by the Confederates passed away. The Second and Third brigades broke camp at the head of Olive street and marched out as far as Laclede station on the Pacific railroad on the 1st of October. That was two days after the Confederate raid on Cheltenham.

St. Louisans participated in still another form of military organization. Besides the eight or ten regiments of Enrolled Militia there were the "exempts from the military service capable of defending their homes." As the Confederates approached the city the "exempts" were called upon to organize under the direction of the mayor and they did so. While the Enrolled Militia went to camp the exempts bore arms and performed duty in the city. They were commanded by Colonel B. Gratz Brown.

The number of St. Louisans who bore arms for the Union is a matter of official record. How many St. Louisans made their way south and enlisted in the Confederate service can be estimated only. Enough joined Bowen at Memphis in the early summer of 1861 to form a regiment. Several Confederate organizations were composed largely of St. Louisans, among them Guibor's Wade's and Barrett's batteries. Captain Joseph Boyce and other well informed Confederate veterans estimated the number of St. Louisans who went south and entered the army at 5,000. Of this number not more than 1,000 returned. In Captain Boyce's company, of Bowen's First Missouri Regiment, organized at Memphis, were 114 St. Louisans, many of whom had served in the crack St. Louis Grays. Of the 114, just ten came back to their homes. In character rather than in number the St. Louisans who joined the Confederate army were notable. They were young men in the professions or in business—lawyers, doctors, bank

officers, bookkeepers in some of the principal business houses, steamboat clerks. Many of them were descendants of pioneer families of St. Louis. In a club of twenty-six young professional men all but four went South.

Joseph Scott Fullerton was one of the young St. Louis Democrats who sided with the Union. He came of the old Fullerton family of Pennsylvania, large landholders near Lancaster and Revolutionary patriots. The Fullertons were giants. The great grandfather of the young St. Louisan was six feet, two, and weighed 430 pounds. Joseph Scott Fullerton, of Ohio birth and education, came to St. Louis fresh from the Cincinnati Law school in 1858. A commission was appointed from Washington to investigate claims of St. Louis business men against the government incurred in the confusion of army organization under Fremont. Fullerton was made secretary of it. He became impatient to get into the fighting and tried to resign. Joseph Holt, afterward attorney general, was a member of the commission. "Young man," he said, "you will have opportunity enough. Be patient until this important task is through. Even the shell of this rebellion is not cracked yet." Fullerton went in a lieutenant, fought on twenty battlefields, came out a general and in 1867 was made postmaster of St. Louis. Years afterwards he acquired suburban real estate and laid out Westminster Place.

One of the captains in Bowen's regiment at Camp Jackson was Given Campbell, a young lawyer, bred in Kentucky and educated in the University of Virginia. Mr. Campbell had begun to practice in St. Louis. He had a desk in the office of Charles D. Drake. When Mr. Campbell came back to St. Louis in 1865, after four years' service in the Confederacy, he discovered that Judge Drake had formulated a "test oath" which barred him from the practice of law. Mr. Campbell married a northern wife, the daughter of Robert K. Woods, a descendant of the historic Berry family of Massachusetts; he spent several years in the South, coming back to St. Louis after the "Drake constitution" had become only a memory.

To leave St. Louis by train or boat or by other vehicle or afoot, during the continuance of martial law, a passport was necessary. Between August 14 and November 20, 1861, there were issued 85,000 of these passes. On the back of the first issues, was: "It is understood that the within named subscriber accepts this pass on his word of honor that he is and will ever be loyal to the United States; and if hereafter found in arms against the Union, or in any way aiding the enemy, the penalty will be death."

When Captain George E. Leighton succeeded General Justus McKinstry as provost marshal, he changed this form to a pledge and omitted the death penalty.

In April, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. Dick, provost marshal, sent a peremptory order to Edward Wyman, principal of the City University, to hoist "the United States flag over his school building and keep the same floating daily in a conspicuous position." The very next day another order was issued saying the loyalty of Mr. Wyman and his assistants was "fully conceded" by General Curtis.

This generation may marvel that the opposing principals in the Camp

Jackson affair were Northern men. Daniel M. Frost, who commanded the St. Louis militia in Camp Jackson, was of New York birth, while Nathaniel Lyon, who is to be credited with the responsibility of the capture, was Connecticut born. Both of these men were of West Point education. Both had seen service in the United States army. Frost's grandfather was a Revolutionary patriot and his father was in the War of 1812. Members of the Lyon family were in the American Revolution. Both Lyon and Frost served in the War with Mexico, earning commendation for their personal gallantry. Lyon and Frost were together at West Point one year, Lyon graduating three years before Frost. Frost had been out of the army eight years. He had married Miss Graham, the granddaughter of John Mullanphy and the daughter of Major Graham, a regular army officer and an aide of General William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812.

Lyon continued in the army. He was at Jefferson Barracks after the Mexican war. He was in Kansas before the Civil war. In the summer of 1860 he wrote articles to the Manhattan, Kansas, Express favoring the election of Lincoln. The parallel between Frost and Lyon is not quite ended. Both believed that war between the sections was threatening. At that point they parted company. Lyon believed in an aggressive policy by the north; he was for striking quick and hard. Frost was as deeply interested in the politics of the day as was Lyon, but his view was different. He thought that while war was threatened, it might be averted. For years he cherished the belief that the border States might hold such a balance of power by observing neutrality as to minimize if not prevent the conflict. Evidence to show that Frost was at heart a secessionist is wanting. Frost advocated the organization of a strong militia force. With B. Gratz Brown, in 1858, he drew the measure which was the basis for the assembling of the State militia at Camp Jackson three years later. He was brigadier general of the militia at St. Louis, not for the purpose or with any idea of taking Missouri out of the Union, but in the hope that he might personally contribute to preservation of peace between the north and the south. Frost's planning for border neutrality failed utterly. Missouri adopted his plan of organization but cut out the money provision necessary to make it effective. Secessionists made the border neutrality policy a cloak under which to forward their own designs. Aggressive northerners of the Lyon type would have none of it. And so the capture of Camp Jackson came about, a firebrand to St. Louis such as the firing on Sumter was to the north.

Three months to the day after the Camp Jackson affair, Lyon fought a battle for which he was not prepared and threw his life away. Just before he marched his St. Louis army out of Springfield to Wilson's Creek, he spoke hopelessly. "Through the refusal of the government to properly reinforce me I am compelled to abandon the country. If I leave it without engaging the enemy the public will call me a coward. If I engage him I may be defeated, and my command cut to pieces. I am too weak to hold Springfield and yet the people will demand that I bring about a battle with the very enemy I cannot keep a town against. How can this result other-

wise than against us." Twice wounded, Lyon headed a charge and was shot from his horse. By will he left $30,000 nearly his whole estate, for the preservation of the Union. He was the incarnation of courage. The temperament which prompted the capture of Camp Jackson led to the fatal charge at Wilson's Creek. Lyon was buried with honor in his native state, but the great events of his life belong to the history of St. Louis. Here the monument to his memory was erected on a part of the Arsenal grounds made into a park and named in his honor. By private subscriptions and by public appropriation the money was raised. The sculptor chosen to execute the medallion, Wilson McDonald, was a brother of one of the Camp Jackson prisoners, Emmett McDonald.

General Frost went South and entered the Confederate service. He resigned lated in 1863 and went to Canada, where his family, banished from St. Louis, joined him. After the war he came back to St .Louis to live. During the railroad riots of 1877, he rendered conspicuous service in the organization of the citizen soldiery. A son of General Frost, R. Graham Frost, who was a small boy at the time of the Civil war, was elected to Congress from one of the St. Louis districts.

Governor Jackson was plotting the secession of Missouri. Some of the officers in Camp Jackson were hoping to bring about an attack on the Arsenal. No one who conversed with General Frost long after the war feeling had passed could form the impression that in his mind the assemblage of state troops in Camp Jackson meant either secession or an attack on the Arsenal. General Frost was always positive in his denials that there was to his knowledge a Confederate flag in the camp; that the troops were enrolled with the understanding they were to go into Confederate service; that the camp was formed for an attack on the Arsenal.

The oath which all of the militia in Camp Jackson took was this:

> You, each and every one of you, do solemnly swear that you will honestly and faithfully serve the State of Missouri against all her enemies; that you will do your utmost to sustain the constitution and laws of the United States, and of this State, against all violence of whatsoever kind or description. And you do further swear that you will well and truly obey the legal orders of all officers properly placed over you when on duty.

A statement of his course previous to Camp Jackson and of his connection with that assemblage of the militia was authorized by General Frost late in life. It was this:

> He was not then, nor did he ever become, a secessionist in principle and he maintains that the sole object of the military bill which he, in co-operation with B. Gratz Brown and others, framed and pressed to a passage in the Missouri Legislature was for the purpose of providing in Missouri and other border states a military organization which should be constituted to keep the peace within the states which, in case of civil war, were sure to bear the brunt and suffer the spoliation of the sectional conflict impending. General Frost now states that in pursuance of this object, not only was the law passed in the Missouri Legislature, but correspondence was held with General Buckner, in command of the militia in Kentucky, who caused a like measure for that state to be passed and also with authorities in other border states.
>
> General Frost's view of the whole matter at this advanced stage of his life only enables him to reaffirm that up to the time of his exchange as a prisoner of war and his formal acceptance of a commission in the Confederate army he did not in any instance,

by word or deed, betray his allegiance to the laws of the State of Missouri or to the laws of the United States.

John Knapp was second in command at Camp Jackson. The First regiment was composed of the regular militia—companies of long standing. The Second regiment was composed of one regular militia company and several companies of Minute men, organized during the winter of 1860-61 and composed of young men who sympathized with the south. To some extent these companies of Minute men had been recruited from the Democratic marching clubs of the campaign of 1860. There was no question as to the Unionism of many, probably most, of the members of the First regiment. Colonel John Knapp had been long prominent in military affairs of St. Louis and Missouri. Two days before the capture of Camp Jackson, Colonel Knapp, meeting some of the regular army officers at the Barracks, had told them that on Saturday he would break camp with the First regiment, march to the armories and dismiss the companies. This would have ended Camp Jackson.

Both Colonel George Knapp and Colonel John Knapp came well by their military titles. They were for the supremacy of this government, not only in theory but in practice; not only in peace but in war. The year before he became part proprietor of The Republican, when he was twenty-one years of age, George Knapp entered the St. Louis Grays. He was one of the first St. Louis officers who volunteered for service in the Mexican war. He went out as a lieutenant in the St. Louis Legion and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel after the return of the legion to St. Louis. The legion was equipped largely from funds raised by voluntary contributions of St. Louis citizens and went to the front very early in the war. Soon after the beginning of the Civil war George Knapp recruited a military force in his newspaper office, called the Missouri Republican guard. This force he drilled and commanded, holding it in readiness for service if an attack was made on St. Louis, as was repeatedly threatened.

John Knapp was in the military service of the state more than twenty-five years. He went to the Mexican war as a captain in the First regiment of Missouri Volunteers. The militia company of which he was one of the lieutenants had voted not to volunteer for service in the Mexican war. Thereupon Lieutenant Knapp organized a new company, the Boone Infantry. He was elected captain, and immediately tendered this company for service in the war.

He commanded the First regiment of Missouri Militia in the Southwest expedition to the Kansas border in the winter of 1861. He was in command of this regiment when Camp Jackson was taken by General Lyon on the 10th of May, 1861. Afterwards he was appointed colonel of the Eighth regiment of the Enrolled Missouri militia, and later colonel of the Thirteenth Provisional regiment, and still later was an aid of Governor Hall and went with the brigade of Missouri troops in pursuit of General Sterling Price when the Confederates made the raid in 1864. He continued in the service until after the Civil war. He was the best tactician in the volunteer service of his day. From the militia companies composing the

GEN. ALTON R. EASTON

GEN. W. S. HARNEY

CAPT. THEODORE HUNT

GEN. DANIEL BISSELL

GEN. NATHANIEL LYON

First Militia regiment, of which John Knapp was the commanding officer when hostilities began, the Union army received many officers. For Governor Gamble, who succeeded Claib Jackson when the latter left Jefferson City to join the Confederacy, Colonel John Knapp worked out the plan of militia enrollment which protected Missouri and which created a force to deal with guerrillas.

At 9 o'clock in the morning of the last day of September, 1863, President Lincoln, accompanied by one of his secretaries, came into the great east room of the White House and sat down.

"He bore the appearance of being much depressed, as if the whole matter at issue in the conference which was impending was of great anxiety and trouble to him," says one of the St. Louisans who sat awaiting the President's coming.

These were seventy "Radical Union men of Missouri;" they had accepted that designation. They had been chosen at mass convention—"the largest mass convention ever held in the state," their credentials said. That convention had unqualifiedly indorsed the emancipation proclamation and the employment of negro troops. It had declared its loyalty to the general government. It had appointed these seventy Missourians to proceed to Washington and "to procure a change in the governmental policy in reference to Missouri." The movement had originated in St. Louis, and St. Louisans were at the head of it.

This action meant more than a city or a state movement. It was the precipitation of a crisis at Washington. It was the voice of the radical anti-slavery element of the whole country speaking through Missouri, demanding that the government commit itself to the policy of the abolition of slavery and to the policy of the use of negro troops against the Confederate armies. It was the uprising of the element which thought the administration at Washington had been too mild. President Lincoln understood that the coming of the Missourians meant more than their local appeal. The Missourians understood, too, the importance of their mission. On the way to Washington the seventy had stopped in city after city, had been given enthusiastic reception by anti-slavery leaders; they had been encouraged to make their appeal for a new policy in Missouri insistent and to stand on the platform that the border States must now wipe out slavery of loyal owners. Hence it was that immediately upon their arrival in Washington the seventy Missourians coming from a slave state put into their address to the President such an avowal as this:

> We rejoice that in your proclamation of January 1, 1863, you laid the mighty hand of the nation upon that gigantic enemy of American liberty, and we and our constituents honor you for that wise and noble act. We and they hold that that proclamation did, in law, by its own force, liberate every slave in the region it covered; that it is irrevocable, and that from the moment of its issue the American people stood in an impregnable position before the world and the rebellion received its death blow. If you, Mr. President, felt that duty to your country demanded that you should unshackle the slaves of the rebel states in an hour, we see no earthly reason why the people of Missouri should not, from the same sense of duty, strike down with equal suddenness the traitorous and parricidal institution in their midst.

Here was the essence of the Missouri movement which gave it national interest, which prompted the grand chorus of approval, which led to the series of indorsing ovations concluding with the mighty demonstration over the seventy Radical Union men in Cooper Institute, New York City, with William Cullen Bryant presiding. President Lincoln, pursuing the course which seemed to him necessary to keep the United North with him, felt fully the critical character of the issue which the Missourians were raising.

Conditions and event wholly apart from what was going on in their state added to the significance and importance of this conference between President Lincoln and the radical Union men of Missouri. The week before the seventy started from St. Louis for Washington that bloodiest battle of the war, Chickamauga, had been fought, and the whole north was depressed by the narrow escape of Rosecrans' army. When the Missourians arrived in Washington Hooker's army was marching all night long over the Long Bridge out of Virginia and into Washington to take trains for the roundabout journey to Chattanooga to re-enforce the penned-up troops, that they might not be forced north of the Tennessee by Bragg. Meade's failure to follow up the success at Gettysburg in July previous had given great dissatisfaction. In the cabinet there was division over administration policies. The presidential campaign was coming on in a few months. Perhaps at no other time since the beginning of the war had President Lincoln faced more discouraging criticism and more hostile opinion in the North.

The address reviewed the origin and the development of antagonism between the Gamble administration and the radical Union men. It charged Gamble with the intention to preserve slavery in Missouri and asserted "the radicals of Missouri desired and demanded the election of a new convention for the purpose of ridding the State of slavery immediately." It dwelt at length upon the "proslavery character" of Governor Gamble's policy and acts."

"From the antagonisms of the radicals to such a policy," the address proceeded, "have arisen the conflicts which you, Mr. President, have been pleased heretofore to term a "factional quarrel." With all respect we deny that the radicals of Missouri have been or are, in any sense, a party to any such quarrel. We are no factionists; but men earnestly intent upon doing our part toward rescuing this great nation from the assaults which slavery is aiming at its life."

With the Missourians affirming such a position, it is not difficult to understand the wave of sympathy from the anti-slavery element which spread over the country, taking the form of indorsements by newspaper, speeches by leaders of the anti-slavery people and enthusiastic public attentions to the delegation.

The climax of the address of the seventy radical Union men was the

prayer that Ben Butler be sent to succeed Schofield at St. Louis to restore peace and order in Missouri.

We ask, further, Mr. President, that in the place of General Schofield a department commander be assigned to the Department of Missouri whose sympathies will be with Missouri's loyal and suffering people, and not with slavery and proslavery men. General Schofield has disappointed our just expectations by identifying himself with our state administration, and his policy as department commander has been, as we believe, shaped to conform to Governor Gamble's proslavery and conservative views. He has subordinated federal authority in Missouri to state rule. He has become a party to the enforcement of conscription into the state service. He has countenanced, if not sustained, the orders issued from the state headquarters, prohibiting enlistments from the enrolled militia into the volunteer service of the United States. Officers acting under him have arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned loyal citizens, without assigned cause, or for daring to censure Governor Gamble's policy and acts. Other such officers have ordered loyal men to be disarmed, and in some instances the order has been executed, while under the pretense of preventing an invasion of Missouri from Kansas, notorious and avowed disloyalists have been armed. He has issued a military order prohibiting the liberty of speech and of the press. An officer in charge of negro recruits that had been enlisted under lawful authority, as we are informed and believe, was on the 20th inst. arrested in Missouri by Brigadier General Guitar, acting under General Schofield's orders, his commission, side-arms and recruits taken from him, and he imprisoned and sent out of the state. And, finally, we declare to you, Mr. President, that from the day of General Schofield's accession to the command of that department, matters have grown worse and worse in Missouri, till now they are in a more terrible condition than they have been at any time since the outbreak of the rebellion. This could not be if General Schofield had administered the affairs of that department with proper vigor and with a resolute purpose to sustain loyalty and suppress disloyalty. We, therefore, respectfully pray you to send another general to command that department; and, if we do not overstep the bounds of propriety, we ask that the commander sent there be Major General Benjamin F. Butler We believe that his presence there would restore order and peace to Missouri in less than sixty days.

The closing paragraph of the address was well calculated to impress Mr. Lincoln with the intensity of feeling inspiring the delegation. Perhaps in the history of White House conferences such strong language was never before used by a delegation in declaring the personal responsibility of the chief executive. The conclusion was in these words:

Whether the loyal hearts of Missouri shall be crushed is for you to say. If you refuse our requests, we return to our homes only to witness, in consequence of that refusal, a more active and relentless persecution of Union men, and to feel that while Maryland can rejoice in the protection of the government of the Union, Missouri is still to be a victim of a proslavery conservatism, which blasts wherever it reigns. Does Missouri deserve such a fate? What border slave state confronted the rebellion in its first spring as she did? Remember, we pray you, who it was that in May, 1861, captured Camp Jackson and saved the arsenal at St. Louis from the hands of traitors, and the Union cause in the Valley of the Mississippi from incalculable disaster. Remember the home guards, who sprung to arms in Missouri when the government was without troops or means to defend itself there. Remember the more than 50,000 volunteers that Missouri has sent forth to battle for the Union. Remember that, although always a slave state, her unconditional loyalty to the Union shines lustrously before the whole nation. Recall to memory these things, Mr. President, and let them exert their just influence upon your mind. We ask only justice and protection to our suffering people. If they are to suffer hereafter, as now, and in time past, the world will remember that they are not responsible for the gloomy page in Missouri's history, which may have to record the independent

efforts of her harassed but still loyal men to defend themselves, their families and their homes against their disloyal and murderous assailants.

The names of the seventy radical Union men of Missouri were signed to this remarkable document. The signature of Charles D. Drake of St. Louis, afterwards senator from Missouri, and still later chief justice of the Court of Claims at Washington, came first as chairman. Two Missouri congressmen, Ben Loan and J. W. McClurg, the latter afterwards governor, signed as vice chairmen of the delegation. One of the secretaries was the late Emil Preetorius of the St. Louis Westliche Post. Three of the seventy signers are living in 1909 and are well known in St. Louis—Enos Clarke, Charles P Johnson and David Murphy. They were among the youngest members of the delegation. One of them, Charles P. Johnson, was chosen to speak at the Cooper Institute demonstration given to indorse this Missouri movement for universal emancipation, and was introduced to the great audience by the poet and editor, William Cullen Bryant. The forty-five years gone by have not dimmed the recollection of that journey to Washington and of the scene in the east room of the White House by these three St. Louis participants, although time long ago tempered the sentiment and dissipated the bitterness. With some reluctance Enos Clarke spoke of this historic occasion, explaining that it is difficult for those who did not live through those trying times in St. Louis, or Missouri, to comprehend the conditions which prevailed:

"The feeling over our grievances had become intense. We represented the extreme anti-slavery sentiment. We were the Republicans who had been in accord with Fremont's position. Both sides to the controversy in Missouri had repeatedly presented their views to President Lincoln, but this delegation of seventy was the most imposing and most formal protest which had been made to the Gamble state administration and the national administration's policy in Missouri. The attention of the whole country, it seemed, had been drawn to Missouri. Our delegation met with a series of ovations. When we reached Washington we were informed that Secretary Chase proposed to tender us a reception. We were entertaind by him the evening of the day we were received at the White House."

"Who was the author of the address, Mr. Clarke?"

"The address was the result of several meetings we held after we reached Washington. We were there nearly a week. Arriving on Saturday, we did not have our conference at the White House until Wednesday. Every day we met in Willard's Hall, on F street, and considered the address. Mr. Drake would read over a few paragraphs, and we would discuss them. At the close of the meeting Mr. Drake would say, 'I will call you together to-morrow to further consider this matter.' In that way the address progressed to the finish."

"How did the President receive you?"

"There was no special greeting. We went to the White House a few minutes before nine, in accordance with the appointment which had been made, and took seats in the east room. Promptly at nine the president came in, unattended save by one of his secretaries. He did not shake hands, but sat down in such a position that he faced us. He seemed a great ungainly, almost uncouth man. He walked with a kind of ambling gait. His face bore the look of depression, of deep anxiety. Mr. Drake stepped forward as soon as the President had taken his seat and began to read the address. He had a deep, sonorous voice and he read slowly and in a most impressive manner. The reading occupied half an hour. At the conclusion Mr. Drake said this statement of our grievances had been prepared and signed by all of those present."

"Did the President seem to be much affected by the reading?"

GEN. FREDERICK DENT GRANT
In front of log house where he lived in early childhood

THE LOG HOUSE THAT GRANT BUILT

"No. And at the conclusion he began to discuss the address in a manner that was very disappointing to us. He took up one phrase after another and talked about them without showing much interest. In fact, he seemed inclined to treat many of the matters contained in the paper as of little importance. The things which we had felt to be so serious Mr. Lincoln treated as really unworthy of much consideration. That was the tone in which he talked at first. He minimized what seemed to us most important."

"Did he indulge in any story telling or humorous comment?"

"No. There was nothing that seemed like levity at that stage of the conference. On the contrary, the President was almost impatient, as if he wished to get through with something disagreeable. When he had expressed the opinion that things were not so serious as we thought he began to ask questions, many of them. He elicited answers from different members of the delegation. He started argument, parrying some of the opinions expressed by us and advancing opinions contrary to the conclusions of our Committee of Seventy. This treatment of our grievances was carried so far that most of us felt a sense of deep chagrin. But after continuing in this line for some time the President's whole manner underwent change. It seemed as if he had been intent upon drawing us out. When satisfied that he fully understood us and had measured the strength of our purpose, the depth of our feeling, he took up the address as if new. He handled the various grievances in a most serious manner. He gave us the impression that he was disposed to regard them with as much concern as we did. After a while the conversation became colloquial between the President and the members of the delegation—more informal and more sympathetic. The change of tone made us feel that we were going to get consideration."

"What inspired that assertion in the address that the President had spoken of the trouble in Missouri as a 'factional quarrel?'"

"It was based on a letter President Lincoln had written to General Schofield some time previously. A copy of that letter was before us when we drew up the address. Apparently, for the purpose of informing General Schofield of his view of affairs in Missouri, Mr. Lincoln had written to him in this way: "I did not relieve General Curtis because of my full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting, when united, a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves. General Curtis, perhaps not of choice, being the head of one faction and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow, and, as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis.' This letter had found its way to the public and was made the basis of what our address said by way of vindication of the Radical Union men."

"Did the President make any reference to that part of the address about the 'factional quarrel?'"

"Yes, he did. And it was about the only thing he said that had a touch of humor in that long conversation. In the course of his reply to us he took up that grievance. 'Why,' he said, 'you are a long way behind the times in complaining of what I said upon that point. Governor Gamble was ahead of you. There came to me some time ago a letter complaining because I had said that he was a party to a factional quarrel, and I answered that letter without reading it.' The features of the president took on a whimsical look as he continued: 'Maybe you would like to know how I could answer it without reading it. Well, I'll tell you. My private secretary told me such a latter had been received and I sat down and wrote to Governor Gamble in about these words: I understand that a letter has been received from you complaining that I said you were a party to a factional quarrel in Missouri. I have not read that letter, and, what is more, I never will. With that Mr. Lincoln dismissed our grievance about having been called parties to a factional quarrel. He left us to draw our own inference from what he said, as he had left Governor Gamble to construe the letter without help."

"Did the conference progress to satisfactory conclusions after the President's manner changed?"

"We did not receive specific promises, but I think we felt much better toward the close than we had felt in the first hour. The President spoke generally of his purposes rather than with reference to conditions in Missouri. Toward the close of the conference he went on to speak of his great office, of its burdens, of its responsibilities and duties. Among other things he said that in the administration of the government he wanted to be the President of the whole people and no section. He thought we, possibly, failed to comprehend the enormous stress that rested upon him. 'It is my ambition and desire,' he said with considerable feeling, 'to so administer the affairs of the government while I remain President that if at the end I shall have lost every other friend on earth I shall at least have one friend remaining and that one shall be down inside of me.'"

"How long did the conference continue?"

"Three hours. It was nearing noon when the President said what I have just quoted. That seemed to be the signal to end the conference. Mr. Drake stepped forward and, addressing the President, who was standing, said, with deliberation and emphasis: 'The hour has come when we can no longer trespass upon your attention. Having submitted to you in a formal way a statement of our grievances, we will take leave of you, asking the privilege that each member of the delegation may take you by the hand. But, in taking leave of you, Mr. President, let me say to you many of these gentlemen return to a border state filled with disloyal sentiment. If upon their return there the military policies of your administration shall subject them to risk of life in the defense of the government and their blood shall be shed—let me tell you, Mr. President, that their blood shall be upon your garments and not upon ours.'"

"How did the President receive that?"

"With great emotion. Tears trickled down his face, as we filed by shaking his hand."

"The Twentieth Century Club" was a St. Louis organization of more than local influence soon after the war. The idea was adapted from the "Bird Club" of Boston. Enos Clarke, then a young lawyer of Ohio nativity who had come to St. Louis from New York early in the Civil war, was one of the founders of the club. Carl Schurz was one of the leading spirits. The members numbered less than a score. They met once a week at the Planters' House and dined together. Very few guests were entertained. When a non-member looked around the table, he quickly discovered that he was in the presence of the men who shaped Republican action in Missouri. When the Republican party divided in 1870, the Twentieth Century members were aligned with the liberal Republican movement. They put forward B. Gratz Brown. They went to the Liberal Republican convention and controlled it for Brown. Two years later this organization was potent in the movement to make the Liberal Republican policy national and to oppose Grant. Members of the Twentieth Century Club participated in the convention at Cincinnati which nominated Greeley and Brown.

Among the members of the Twentieth Century club were Carl Schurz, Henry T. Blow, Enos Clarke, Emil Preetorius, B. Gratz Brown, William M. Grosvenor, William Taussig, James Taussig, Charles P. Johnson, John McNeil, G. A. Finkelnburg and Felix Coste.

The meetings were held Saturday afternoons, continuing into the evenings. Carl Schurz, as a rule presided. Perhaps no other coterie in the history of this city exercised for a like period such influence upon political affairs. Grosvenor was editor of the Missouri Democrat, now the Globe-Democrat. He afterwards became an editorial writer on the New York Tribune. Preetorius controled the Westliche Post, then the most

powerful German Republican paper in the country. This insured newspaper support of policies to which the club committed itself. Blow had been in Congress and was soon to be minister to Brazil. The Twentieth Century club inaugurated the movement which made Schurz United States senator. The Liberal Republican movement not only elected one of the members, B. Gratz Brown, governor of Missouri, and made him the vice-presidential nominee at Cincinnati in 1872, but it sent Mr. Finkelnburg to Congress and made Charles P. Johnson become lieutenant-governor.

In a newspaper office was conceived the other end of the political movement in which St. Louis had far reaching influence. Democratic co-operation was essential to the success of the Liberal Republican plan. The office was the Missouri Republican. The time was 1870. William Hyde and William H. Swift, with the advice of that astute politician, Henry C. Brockmeyer, and with the approval of George and John Knapp, committed the Democratic organization to the passive policy. Conflict of political opinion in Missouri was over the test oath and the disfranchisement of the Confederates. Republicans were divided. From the Republican office was exercised the influence which prompted Aylett H. Buckner, chairman of the Democratic state central committee, to call a meeting in St. Louis. Swift was the secretary of the committee. Resolutions binding the committee not to call a state convention that year, 1870, were carefully drawn and kept secret until the meeting was held. There were members who opposed the proposition and who favored the making of a straight fight. Before the opposition could organize, General James Shields moved the adoption of the resolutions and the Democratic party of Missouri was bound to make no nominations that year. There was no little protest but compact with the Liberal Republicans was carried out.

Newspaper enterprise had something to do with the success of the plan. It was essential that the Republican convention, which was to divide, should be handled with care. William H. Swift was sent to Jefferson City for the Missouri Republican. His instructions were to spare no expense. It was of the greatest importance that the Liberal Republican movement and the passive policy should be given a good send off for the effect upon public sentiment in the State. "Holding the wire" was a newspaper feat made possible in those days by a rule of the telegraph companies. In the time of few wires and few operators, the newspaper which filed matter first had exclusive use of the facilities for transmission until all of its matter had been sent. Telegraph officials exercised no discretion as to character of copy. They broke in on press copy only to send commercial messages. Swift found two wires working from Jefferson City to St. Louis. He pre-empted them. On the hook over one instrument he hung the United States statutes and on the hook over the other table he hung the statutes of Missouri. Then he went about the collection and preparation of news of the convention. When the operators were ready for press they started on the statutes. When Mr. Swift came in with copy he slipped the sheets into the statutes so that they would go next. When other correspondents attempted to send, they discovered that they were

barred so long as the Missouri Republican was willing to pay tolls on the statutes. Thus the anxious St. Louis public, during the hours while the split between the Republican factions at Jefferson City was widening, received information through a channel which gave the passive policy the best of it. In his extremity, Emil Preetorius appealed to George Knapp to let a dispatch go through to the Westliche Post. And the colonel, chivalric as he was, issued the order to Mr. Swift to oblige Mr. Preetorius. Swift refused. Colonel George threatened discharge. Swift was firm. Holding the wire meant a bill of $1,500 to the Republican. When the correspondent got back to St. Louis and went down to the office to turn in his expense account and to receive his discharge, George Knapp handed him an honorarium of $500 and told him to take a vacation for two weeks. "Pay no attention to what I said to you at Jefferson City," Colonel Knapp said with a ghost of a smile.

Following the convention at Jefferson City, the following messages were exchanged:

St. Louis, Sept. 2, 1870.

B. Gratz Brown,
Jefferson City.

The negroes of this state are free. White men only are now enslaved. The people look to you and your friends to deliver them from this great wrong. Shall they look in vain? J. B. Henderson.

Jefferson City, Sept. 2, 1870.

Hon. John B. Henderson,
St. Louis.

The confidence of the people of this state shall not be disappointed. I will carry out this canvass to its ultimate consequence so that no freeman not convicted of crime shall henceforth be deprived of an equal voice in our government. B. Gratz Brown.

B. Gratz Brown was born in Kentucky, educated at Yale and became a resident of Missouri in 1850. Rather curiously he was very early identified with the German immigration as a champion of that element in the population of St. Louis. His early free soil sympathies probably had much to do with this leadership of the freedom loving Germans. He had the distinction of making the first speech in behalf of emancipation as a member of a southern legislature. It was thought at the time that he delivered the speech at the peril of his life in Jefferson City, and that he sacrificed all hope of a political future. He was denounced and proscribed but the Germans rallied solidly to his support and sent him back to the legislature before the war. Opposition and proscription only spurred B. Gratz Brown to greater efforts along the lines of his convictions. With Fred Muench and Emil Preetorius Brown was very active in getting up the call for the first Republican convention in a slave state. He became a United States senator after serving in the army, largely through the sturdy support of the Germans of St. Louis.

Encouraged by their complete success in Missouri, the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats under inspiration from the St. Louis leaders attempted in 1872 the same policy on a national scale. The Liberal Republicans, with the Twentieth Century coterie and the Westliche Post follow-

ing started the movement. The Missouri Republican advocated a passive policy by the national Democratic organization. Opposition to Grant and to reconstruction measures furnished the platform. For months St. Louis was the center of political interest to the whole country.

The movement gained great headway among Liberal Republicans, and especially among the Germans throughout the country. A national convention was called to meet in Cincinnati. The state convention at Jefferson City, which elected delegates to this Liberal Republican convention at Cincinnati, was conducted practically by representatives of the Westliche Post. Joseph B. McCullagh reported the convention for the Missouri Democrat. He called it the "Bill and Joe Convention." "Bill and Joe" were William M. Grosvenor and Joseph Pulitzer. The movement resulted in the Cincinnati convention and the nominations of Greeley and Brown. A fatal mistake was made by the Democratic National Convention in failing to carry out the policy. The Baltimore Convention of the Democratic party in 1872 took positive action on the ticket, instead of adopting the passive course, which had been pursued by the Democratic party of Missouri so successfully two years before. The result of the action at Baltimore was to antagonize the Liberal Republicans and many of the German voters. The Greeley and Brown ticket failed of the support expected for it from elements in the Republican party opposed to Grant and the reconstruction measures in the South.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ST. LOUISANS IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

Woe to the people that lets its historic memories die; recreant to honor, gratitude, yea to its own life, it perishes with them.—Rev. Dr. T. M. Post, Dedication, Blair Monument.

St. Louis came quickly within the world's vision. The third year after Laclede marked the first tree to guide Auguste Chouteau, a British officer visited the settlement. Captain Philip Pitman was of the engineer corps. He was sent west by General Gage in 1766. The year previously, Sterling and his Highlanders had arrived at Fort Chartres. The British government wished an expert report on the territory east of the Mississippi acquired from France. Pitman was selected by Gage to make it. Gage was in command of the military forces of Great Britain in America,—the same Gage who in the middle of the next decade precipitated the American Revolution by sending redcoats out of Boston to seize munitions at Concord, bringing on the battle of Lexington.

Pitman came to the Mississippi Valley,—"the country of the Illinois" it had been called. He devoted several months to his investigations. His journeying was not limited to British territory. St. Louis was visited, then not quite three years old. Pitman made his report to Gage in 1767. Three years later, in 1770, the observations and impressions in narrative form, were given to the world through a book published in London. Pitman mentioned St. Louis by that title but once. That was when he wrote of "the village of St. Louis" being "supplied with flour and provisions" from Ste. Genevieve. Elsewhere in recording his view of the settlement Pitman designated St. Louis as "Paincourt."

Pitman described St. Louis as he found it in the early months of 1767 in these words—the first mention of St. Louis in print:

> This village is one league and a half above Kaoquias, on the west side of the Mississippi, being the present headquarters of the French in these parts. It was first established in the year 1764 by a company of merchants, to whom Monsieur D'Abbadie had given an exclusive grant for the commerce with the Indian nations on the River Missoury; and for the security and encouragement of this settlement the staff of French officers and the commissary were ordered to remove here, upon the rendering Fort Chartres to the English; and great encouragement was given to the inhabitants to remove with them, most of whom did. The company has built a large house and stores here, and there are about forty-five houses and as many families. No fort or barracks are yet built. The French garrison consists of a captain-commandant, two lieutenants, a fort major, one sergeant, one corporal and twenty men.

Charles Gratiot traveled widely. Wherever he went he sounded the praises of St. Louis. In 1804 he was in Frankfort. John Mullanphy was keeping the principal store. He had come from Ireland twelve years before with a young wife. He tried Philadelphia and Baltimore, doing very well in business but the speculative spirit was strong in him and he had moved to Kentucky. Mullanphy listened to Gratiot's vivid description of the opportunities the new Amer-

ican town offered. The two men talked French. Mullanphy, in his young manhood, had crossed to France and had served some years in the Irish brigade of that country. The persuasion of Gratiot was effective. Mullanphy moved to St. Louis. He opened a store on Second street. Shrewd in business, speaking equally well the language of the old habitants and of the newcomers he prospered.

"The St. Louis millionaire," Brackenridge called John Mullanphy. There were other men of wealth during the decade after the American occupation but Brackenridge picked Mullanphy for "the millionaire." He told how the million came about. At the time of the war of 1812 Mullanphy was speculating in cotton. He had on hand a considerable quantity at New Orleans. General Jackson took this cotton to make the breastworks behind which he waited for Packenham, the English general. Mullanphy went to "Old Hickory" and protested. "This is your cotton?" said General Jackson. "Then no one has a better right to defend it. Take a musket and stand in the ranks." When the war was over, Mullanphy tore the breastworks to pieces, shipped his bales of cotton to England and cleared a million dollars. That was the story Brackenridge told preliminary to this:

> One day he called to see me and invited me to dine with him. I found him in a large brick house, perhaps the largest in the town, unfurnished and untenanted with the exception of a back room of which he was the sole occupant. Here I found him seated before a wood fire (coal was not in use at that time), while two catfish heads were broiling on two chips of wood. "There," said he, "you see your dinner; that head is yours and this is mine; we must each do the cooking." It was a Barmecide feast, and I determined to humor it. We had some excellent bread and butter, and to make amends for the dishes, drank exquisite Madeira out of tumblers. The dessert, I must add, was the most substantial part of the entertainment. Going to his safe, he brought forth a bag of dollars and placing it on the table, "There," said he, "is a retaining fee if I should want your professional services."

Two years previous to his arrival in St. Louis Mullanphy built a brig at Frankfort, on the Kentucky river, loaded the ship with products and sent it to the Indies while the Mississippi river at its mouth was yet in the possession and control of Spain. Everything in which Mr. Mullanphy engaged seemed to turn out prosperously. He kept a book store several years prior to 1800 at Frankfort and made money at it. John Mullanphy knew books; he became possessed of the finest private library in St. Louis. It was said of him that he built more houses and contributed more than any other citizen to the early building of St. Louis. He was repeatedly a member of the board of aldermen.

In the biography of General Andrew Jackson this version of Mr. Mullanphy and the cotton bales is given:

> An additional number of bales was taken to defend the embrasures. A Frenchman whose property had been thus without his consent seized, fearing of the injury it might sustain, proceeded in person to General Jackson to reclaim it and demand its delivery. The general, having heard his complaint and ascertaining from him that he was employed in no military service, directed a musket be brought him and placing it in his hand ordered him on the line, remarking at the same time, "that as he seemed to be a man possessed of property he knew of none who had a better right to fight to defend it."

The error of the biographer in calling Mr. Mullanphy a Frenchman may

be easily explained by the fact that the Irishman had obtained a good knowledge of the French language and might easily have passed for a Frenchman. The most accurate version of the New Orleans experience was undoubtedly that which Mr. Mullanphy gave to John F. Darby and which Mr. Darby made public:

After the battle was over, Mr. Mullanphy said he could hear people on all sides saying they would look to the government for their cotton; and he knew it would take a long time to get money out of the government. Great delay, much expense, and an act of Congress would have been required. He went to General Jackson, and said if he would order the same number of sound bales, not torn by cannon balls or damaged in any way, returned to him as had been taken from him, he would give a release for all claims upon the government. General Jackson directed his quartermaster to do this, and Mullanphy received the same number of sound bales as had been taken from him. All the balance of the cotton used in the breastworks was put up at auction and sold for a mere trifle.

No cotton could be sold for more than three or four cents a pound. After the battle Mr. Mullanphy seemed to have a premonition that peace would be made soon. The mails were carried to New Orleans at that time all of the way on horseback via Natchez. No steamboats were running there at that date, and no mail coaches ran in that flat swampy country. Mr. Mullanphy hired a couple of men to take a skiff and row him up the Mississippi river to Natchez. They ate and slept in the skiff. No one knew the object of his visit; the men with him knew nothing of his purpose, and were left in charge of the skiff on their arrival at Natchez, with injunctions to stay in the boat all of the time, as he did not know what minute he might want to return. He went up into the town of Natchez and sauntered around, when late in the evening the post rider came riding at full speed, shouting, "Peace! Peace!" having, it is said, got a fresh horse every ten miles to hasten the glad tidings and prevent the further destruction of life. Mr. Mullanphy ran down to the river, jumped into his skiff and ordered his men to row with all their might for New Orleans, as he had important business there to attend to. The men knew not what had occurred, and rowed all night and all next day with the swift current of the Mississippi, reaching New Orleans in good time. Mr. Mullanphy was the only man in the city who had the news of peace. He was self-composed—showed no excitement. He began purchasing all the cotton he could buy or bargain for. He had about two days' the start of the others. Late in the evening of the second day from the large amount of cotton purchased by him, people began to talk and to suspect that he had some secret information. The third day, in the morning, the whole town was rejoicing; the news of peace had come, and cannon were announcing it, but Mr. Mullanphy had the cotton. Mr. Mullanphy chartered a vessel and took the cotton, which he had purchased at three or four cents a pound, to England, where he sold it, as was reported, at thirty cents a pound. And a part of the specie and bullion brought back with him as the returns from his cotton was sold by him to the government of the United States on which to base the capital for the Bank of the United States.

John Mullanphy was very tenacious of his legal rights. He frequently made use of the expression that he would spend $1000 before he would be cheated out of one dollar. The many houses which he constructed brought him into disputes with mechanics and laborers, but he would insist on fighting in court and would not accept compromises. Not infrequently a change of venue in some of his litigation would take Mr. Mullanphy to St. Charles, for he made it a practice to be present in court whenever he was interested in a case there. Driving over from St. Louis to St. Charles he carried with him a box of his own imported wine which he labeled "Tracts." He prided himself on importing the best wine brought to St. Louis. After court at St. Charles Mr.

Mullanphy entertained in the hotel, drew on his supply of wine and narrated recollections of Napoleon and of his military experience in the French army.

On one occasion Mr. Mullanphy repudiated the bill of Victor Hab who had charged $7 for boring out a pump on a property owned by Mr. Mullanphy. The case was kept in court and cost a great deal of money, Mr. Mullanphy refusing to pay more than $5 and preferring to pay witness fees and costs rather than acknowledge the justice of Victor Hab's bill.

Mr. Mullanphy was a very aggressive opponent of Free Masons. He used to tell John F. Darby, his lawyer, that the Free Masons had beaten him out of $50,000 by getting on juries and rendering verdicts against him. During a certain trial, when the witness put his hand to the head and ran his fingers through the hair, Mr. Mullanphy cried out: "Look ! look! he is giving the jury the sign; he is a Free Mason." He would advise young lawyers to be on their guard against letting Free Masons on the jury. He professed to know the grips and signs and exposed them; he would say: "You are a young man and I want to admonish you to look out for these fellows."

John Mullanphy's contributions to charity were the most notable in that period of the city's life. He gave a large piece of ground for the Sisters' hospital, covering a block on Fourth street. He left a large site for the Sacred Heart convent, on Fourth street opposite the French market. He founded a convent in Florissant. A favorite custom with him was to place in the hands of the only baker in St. Louis, Daniel D. Page, a considerable sum of money, sometimes as much as $300 or $400, with instructions to give loaves of bread to those unable to buy and to let him know when the credit was exhausted.

The first and second delegates from Missouri Territory to congress were Connecticut men from St. Louis—Edward Hempstead and Rufus Easton. The first two United States senators for Missouri were North Carolina men both of them from St. Louis. The first territorial legislature met here. St. Louis was the political center of Missouri for many years after the American flag went up at government house on Walnut street. When campaigns came on, leaders went out from the metropolis to inform the country constituency upon the issues of the day. During Andrew Jackson's first candidacy for president, one of the speakers sent from St. Louis, a young lawyer, brought back from the interior of the state a story of his experience which was told in political circles for many the woods, some distance this side of what is now Jefferson City. He told years. This spellbinder of 1820-30 was addressing a meeting of pioneers in of Jackson's military services at New Orleans, in the Creek war and in Florida. He dwelt upon the political principles of Jackson as appealing to the plain people. It was, in those days quite the proper thing for auditors to ask questions of a speaker. When Mr. Lincoln went east in 1859 to make his Cooper Union speech and followed it with several addresses in New England, he would occasionally pause as if he expected a question or a comment from the audience. At Exeter, after one of these pauses in which he had looked from side to side as if waiting for something to be said, he began again with: "You people here don't jaw back at a fellow as they do out west."

The St. Louis orator calculated on making his most effective points in response to question or interruptions. At the Jackson meeting, a settler broke in

GEN. A. J. SMITH

COL. SAMUEL McREE

GEN. JOHN W. TURNER

GEN. EMMETT McDONALD

GEN. S. W. KEARNY

with, "Wa'll now capting, mought I ax if Ginral Jacksing's a riglar Missourian, an' what he did for the people of this here state?"

"A very fair question," replied the orator from St. Louis, with an air of gratitude toward the settler. "General Jackson settled away far west in Missouri, and there opened a store for the special accommodation of farmers who were at the mercy of Yankee speculators charging big prices for their 'notions' and taking in return three times the fair amount in 'prodooce.' It's well known the honest general, when things were dearest, never charged more than a picayune a pound for sugar and coffee."

The orator told when he returned to St. Louis that this statement aroused great enthusiasm with shouts of "Hurrah for Jacksing!" "Bully for the ginral!" "He'll carry Osage county, sure!"

The story lived beyond the campaign of 1824. It was told in Washington. Long after Jackson had been twice president, St. Louisans visiting the east were asked if it was true that democrats in Missouri were "still voting for Gineral Jacksing."

A most enthusiastic volunteer soldier was Thornton Grimsley, commonly known as Colonel Grimsley. He held everything in the militia service from orderly to division inspector. He raised the St. Louis volunteer command in 1832 for the Black Hawk War. Four years later General Jackson tendered to Thornton Grimsley a captain's commission in the dragoons of the regular army, but the honor was declined. When the Mexican War came in 1846, Colonel Grimsley raised a St. Louis regiment of 800 men for the war. He was politically in opposition to the governor of Missouri at that time; the commission went to another man.

John Shackford was a wholesale grocer on the St. Louis Levee. His partner was his son-in-law, General Nathan Ranney. Grocery stocks were brought down the Ohio. When steamboats came into use they had great trouble in passing the falls at Louisville. In the earlier period of flat boats and keel boats of lighter draft, the obstruction was not so serious. John Shackford became an advocate of a canal around the falls. He took stock in a proposed canal. Then he gave up his business in St. Louis and went to Louisville to push the canal. The government had assisted by taking stock in the canal company. Funds gave out. John Shackford went to Washington and induced the government to give more aid. The canal was built. Navigation in the Ohio was made easy. History gives the credit to John Shackford. The visit to Washington brought about wide acquaintance with public men. John Shackford was made sergeant-at-arms of the Senate and held that office till his death.

Mr. Benton seldom spoke of the duel with Lucas. One of the few occasions was on New Years' day 1856, in Washington. Mr. Benton, who had then become a representative, was receiving a call from Hon. Elihu B. Washburne who was also a member of the Thirty-fourth congress. The conversation had turned upon the Hempstead family in St. Louis. Mr. Benton paused in the midst of his reminiscences and said:

> Sir, how we did things in those days! After being up with my dead friend all night, I went to my office in the morning to refresh myself a little before going out to bury him five miles from town. While sitting at my table writing, a man brought me a chal-

lenge to fight a duel. I told the bearer instanter: "I accept, but I must now go and bury a dead friend; that is my first duty. After that is discharged I will fight, tonight if possible, if not, tomorrow morning at daybreak. I accept your challenge, sir, and Colonel Lawless will write the acceptance and fix the terms for me." I was outraged, sir, that the challenge should have been sent when I was burying a friend. I thought it might have been kept a few days. But when it came I was ready for it.

Mr. Washburne was so impressed with the statement of Mr. Benton that as soon as he returned to his boarding house he wrote it out. The friend to whom Mr. Benton referred was Edward Hempstead, the first of the Hempsteads to come to St. Louis. He took up his residence here in 1805. In August, 1817, he had been out campaigning in behalf of John Scott whom he was supporting for delegate to congress. As he rode from St. Charles to St. Louis he was thrown from his horse. The injury to the head which Mr. Hempstead received did not seem serious but a few days later, during the argument of a case in court, a fatal attack of congestion of the brain occurred suddenly. Of his friend Mr. Benton said:

Missouri met an irreparable loss when Edward Hempstead died. No man could have stood higher in public or private estimation, and had he lived he would have received every honor that the state could bestow, and would certainly have been the first United States Senator. He lost his life in serving a friend, Mr. Scott. I was with him the night of his death.

It is not at all improbable that much admiration and love of Benton was because of the enemies he made. That is an element of success in political life which some public men have understood and applied with marked results. Benton was such a politician. He not only did not placate but he lost no opportunity to pillory his enemies.

"Citizens!" he said, "I have been dogged all over the state by such men as Claud Jones and Jim Burch. Pericles was once so dogged. He called a servant, made him light a lamp, and show the man who had dogged him to his gate the way home. But it could not be expected of me, citizens, that I should ask any servant of mine, either white or black, or any free negro, to perform an office of such humiliating degradation as to gallant home such men as Claud Jones and Jim Burch; and that with a lamp, citizens, that passers by might see what kind of company my servants kept."

"Citizens!" he said on another occasion, "when I went to Fayette, in Howard county, the other day, to address the people, Claib Jackson, old Doctor Lowry, and the whole faction had given out that I should not speak there. When the time came to fulfill my appointment, I walked up into the college hall and commenced my address to the large assembly of people collected to hear me; and I had not spoken ten minutes before Claib Jackson, old Doctor Lowry, and the whole faction marched in, and took seats as modestly as a parcel of disreputable characters at a baptizing."

The greatness of Benton was not dimmed in his closing hours. Only three days before his death Mr. Benton sent for President Buchanan to exhort him to preserve the Union. Taking the hand of the president, he said:

Buchanan, we are friends; we have differed on many points, as you well know, but I always trusted in your integrity of purpose. I supported you in preference to Fremont, because he headed a sectional party, whose success would have been the signal for

disunion. I have known you long, and I knew you would honestly endeavor to do right. I have that faith in you now, but you must look to a higher power to support and guide you. We will soon meet in another world; I am going now; you will soon follow. My peace with God is made, my earthly affairs arranged; but I could not go without seeing you and thanking you for your interest in my child.

Death came to the old Roman on the 10th of April, 1858. Almost to the last hour he was engaged in dictating the closing chapter of his great work. Two days before he died Mr. Benton wrote the following note: "Samuel Houston, Esq., Senator in Congress from the State of Texas," and "George W. Jones, Esq., representative in Congress from the State of Tennessee," viz:

C STREET, WASHINGTON, April 8, 1858.

To you, as old Tennessee friends, I address myself, to say that in the event of my death here I desire that there should not be any notice taken of it in Congress. There is no rule of either house that will authorize the announcement of my death, and if there were such a rule I should not wish it to be applied in my case, as being contrary to my feelings and convictions long entertained.

Your old Tennessee friend,
THOMAS H. BENTON.

The venerable Horatio King, postmaster general in Buchanan's cabinet and "the first man in office to deny the right of a state to withdraw from the Union," wrote to the Washington Chronicle this account of Mr. Benton's fatal illness:

As early as in September, 1857, Colonel Benton had a severe attack of what he supposed to be colic, when Dr. J. F. May, his physician, pronounced his disease (cancer of the bowels) incurable, and so informed him. This Dr. May states in a letter, under date of April 13, 1858, to Mr. William Carey Jones, the son-in-law of Mr. Benton. Dr. May proceeds:

"Before he was relieved, in the attack just spoken of, he had given up all hope of life. He told me he was satisfied the hour of his dissolution was near at hand—that it was impossible for him to recover—and that his only regrets at parting with the world were in 'separating from his children, and in leaving his great work undone; that death had no terrors for him, for he had thought on that subject too long to feel any.'"

In the intervals of his visits to him during the last week of his illness Dr. May said he ascertained that he was in the habit of correcting proof-sheets, and "I recollect one occasion (said he) when I did not suppose he could stand, he suddenly arose from his bed, and, in the face of all remonstrance, walked to his table at some distance off, and corrected and finished the conclusion of another work on which he was engaged. His unconquerable will enabled him to do it, but when done he was so exhausted I had to take the pen from his hand to give it the direction. As soon as he recovered from the immediate danger of this attack he labored, as he had done for years before, constantly at his task, rising at daylight, and writing incessantly, with the exception of the hour he usually devoted to his afternoon ride on his horse, which he seemed to think was a benefit to him, and at this labor he continued from day to day until about a week before his death, when, no longer able to rise from weakness he wrote in his bed, and when no longer able to do that dictated his views to others."

Thus it may be truly said of him, he literally died in harness, battling steadily, from day to day, with the most formidable malady that afflicts humanity, his intellect unclouded, and his iron will sustaining him in the execution of his great national work to the last moment of his existence.

The Rev. Dr. Byron Sunderland conducted the funeral of Mr. Benton held in Washington before the departure for St. Louis. He said:

During the last week of Colonel Benton's life I had several interviews with him at his own request. Our conversation was mainly on the subject of religion, and in regard to his own views and exercises in the speedy prospect of death. In these conversations

he most emphatically and distinctly renounced all self-reliance, and cast himself entirely on the mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ground of his acceptance with God. His own words were "God's mercy in Jesus Christ is my sole reliance."

The Bay State gave to St. Louis the man who for nearly a decade was probably the leading financier between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains. In 1854 the exchanges of the banking house of Page & Bacon reached the enormous total for that period of $80,000,000. Henry D. Bacon was from East Granville, Massachusetts. Mr. Bacon was the son-in-law of Daniel D. Page, who had made a very large fortune at St. Louis in flour. The firm went down in 1855, but not until after it had shown a spirit of enterprise, which had accomplished a great deal for St. Louis. Page & Bacon advanced the money for the building of the larger part of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad to St. Louis. Henry D. Bacon went west after the failure in St. Louis. On the Pacific coast he built another fortune. The generation of St. Louisans who knew of his good works in this city had almost passed away when in 1881 news came back of the dedication of "The Bacon Art and Library Building," as part of the University of California. Besides giving largely toward the building Mr. Bacon presented a collection of paintings and sculpture and a library of several thousand volumes.

The battle of Ball's Bluff sent a shock through the north. For numbers engaged it was insignificant. The time was the first year of the Civil war, before great engagements had inured the people to the consequences of fighting. That which made Ball's Bluff, the Virginia landmark, long remembered was the death of Edward Dickinson Baker, at the head of a regiment which he had raised. At the time of his death Baker was a United States senator from Oregon. Thirty-five years before he was a boy driving a horse and cart in St. Louis. His father had come from Lancaster in England, bringing a large family and little means. The boy was put to work with the horse and cart, hauling dirt and doing such express errands as could be found. One day he left the horse standing at the corner of Third and Market streets, and, while waiting for a job, went into the circuit court then held in the building erected for the Baptist church. Edward Bates was addressing a jury. He was a gentle, quiet mannered man. When he arose to speak, he had a power which was peculiarly his own with an audience. There was not the slightest tendency to bombast. There was no effort to be impressive. Bates was a winning pleader. He charmed all who listened. The boy, uneducated and unformed in character, forgot his horse and cart, remaining in the courtroom to the end of the speech. He went home and told his father that was the end of cart driving for him. "I'm going to be a lawyer," he said in reply to the question what he meant.

The boy picked up education in scraps. His father who had been a schoolmaster, taught him as well as he could. Almost before he reached manhood, young Baker got a school to teach in Illinois. He lost no opportunity to practice public speaking. On Sundays he preached in the Baptist church. It is tradition that he picked up some medical knowledge and did a little at doctoring. But the law was his goal. He read as opportunity permitted. In 1837 he was elected to the Illinois legislature and in 1840 he became a state senator. After that he ranked with Lincoln and Douglas as a political speaker. There is a story

of ambition handed down from the Illinois campaign of 1840 in which Baker was one of the leading participants. It is said that, referring to the fact his foreign birth debarred him from aspiring to the presidency, he declared "it is a great calamity and misfortune to me," and shed tears. Four years later an Illinois district sent Baker to congress. The Mexican war came on. Baker went in command of an Illinois regiment. Then he settled in California when the discovery of gold prompted the flood of immigration there. He moved to Oregon and was elected a senator when that territory was admitted to the Union in 1860. At the outbreak of the war, Baker went to Pennsylvania and appealing to returned gold seekers, raised a command which was called the "California regiment." In October, 1861, he fell on the battlefield. At that time the lawyer whose speech in the court at St. Louis had captivated the English boy and had furnished the inspiration of his career was a member of President Lincoln's cabinet,—Attorney General Bates.

"I wish you to get the St. Louis Democrat—change its name and character —for no useful paper can now ever be made of it. I will be in St. Louis in April and assist you. The paper is given up to the slavery subject, agitating state emancipation against my established and known policy."

Thus Thomas H. Benton wrote from Washington to one of his wealthy and influential friends in St. Louis in 1857. Back of this letter of "the old Roman" is a story of journalism and politics with Abraham Lincoln as one of the principals. Between the law office in Springfield and the printing office in St. Louis was growing a relationship which was of far reaching influence. Benton realized that new forces were at work. He failed to measure them. Bentonism was waning rapidly. A new master hand in the making of public sentiment was in the field. Benton, in his third of a century of political success had never minimized the importance of newspaper support. Lincoln had Benton's respect for the power of the press and more than Benton's facility for making use of it to form public sentiment as the political and newspaper evolution at St. Louis showed.

Not all of Benton's remarkable letter on the subject of the Missouri Democrat has been given. The demand that the paper be obtained and changed was preceded by this:

"My friends told me that these persons would turn out for abolition in the state as soon as the election was over but I would not believe them. For persons calling themselves my friends to attack the whole policy of my life, which was to keep slavery agitation out of the state, and get my support in the canvass by keeping me ignorant of what they intended to do is the greatest outrage I have experienced. Those who have done it have never communicated one word to me in justification or explanation of their conduct; for it is something they can neither explain nor justify."

Benton's protest was of no avail. The next year, 1858, the Missouri Democrat was openly fighting the battle of Lincoln against Douglas in Illinois, and John Hay was the staff correspondent, attending and reporting for the Democrat the joint debates. From that time to the nomination in 1860, the Missouri Democrat was the consistent supporter of Mr. Lincoln, the circulation in Illinois and the staff correspondence from Kansas making the

paper of great influence. Between Mr. Lincoln's law office in Springfield and the Missouri Democrat editorial room in St. Louis, there was frequent communication through John Hay.

The statesman of St. Louis in that period, the clearest-sighted of them all, was Edward Bates. He had seen the whig party go to pieces. He was in thorough sympathy with the work of party construction which Lincoln was doing in Illinois. He was not active in the Lincoln movement at St. Louis but he was a wise adviser. There was but very little of the Republican party in Missouri outside of St. Louis. And in the city the interest centered at the Missouri Democrat office when the time came to send a delegation to the Chicago convention of 1860. The delegation went committed to Edward Bates, but, as Mr. Bates explained, not with the expectation that he would be nominated. The purpose was to hold the delegation away from an eastern candidate. Lincoln was almost as much the candidate of the Missouri delegation as if instructions had been given for him. After the nomination Mr. Bates wrote a letter to O. H. Browning of Quincy. He not only declared for Mr. Lincoln but he pointed out in his convincing way the strength of Mr. Lincoln as a candidate. He considered Mr. Lincoln stronger than the platform.

"As to the platform," Judge Bates wrote, "I have little to say, because whether good or bad, that will not constitute the ground of my support of Mr. Lincoln."

I consider Mr. Lincoln a sound, safe, national man. He could not be sectional if he tried. His birth, the habits of his life and his geographical position compel him to be national. All his feelings and interests are identified with the great valley of the Mississippi, near whose center he has spent his whole life. That valley is not a section, but conspicuously the body of the nation, and, large as it is, it is not capable of being divided into sections, for the great river cannot be divided. It is one and indivisible and the north and the south are alike necessary to its comfort and prosperity. Its people, too, in all their interests and affections, are as broad and generous as the regions they inhabit. They are emigrants, a mixed multitude, coming from every state in the Union, and from most countries in Europe. They are unwilling, therefore, to submit to any one petty local standard. They love the nation as a whole, and they love all its parts, for they are bound to them all, not only by a feeling of common interest and mutual dependence, but also by the recollections of childhood and youth, by blood and friendship, and by all those social and domestic charities which sweeten life, and make this world worth living in. The valley is beginning to feel its power, and will soon be strong enough to dictate the law of the land. Whenever that state of things shall come to pass, it will be most fortunate for the nation to find the powers of the government lodged in the hands of men whose habits of thought, whose position and surrounding circumstances constrain them to use those powers for general and not sectional ends.

With such broad and statesmanlike views of the situation, Mr. Bates led up to his personal and intimate estimate of Mr. Lincoln.

I have known Mr. Lincoln for more than twenty years, and therefore have a right to speak of him with some confidence. As an individual he has earned a high reputation for truth, courage, candor, morals and amiability, so that as a man he is most trustworthy. And in this particular he is more entitled to our esteem than some other men, his equals, who had far better opportunities and aids in early life. His talents and the will to use them to the best advantage are unquestionable; and the proof is found in the fact that, in every position in life, from his humble beginning to his present well earned elevation, he has more than fulfilled the best hopes of his friends. And now in the full

MAJOR THOMAS BIDDLE,
Principal in the fatal Pettis-Biddle Duel

HENRY S. TURNER

GEN. DAVID M. FROST,
From a Picture Taken a Short Time Before the Capture of Camp Jackson

vigor of his manhood and in the honest pride of having made himself what he is, he is the peer of the first men of the nation, well able to sustain himself and advance his cause against any adversary, and in any field where mind and knowledge are the weapons used.

In politics he has acted out the principles of his own moral and intellectual character. He has not concealed his thoughts or hidden his light under a bushel. With the boldness of conscious rectitude and the frankness of downright honesty, he has not failed to avow his opinions of public officers upon all fitting occasions.

I give my opinion freely in favor of Mr. Lincoln and I hope that for the good of the whole country he may be elected.

Edward Bates had declined a place in the cabinet of Mr. Fillmore a few years before. He accepted the attorney generalship with Mr. Lincoln. The selection of Mr. Bates and Mr. Montgomery Blair for cabinet positions was almost equivalent to giving St. Louis two places. One of the early acts of the President was the appointment of Mr. Foy who had been the editorial writer on the Democrat during the period of the close relationship with Mr. Lincoln to the postmastership of St. Louis.

Just before the Civil war, Ulysses S. Grant was selling wood in St. Louis; William Tecumseh Sherman was managing the Fifth street railroad; John M. Schofield was an instructor in Washington University. They rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, commanding the United States army. Franz Sigel was teaching school in St. Louis and Peter John Osterhaus had a little business across the river. They became major generals of volunteers in the Union army.

An incident of hitherto unwritten war history was the action of a conference held in the office of the State Journal at St. Louis. The editor was Deacon Tucker. His paper was looked upon as the organ of the Democrats who sympathized most strongly with the south. Governor Claiborne Jackson came from Jefferson City to attend the conference. David H. Armstrong, Basil Duke, Robert M. Renick were among the St. Louisans present, while the interior of the state was represented by half a dozen generals and colonels of the state militia. The purpose of the conference was to select some one to command the state troops. Governor Jackson proposed Captain U. S. Grant. Deacon Tucker urged the selection of Sterling Price. At that time Price was a pronounced Union man. He had presided over the state convention which declared against secession. Governor Jackson continued to urge the reasons why he favored Grant until Mr. Dent, the father-in-law of Captain Grant, strenuously opposed the proposition. The choice fell upon Price. The day after the conference an effort was made to find Grant, when it was discovered that he had gone to Illinois. Shortly afterwards he offered his services to Governor Yates and was given a regiment. Price clung to the hope that he could, with his state guards, preserve the neutrality of Missouri; that the United State troops would not go outside of the arsenal and Jefferson Barracks against the protest of the state government. Then came the capture of St. Louis militia in Camp Jackson. Price joined his fortunes with the Confederacy.

Grant tried to establish himself permanently in St. Louis. He lived several years in his own house. On the 15th of August, 1859, he filed his application for the appointment of county engineer. Addressing his letter to the county commissioners, he submitted the names of a few citizens who have been kind enough

to recommend me for the office. He added, " I have made no effort to get a large number of names nor the names of persons with whom I am not personally acquainted." The petition bore the signatures of these:

THOMAS E. TUTT	N. J. EATON
FRED OVERSTOLZ	THORNTON GRIMSLEY
JOHN P. HELFERSTEIN	SAM B. CHURCHILL
TAYLOR BLOW	L. A. BENOIST & CO.
JAMES M. HUGHES	L. G. PARDEE
JOHN MITCHELL	JAMES C. MOODEY
J. G. McCLELLAN	FELIX COSTE
CHARLES A. POPE	BAUMAN & CO.
W. S. HILLYER	WM. L. PITKIN
C. S. PUSKETT	J. A. BARRETT
C. W. FORD	K. McKENZIE
A. J. ROBINSON	GEORGE A. MOORE
DANIEL M. FROST	R. A. BARNES
ROBERT M. RENICK	G. W. FISHBACH
ROBERT J. HORNSBY	J. McKNIGHT
THOMAS MARSHALL	JOHN HOW
JOHN O'FALLON	EDWARD WALSH.
JOHN F. DARBY	

Accompanying the application were the following high indorsements:

St. Louis, August 1, 1859.—Capt. U. S. Grant was a member of the class at the military academy, West Point, which graduated in 1843. He always maintained a high standing and graduated with great credit, especially in mathematics, mechanics and engineering. From my personal knowledge of his capacity and acquirements, as well as his strict integrity and unremitting industry, I consider him in an eminent degree qualified for the office of county engineer. I. I. REYNOLDS,

Professor Mechanics and Engineering, Washington University.

I was for three years in the corps of cadets at West Point with Capt. Grant and afterward served with him for some eight years in the army, and can fully indorse the foregoing statements of Prof.Reynolds. (Signed) D. M. FROST.

On the back of the application was indorsed, "1859, application of Captain U. S. Grant to be appointed county engineer. Rejected."

During the Civil war this indorsement was changed to read, "Not appointed."

The county commissioners were John H. Lightner, Benjamin Farrar, William Taussig, Alton R. Easton, and Peregrine Tippett. Mr. Easton and Mr. Tippett voted for Grant. The others voted for Charles E. Salomon. With grim satire General Grant, in his memoirs recalled this experience:

While a citizen of St. Louis and engaged in the real estate agency business, I was a candidate for the office of county engineer, an office of respectibility and emolument, which would have been very acceptable to me at that time. The incumbent was appointed by the County Court, which consisted of five members. My opponent had the advantage of birth over me (he being a citizen by adoption), and carried off the prize.

The Grants never returned to St. Louis to live but the memories of the children of the general clung to the early home. General Grant acquired the estate of his father-in-law, White Haven, and maintained it for years. While at the head of the army and while President he made several visits to the place. He looked forward to the time when he might retire and spend his declining years there. During the World's Fair, General Frederick Dent Grant spoke feel-

ingly of the house in which, as a boy, he had lived. He visited it in company with Charles F. Blanke and was photographed, sitting on his horse, at the front door. Mrs. Nellie Grant Sartoris always showed strong affection for St. Louis. When Nellie Grant's marriage occurred in the White House, John N. Edwards wrote for the St. Louis Times a congratulation from St. Louis which brought from Mrs. Grant a personal letter full of appreciation for the remembrance of the Grants by their old time friends.

The year before Camp Jackson, in 1860, the militia of St. Louis were ordered into camp under the same provisions of law that applied to the formation of Camp Jackson. Among the militia companies which went into camp in 1860 were Germans who, the next year, participated with Lyon in the capture of Camp Jackson. Captain Stifel who commanded a regiment of Lyon's force had a company of militia cavalry under Frost in the camp of 1860. Some of the German militia in the camp of 1860, it was found, had difficulty in understanding the commands given in English. At Captain Stifel's suggestion, Franz Sigel, then a St. Louis school teacher, was employed to translate commands into German so that German militia could learn the tactics. This was carried out. A few months later Sigel was in command of one of the Lyon regiments which marched on Camp Jackson. His men sang through years of war their song "Fight mit Sigel." A statue of Sigel stands in Forest Park.

The Blairs were Kentuckians. Their father was an editor and a politician in Lexington and afterwards in Washington when the democratic administration maintained an organ in the Globe. On the mother's side the descent was from Gist, the companion of Daniel Boone. When Francis P. Blair, Jr., a young lawyer, just graduated from Transylvania joined his brother Montgomery in St. Louis, in 1843, he was so delicate in health, his physician sent him to the Rocky Mountains to rough it with the trappers and traders. He joined Gen. Kearney's command as a lieutenant and served in the Mexican war. When he came back to St. Louis in 1847 he was ready for stratagem and fighting. A member of the legislature in 1852, a free soil representative in Congress in 1856, a colonel of Union volunteers in 1861, a major general before the war ended, a Democratic nominee for vice-president in 1868, a United States senator, Frank Blair won a conspicuous place in the St. Louis hall of fame. It is interesting to read in a biography of Blair written about 1857, and presumably approved if not written by him, his political position given in these words:

> He is no believer in the unholy and disgusting tenets advocated by Abolition fanaticism, but advocates the gradual abolition of slavery in the Union, and the colonization of the slaves emancipated in Central America, which climate appears to be happily adapted to their constitutional idiosyncracies.

Mrs. Francis P. Blair was Miss Apolline Alexander of the Woodward county, Kentucky, Alexanders.

With a cloak drawn over his shoulders, his strongly marked features, deep set eyes, long drooping moustache, Francis P. Blair was a man people on the streets of St. Louis turned to look after.

In the presidential campaign of 1868, a former St. Louisan headed one ticket—Grant and Colfax! a St. Louisian held the second place on the other

side—Seymour and Blair. For that campaign Francis P. Blair furnished the issue in what became historic as the "the Broadhead letter."

WASHINGTON, June 20, 1868.

COLONEL JAMES O'BROADHEAD:

Dear Colonel: In reply to your inquiries I beg to say that I leave to you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the Democratic convention, and to submit the following as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest:

The reconstruction policy of the Radicals will be complete before the next election; the states, so long excluded, will have been admitted; negro suffrage established, and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President, and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, undo the radical plan of reconstruction by Congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can be overthrown only by the authority of the Executive, who is sworn to maintain the Constitution, and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of Congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

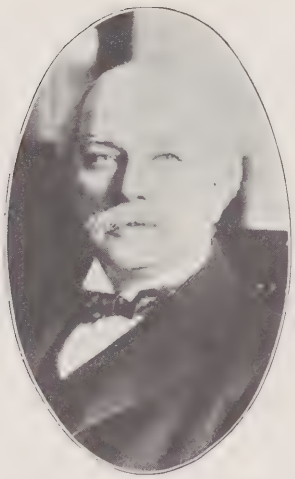
If the President, elected by the Democracy, enforces or permits others to enforce the reconstruction acts, the Radicals, by the accession of twenty spurious Senators and fifty Representatives, will control both branches of Congress and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.

There is but one way to restore the government and the constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpation at the south, disperse the carpet bag state governments, allow the white people to organize their own governments and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the north, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the south, and with the cooperation of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put the issue plainly to the country.

I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us. Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for it's full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith and the public credit. What can a Democratic President do in regard to any of these, with a Congress in both branches controlled by carpet baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like these, eat up the revenues and resources of the government and destroy credit—make the difference between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by trampling into dust the usurpations of Congress known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the convention upon this issue, for it is one which embraces everything else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle. Your friend,

FRANK P. BLAIR.

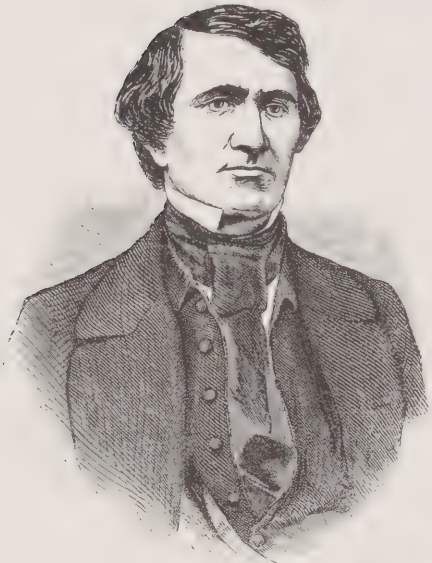
"There is no item of that letter that I take back," Blair said afterwards, in 1871, when he was a candidate for United States senator from Missouri. His action in regard to the taking of Camp Jackson was another matter upon which Blair had no apologies to make. Blair and Frost were guests at a dinner in the Florissant valley some years after the close of the war. The Camp Jackson



ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK.
Ex-Secretary of the Interior

FREDERICK L. BILLON

HENRY CLAY.
From a Daguerreotype Taken in St. Louis About 1850



JOHN RICHARD BARRET.
Better Known as "Missouri Dick"

COL. THORNTON GRIMSLEY

incident was mentioned. Blair, addressing Frost, said: "If we had not taken you, you would have taken us in two weeks more."

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was one of the most notable surprises of this generation in public life. In November, 1896, a group of Missouri congressmen enroute to Washington stopped over at Canton. Mr. McKinley was president-elect. Missouri Democrats had in 1894 gone a fishing. The Congressional delegation was largely Republican. These Representatives from Missouri were on their way to Washington to serve the short session of what was for most of them their only term in Congress. They stopped at Canton to pay their respects to the president-elect. "Pay their respects" has covered more political effort than any other phrase in the English language. The party asked Mr. McKinley to choose a member for his cabinet from Missouri. Mr. McKinley was kind. He talked pleasantly, as he always did, and encouragingly as he did not always mean to do. But when the conversation became definite the president-elect suddenly asked:

"How would Mr. Hitchcock do?"

The Congressmen went on to Washington and immediately confided to a newspaper correspondent that Mr. McKinley was "considering Henry Hitchcock for a place in the cabinet." And the correspondent promptly wired it to his paper. The next day came reflection. Henry Hitchcock had been during the Harrison administration very close to an appointment on the United States Supreme Bench—so close in fact that for some days the presidential mind hesiated between the eminent St. Louis lawyer and another man. Decision in favor of the latter had been made, it was understood, only for the reason that he was a Federal judge and was from a Republican state. It did not seem probable that Henry Hitchcock, whose tastes and qualifications so eminently fitted him for the supreme bench would be under consideration for a cabinet appointment. The members of the Missouri group who had called at Canton were seen and catechised. They were asked to repeat exactly what Mr. McKinley said. They agreed that he had asked them:

"How would Mr. Hitchcock do?"

Did the president-elect say Mr. Henry Hitchcock? No; the congressmen were quite sure he did not. Did he mention Mr. Hitchcock's first name at any time during the conversation? No; they could not recall that he did. But who else could he have had in mind but Henry Hitchcock? So questioned the Congressmen.

It was no special test of memory to recall that when Mr. McKinley as chairman of the Ways and Means committee was framing his famous tariff bill a few years before he had sought information and advice from Ethan A. Hitchcock upon certain schedules. Notably was this true about glass. It was remembered that Mr. Hitchcock had spent some time in Washington helping Mr. McKinley, and that Mr. McKinley had expressed strongly his admiration of Mr. Hitchcock's clear-headed business-like ways. Therefore the Washington dispatches a day later withdrew Henry Hitchcock from the cabinet possibility and substituted Ethan A. Hitchcock.

In the abundance of advice Mr. McKinley laid aside his earliest impressions and intentions which were his best. He constructed a cabinet which fell

to pieces. Ethan A. Hitchcock went to Russia as ambassador only to be recalled and put at the head of the Department of the Interior, when Cornelius N. Bliss, after a few months trial of the duties, had given up in disgust.

Phenomenal is the word that describes the career of Mr. Hitchcock as a cabinet minister. When he sat down to the cabinet table, toward the close of his secretaryship, he saw only one face that was there at the time he began his service. He was Secretary of the Interior to two presidents as dissimilar as any two men who have occupied the White House. He won the unreserved confidence and unstinted commendation of both of them. He held one of the hardest places to fill in the cabinet. He held it longer than any predecessor.

As Secretary of the Interior Mr. Hitchcock dealt with more varied internal interests of the country than any other member of the cabinet. He had to do directly with more committees of Congress. His was the department where eternal vigilance is the price of safety from scandals.

For three years after Mr. Hitchcock entered upon his duties he had to face two elements of antagonism and it was the wonder of all of Washington that those elements did not crush him. One was covert opposition from a part of the Republican party organization. The other was inimical surveillance from certain senators and representatives who desired a more pliant, less scrupulous Secretary of the Interior.

Doubtless Mr. Hitchcock himself would have deprecated the mention of these antagonistic influences which operated in the early part of his career at Washington. Possibly he did not know how far they went in the policy to break him, how actively they sought to inspire unwarranted criticism of him, how often they promoted the rumor that he was to leave the cabinet.

The estimation in which Mr. Hitchcock was held by Washington the latter half of his career was in striking contrast with that which greeted him when he entered the McKinley cabinet. At first he was either an unknown or an undesired quantity, according to the passive or active point of view. Later he was trusted and honored implicitly by President and Congress. When with shattered health he left the cabinet, it was a distinct loss to the public service of the country.

Three other St. Louisans filled the office of Secretary of the Interior with honor—Carl Schurz, John W. Noble and David R. Francis. With the opening of the administration of President Taft in 1909 St. Louis was still worthily represented in the cabinet—Charles Nagel being Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The Department of Commerce was advocated by St. Louis in a movement started fifteen years before the establishment. One of the strongest arguments for this new department was an address by Nathan Frank.

Political climate is trying. Some men have that within them which draws nourishment and stimulus from public life. They grow on it. They are not many. One of the most notable cases of individual expansion and growth at Washington in the present generation is Richard Bartholdt. He was connected with a German afternoon newspaper in St. Louis. Previously he had newspaper training as a reporter on a German paper in New York. He was sent to Albany to do the legislature about the time Grover Cleveland was elected governor. Then he drifted out to St. Louis and, in a short time, was sent to Congress. Mr.

Bartholdt breathed the air of Washington with satisfaction. He filled his lungs with the inspiration to do. His progress has been steady until, in 1909, he ranks with the most effective men in the House. If something for constituents is to be accomplished no other representative can do more. Further than this, Mr. Bartholdt has developed in national lines of legislation force which gives him rank as a leader. He is the acknowledged authority on questions relating to immigration. He has become the admitted champion in Congress of international arbitration with a reputation for furtherance of the cause which is international.

Benjamin F. Yoakum, coming up from a trip to Texas, in May, 1908, thought earnestly on a situation which was without precedent. He had seen for himself that the basis of good times—the agricultural interests—were all right. He conferred with the presidents of the three parts of the great system,—Davidson of the Frisco, Winchell of the Rock Island and Miller of the Eastern Illinois. Every inquiry strengthened his opinion that the prevalent lethargy in trade and traffic was without material justification; that the trouble was with the country's mind rather than its body.

Mr. Yoakum went to Festus J. Wade with his diagnosis. Wasn't it possible to arouse the patient from the torpor? Should not the movement start in St. Louis? Could not the man to head such a movement be found here?

Mr. Wade said "yes" to all three questions in one time, called over the phone to E. C. Simmons a request to stop for a moment on his way up town to his bank meeting. When Mr. Simmons came into the Mercantile Trust company, Mr. Wade told what Mr. Yoakum thought and added the joint opinion trat it was quite possible to do some good if Mr. Simmons would "go to the front."

"Now," argued Mr. Wade, "Don't turn us down. Please take a day to think it over. We believe there is something in it."

"I don't need to take a day to think about," replied Mr. Simmons, "I can tell you right now, the idea is good and I'm with you."

If there was a party of progressivists in this country Benjamin F. Yoakum could qualify for the apostle of it. The mental habit of Festus J. Wade is of the instantaneous exposure order. "The best known merchant in the United States," E. C. Simmons has been truthfully called.

The next day the board room of the Mercantile Trust company was filled with men representing almost every large business interest in the city. Mr. Simmons sat at the head of the table. Down one side and up the other each man expressed himself on the situation. Summarized their conclusions were:

Fundamentally we are all right. What we need most is to think right. The panic ought to be over. It would be, but for lack of confidence. Is it possible by a strong, energetic, intelligent campaign of sentiment to expedite normal business activity? Yes, but some of the causes of timidity must be banished. Business men are entitled to the credit of ten years of the greatest prosperity the country has known. Some business men are to blame for the panic. Business men must find and apply the remedy for present troubles. We cannot criticise the President of the United States for the exposure of vices and evils in business methods. The American people have passed judgment that in some measure his charges are true. Corrective laws have been passed by Congress; they are wise. Prosecutions which the President caused to be instituted should proceed to finality. But demagogic agitation should cease. Radical, hasty, experimental legislation,

the country over, against railroads should be condemned and checked, and the way to do it is through public sentiment."

The business men of St. Louis organized "The National Prosperity Association" with E. C. Simmons at the head of it. Other members of the executive committee were W. K. Bixby, vice chairman, James E. Smith, Murray Carleton, Jackson Johnson, George A. Meyer, Festus J. Wade.

There was no precedent to guide. But the facts supported. Crop prospects favored. The philosophy of the movement was sound. Two strongly favoring factors contributed. In St. Louis the harmonious, effective organization of business interests has been a progressive development of seventy years. Perhaps in no other American city have the business men perfected organization for general good so thoroughly and efficiently. The machinery, in the form of the Business Men's League, was ready for immediate application to the prosperity movement. The other factor was the relationship which the business houses of St. Louis sustain to their traveling salesmen. That relationship is close, confidential, encouraging on the one side, loyal, enthusiastic and zealous on the other. Every business man who attended the first meeting of the prosperity movement went to his office to prepare a letter in his own way to his corps of traveling men. Within twenty-four hours every business house in the city, having men on the road, had been asked to cooperate. And as rapidly as the mails could carry the appeal from St. Louis wholesale houses west, north, south and east, traveling men began to talk the encouragement which bottom facts justified. The response was quick and emphatic.

Then was opened the most extensive interchange of correspondence which had been attempted among the business organizations of the country. There are 100,000 of these associations. Many thousands of them have come into existence within five years. Never before were these organizations massed in a common movement. Responses of appreciation, tenders of cooperation, inquiries showing interest were almost innumerable. If the National Prosperity Association of St. Louis accomplished no more, it taught the tremendous power which the business organizations, united in a common purpose, possess.

The St. Louisans took the movement to the White House. To Mr. Simmons and his delegation President Roosevelt gave his hearty indorsement of the movement:

> The business and commercial interests of this country to be prosperous in any enduring sense must be administered honestly. With occasional exceptions they have been and are now so administered. As you have well said, wherever there is evidence of dishonesty it must be pursued relentlessly and punished; but having thus moved forward to a high plane of business integrity, and on that plane built wisely, let no man seize the moment when we have, as a nation, pilloried the real malefactors, to say that all American business men, or even any considerable number of them, are malefactors. I welcome your work and shall be glad to cooperate with you in any effort to establish prosperity on right and honest lines.

Its second month the National Prosperity Association opened with Re-employment Day and with orders for goods in anticipation of demand. The industries of St. Louis and vicinity added to their labor rolls between 17,000 and 20,000 peoples. The wholesale houses placed orders for $5,000,000 worth of new stock. This was an application of works to go with faith which was novel

in business rules. It was taken up by other cities and Re-employment Days, one after another, came in quick succession through the summer in different parts of the country.

To delegates and alternates and national committees of the great political parties, the National Prosperity Association submitted its appeal that platforms be framed and campaigns be conducted with consideration for the business interests of the country. There is no record of a presidential year which caused less disturbance of trade, less anxiety among business men.

Week after week through telling addresses of President Simmons and his associates, through almost endless correspondence, through an encouraging press, the movement of sentiment-making went on. The unemployed became fewer, the idle cars on the sidetracks diminished, the swelling volume of trade recorded the change.

The National Prosperity Association made no claim. It congratulated. The movement was one of protest against doubters and pessimists. It sought return of confidence by that which had brought on the distrust—public sentiment. Business activity returned, in spite of the political campaign, more rapidly than was ever before known after a panic. A business organization upon the Atlantic seaboard, when the improvement became so apparent and permanent that it could not be mistaken, sent this message to President Simmons and the National Prosperity Association:

"You have shown the rest of us that St. Louis is the nerve-center of the United States."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EDUCATIONAL LIFE.

Nothing could be more abhorrent to my feelings than to speak disparagingly of self-taught men. I have neglected no fitting opportunity to eulogize them among the departed, or to manifest sympathy and respect for them among the living. I know of no spectacle on earth, pertaining to intellectual culture, more interesting than that of a noble mind struggling against the obstacles thrown by adverse fortune in the way of its early improvement, no triumph greater than that which so often rewards these heroic exertions. It is because I appreciate the severity of the struggle, and deeply sympathize with those who have forced their way to eminence, in the face of poverty, friendless obscurity, distance from all the facilities for improvement, and inability to command their time, that I would multiply the means of education and bring them into as many districts of the country and as near the homes of as large a proportion of the population as possible, in order to spare to the largest number of gifted minds the bitter experience by which those who succeed in doing so are compelled to force their way to distinction.—Edward Everett, Inauguration, Washington University, 1857.

Maria Josepha Rigauche was the first schoolmistress in St. Louis. She was a heroine. She gave the whole settlement a lesson in courage. That was one of the last days of May, 1780. At noon, a habitant ran along the Rue Principale shouting "To arms! To arms!" The settlers left their dinner tables and hurried into the street, every man carrying a weapon. They had been expecting the alarm. A cannon boomed from the tower on the hill, where the Southern hotel is now. It was the signal that the Indians were coming. Out on the grand prairie, women and children were looking for early strawberries. Madam Rigauche put on the coat of her husband, Ignace. She buttoned it to the chin. With a pistol in one hand and a knife in the other she made her way down the street to the upper gate, calling on others to follow, and took her place with the defenders. There she remained encouraging the men, exposing herself to the fire and preparing to take part in the fight if the Indians assaulted. The enemy came near enough to send their bullets into the settlement but they recoiled before the return fire and retreated. Madam Rigauche went back to her school teaching. The story of her bravery was passed down from generation to generation.

While Madam Rigauche taught the girls of old St. Louis, John B. Trudeau was schoolmaster to the boys. Trudeau was a patriot and a poet. He performed his part in relation to the affair of 1780 by composing a song which held up to ridicule the Spanish officers. Trudeau taught his boys to sing this song:

What did they in that moment, then?
Lacked they all, the souls of men?
What! Had ye not the great Leyba?
Where was the famous Cartabona?
Your major, where was he, as well;
The garrison, too, your force to swell?

The salvation of St. Louis that day was due to the heroic habitants, including Madame Rigauche. The Spanish governor, major and garrison took no part in the defense.

In a room on Market street, near Second, George Tompkins opened the first English school. He was a young Virginian, coming to St. Louis in 1808. His journey exhausted his resources. The school was planned to make the living while Mr. Tompkins studied law. In time Mr. Tompkins became Chief Justice Tompkins of the supreme court of Missouri. While he was teaching school he organized a debating society which held open meetings and afforded a great deal of entertainment to visitors. The members and active participants included Bates, Barton, Lowry, Farrar, O'Fallon and most of the young Americans who were establishing themselves in the professions.

"The most trifling settlement will contrive to have a schoolmaster who can teach reading, writing and some arithmetic," a traveler in the Louisiana Purchase wrote from St. Louis in 1811. The next year the Missouri territory came into political existence with this declaration adopted by the territorial body which met in St. Louis:

> Religion and morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be encouraged and provided from the public lands of the United States in the said territory in such manner as Congress may deem expedient.

Thomas Fiveash Riddick was an enthusiast. When Third street was the limit of settlement he told people St. Louis would some day have a million of population. Thereat, the habitants smiled. Riddick's enthusiasm prompted him to works. Coming from Virginia, a young man just past his majority, he was made clerk of the land claims commission in 1806. His duties revealed to him lots and strips and blocks of ground, in various shapes, which nobody owned. Instead of capitalizing his information, forming a syndicate and acquiring there pieces of real estate, Riddick was true to his inheritence. That was a high sense of public duty. The Riddicks of Nansemond county for generations, through the colonial period, through the Revolutionary years, through Virginia's early statehood had been patriots who made laws or fought in war as the conditions demanded. Pro bono publico might have been the family motto. Thomas Fiveash Riddick was true to the strain. He started the agitation to have all of this unclaimed land in the suburbs of St. Louis "reserved for the support of schools." The situation called for more than mere suggestion. Speculators already had their plans to buy these scattered lands at public sale. That generation was too busy taking care of itself to give serious consideration to the next. Quietly Riddick got together the data, mounted his horse and, in winter, rode away to Washington. Before Edward Hempstead, the delegate for Missouri in Congress, Riddick laid the proposition. Hempstead was Connecticut born and educated. He took up Riddick's idea and coupled it with a general bill to confirm titles to portions of the common fields and commons in accordance with rights established by residence or cultivation before 1803. And he added a section that the lands "not rightfully owned by any private individual, or held as commons" shall be "reserved for the support of schools." Riddick remained in Washington until assured that this legislation would pass. Then he mounted

his horse and rode back to St. Louis. All of this he did of his own motion and at his own expense. "Riddick's Ride," merits honorable mention in the history of the public schools of St. Louis.

Convent education to the earlier generations of St. Louis womanhood meant more than book teaching. It was association with teachers who knew all about the pioneer life. Five sisters of the Sacred Heart arrived in St. Louis from France in August of 1818. They were the first of the order. Their coming was the answer to an urgent appeal of Bishop Dubourg. The superior was Phillipine Duchesne. With here were Sisters Octavie Berthold, Eugenie Ande, Catharine Lamarre and Marguerite Manteau. A year's trial of teaching at St. Charles failed to show that the school would be supporting. The Sisters, for economy, moved to a farm at Florissant. Mother Duchesene described the moving:

> Sister Octavie and two of our pupils next embarked. I was to close the march in the evening with Sister Marguerite, the cows and the hens. But the cows were so indignant at being tied up, and the heat was so great that we were obliged to put off our departure to the cool hours of the morning. Then by dint of cabbages which we had taken for them in the cart they were induced to proceed. I divided my attention between the reliquaries and the hens. We crossed the Missouri opposite Florissant. On landing Marguerite and I drew up our charges in a line—she the cows and I the hens—and fed them with motherly solicitude. The Abbe Delacroix came on horseback to meet us. He led the way galloping after our cows when, in their joy at being untied, they darted into the woods.

Upon the farm these sisters lived and toiled. They planted and raised corn. They gathered their own firewood. They cared for their cows. The bishop riding by at milking time, smiled and asked Sister Ande "if it was at Napoleon's court she had learned to milk cows."

After a year on the farm, the house in Florissant was ready. Driving their livestock before them the sisters moved one cold day in December with snow knee-deep. Mother Duchesene wrote of that experience:

> Having tried in vain to lead with a rope one of our cows, I hoped to make her follow out of her own inclination by filling my apron with maize, with which I tried to tempt her on; but she preferred her liberty and ran about the fields and brushwood, where we followed her, sinking into the snow, and tearing our habits and veils amidst the bushes. At last we were obliged to let her have her will and make her way back to the farm. I carried in my pocket our money and papers, but the strings broke and everything, including a watch, fell into the snow. The wind having blown the snow on my gloves, they were frozen on my hands, and I could not take hold of anything. Eugenie had to help me pick up my bag, and also my pocket, which I was obliged to carry under my arm.

Pioneering did not end with that first year on the farm. After the opening of the school in Florissant, Mother Duchesene wrote: "There was a moment this month when I had in my pocket only six sous and a half, and debts besides."

"Bishop Dubourg's college" was the name commonly bestowed upon the first institution for higher education established in St. Louis. The first building occupied was where the log church stood on the block Laclede reserved for religious and burial purposes. When the college opened in 1820, the newspapers announced this faculty:

> Rev. Francis Niel, Curate of the Cathedral, President.
> Rev. Leo Deys, Professor of Languages.

Rev. Andreas Ferrari, Professor of Ancient Languages.
Rev. Aristide Anduze, Professor of Mathematics.
Rev. Michael G. Saulnier, Professor of Languages.
Mr. Samuel Smith, Professor of Languages.
Mr. Patrick Sullivan, Professor of Ancient Languages.
Mr. Francis C. Guyot, Professor of Writing and Drawing.
Mr. John Martin, Prefect of the Studies.

Two years earlier than this, Rev. Francis Niel with two other priests had conducted "an academy for young gentlemen" in the house of Mrs. Alvarez.

In the desire of the Monroe administration to start an Indian school, St. Louis University had its inception. John C. Calhoun was President Monroe's Secretary of War. Indian affairs came under his supervision. The President and the Secretary had hopes of beneficial results from education of Indian boys. The Secretary opened correspondence with Bishop Dubourg at St. Louis. The result was the coming of Father Van Quickenborne and his party to establish the school at Florissant.

The little band of Jesuits who established St. Louis University walked to St. Louis. Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, as superior, headed the party. He and his assistant Rev. Peter J. Timmerman rode part of the way in the one-horse wagon which conveyed the light baggage. F. J. Van Assche who, half a century later became known widely in St. Louis as "Good Father Van Assche;" P. J. De Smet, the "Father De Smet" of international fame as an Indian Missionary; J. A. Elet, F. L. Verreydt, P. J. Verhaegen, J. B. Smedts and J. De Maillet were young men. They trudged across the Alleghanies to Wheeling. Leaving "the floating monastery" as they called their flat boat, at Shawnee town, they walked across the prairies of Illinois 140 miles, spreading their plankets at night in house or barn as the opportunity offered.

Charles Van Quickenborne, Peter J. Verhaegen, John Elet and Peter J. De Smet, the faculty, raised $4,000 and started St. Louis University on the Connor lot. The first building was forty by fifty feet fronting on Green street. It was opened for students in November, 1829. Within four months the University had fifteen boarders and 115 day students. Two years later the building was enlarged with a wing. Two years after that a second wing was added.

In 1829 the St. Louis University was founded. Father De Smet, who had been ordained two years before, was made a member of the faculty. He went out to the Flatheads with the annual fur trade caravan in 1840. "In a fortnight," he reported "all knew their prayers." He called them his "dear Flatheads." Father De Smet was not a large man, physically; but he was very strong. He could bend a five-franc piece, a silver coin about the size of the dollar, between his fingers. A copy of Father De Smet's map of the Columbia river and Puget sound region is among the historical treasures of St. Louis University. Father De Smet made the original. He carried it with a letter of introduction from Bryan Mullanphy to President Polk. The international controversy with England over the northwestern

DAVID H. ARMSTRONG

PROFESSOR EDWARD WYMAN

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY IN 1858,
Ninth Street and Washington Avenue

boundary had aroused the whole United States. The cry was "Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight." The map was important evidence.

In 1836 the closing of the college of St. Achenil in France gave St. Louis University the opportunity to purchase chemical and philosophical apparatus of great value. A fourth building of the group housed this acquisition which was the finest west of the Alleghanies. The institution took at once and has always maintained high scientific rank. A museum of natural history was installed. In 1840, St. Xavier's "the college church" as the community knew it, was begun. Building after building was added until the two blocks of ground became crowded. In 1854, carrying out the plan formed by President John B. Druyts, the university erected at Ninth street and Washington avenue an imposing structure with towers one of which was the observatory. This building afforded better room for the museum, the philosophical apparatus and provided an exhibition hall.

If St. Louis was slow to put into operation the public school system, there was some reason for it in the excellence of the private schools. Captain Elihu Hotchkiss Shepard taught successfully two generations of St. Louis youth. He was of Vermont birth, coming to St. Louis when he was twenty-five years of age. His title was earned in the War of 1812. With a thorough education, Captain Shepard arrived in St. Louis in 1820. He made teaching, not temporary employment to tide over until he could establish himself in something else. He was the born schoolmaster. Teaching was his profession. After he retired, he wrote a quaint autobiography. Judge Shepard Barclay is a grandson of Captain Shepard. In his old age, Captain Shepard spoke with pride of the boys he had taught in his schoolmaster days. He had seen three of these boys sitting as judges of courts at one time—Judge Krum, of the circuit court; Judge Bates, presiding justice of the supreme court; and Wm. Ferguson, judge of the probate court. Three of Captain Shepard's boys had risen to high rank in the military service and had become generals. They were General Easton, of the quartermaster department, who, as Captain Shepard said, "had never been accused of stealing one dollar;" General Paul, wounded at the battle of Gettysburg, and General Dent, brother-in-law of General Grant.

The act of Congress of 1812 set apart the vacant pieces of land such as were "not rightfully claimed by individuals" or were "not reserved for military purposes" and devoted them for purposes of public education. The land was not valuable at the time it was granted. The amount of it was not known. Nothing more was done until 1836 when the legislature incorporated the board of public schools. This body leased much of the school lands on long time at low rates. The income came in too slowly to provide public school facilities as the population increased. To the voters was put the alternative of tax and more schools or no tax and limited facilities. The people of St. Louis voted a tax of "one-tenth of one per cent" for public schools.

In March, 1837, the Legislature authorized the people of St. Louis to sell the town commons, a tract of about 2,000 acres. The proceeds were

to be divided, nine-tenths be used for improvement of streets and one-tenth for public schools. The school board met on the 19th of June, 1837, the members being M. P. Leduc, A. Gamble, A. Kerr, John Finney and H. L. Hoffman. There had been a school board organized in April, 1833, but it had taken until 1837 to accumulate the funds considered adequate to commence building school houses.

In his inaugural message to the board of aldermen, the first mayor of St. Louis, William Carr Lane, advocated public education. "I will hazard the broad assertion," he said, "that a free school is more needed here than in any town of the same magnitude in the Union." In 1838, the people of St. Louis were said to have "better facilities for educating their children, agreeably to their own taste, than the people of any other city in the United States." That year public schools had been established and had become immediately popular. Kemper College opened on the 15th of October under the direction of Rev. P. R. Minard. It was given supervision by seventeen trustees, and had the support of the Episcopal church. St. Louis University had increased its faculty and was offering advantages in higher education not equaled in any other city of the Mississippi Valley. The Convent of the Sacred Heart was affording unusual opportunities for young women.

Edward Wyman began his English and Classical High School in 1843 with one pupil, occupying a small room for which he paid eight dollars a month. He built Wyman's hall on Market street opposite the court house for the accommodation of his growing institution. Afterwards this became known as the Odeon and was used for public entertainments. When the founding of St. Louis was celebrated in 1847, the spectacular feature of the procession was the marching of the cadets from Wyman's High School. When the head of the school went into other business in 1852 he had over 300 students, many of them from outside of St. Louis. One of "Wyman's Boys," was Edward Lawrence Adreon who went into the office of the city comptroller on a month's trial and remained twenty years, eight of them as the city's chief financial officer. To three generations of St. Louis boys, Dr. Wyman was preceptor; except during two periods when ill health compelled him to change temporarily his vocation he taught boys for forty-five years. When he died he was conducting Wyman's Institute. The zenith of this born master's career was when he conducted the City University at Pine and Sixteenth streets. Three full companies of cadets splendidly drilled carried the university banner through the streets of St. Louis. The enrollment of the university reached 600 students at a time when St. Louis had about one-third of the present population. The master came to St. Louis from the home of his colonial and revolutionary ancestors at Charlestown, Mass. When he died in 1888 "Edward Wyman's boys" numbered many thousands. They were in places of influence and importance throughout the southwest. The preceptor knew and followed the career of every boy. He taught more than books contained. He trained character.

Six teachers and two school houses composed the public school system of St. Louis in 1842. One school was on Fourth; the other on Sixth street. Salaries were not munificent. Three of the teachers were men. One of them received $900 a year; the others, $500 each. One of the young women, the principal was paid $500 a year. Her assistants received $400 each. The school board in 1840-1850 was composed of two members from each ward. These directors served without compensation. They had a superintendent and they elected the teachers. In 1854, the 97,000 people were served with twenty-five schools. The children attending were 3,881. They had seventy-two teachers. The first school houses were small. But in 1854 the city took pride in the possession of several three-story buildings "with ample provision for ventilation and heated by furnaces properly constructed."

The high school on Fifteenth and Olive was in course of construction. It was to be "an ornament to the city, a monument to its liberality and a perfect adaptation to the purposes for which it is designed." It was located "near the present western limits of the city." This high school was to be "for the use of those scholars of the public schools who have demeaned themselves the best, made most proficiency in the studies taught below and whose parents or guardians may desire them to acquire the higher rudiments of education."

For what is called "higher education," this city owes much to the German tide of immigration. That tide was more than numbers. It included an extraordinary proportion of men who had been trained in the gymnasiums; who had sat at the feet of the ablest professors in the universities.

The kindergarten in St. Louis had its origin when Robert J. Rombauer, William D'Oench and Thomas Richeson recommended the acceptance of Miss Susie Blow's proposition. The daughter of Henry T. Blow had become interested in kindergarten work. She offered to give her time to the supervision if the school board would assign one teacher and set apart a room. The offer was accepted and the "play school" as the school board called it, was started in 1873 at the Des Peres school with Miss Mary A. Timberlake as the paid assistant to Miss Blow.

The character of support which the Germans gave the public school system was illustrated about 1888. Up to that time German was an important part of the curriculum. When the language was dropped, friends of the system looked with some apprehension for the effect. The president of the board announced:

> The unselfish devotion of our fellow citizens of German ancestry was signally illustrated in that the schools suffered no perceptible loss of attendance in any part of the city, and the most urgent demands for new school accommodations continued from what were known as distinctively German districts.

Forty years Professor Frank Louis Soldan was connected with the public schools of St. Louis, one-third of the time occupying the highest

position—superintendent. When Professor Soldan died William T. Harris telegraphed from Washington:

> Dr. Soldan has been a tower of strength all these years for wise education. His death is a great loss, not only to St. Louis but to the United States. Thousands who respect his memory will mourn with you to-day."

In 1883 Sir William Mather came to this country to investigate industrial education The British government had suddenly become aroused to the unpleasant situation that her works, her great manufacturing establishments, were under the supervision of men educated in France, Germany and Belgium. This was a blow to British pride. It was a revelation of the inadequacy of the British educational system. Sir William Mather was on a tour of investigation to discover the remedy which Great Britain might apply to the weakness in her system. He came to the United States and visited the eastern educational centers. He was soon told, "If you want to be thoroughly informed on the development of industrial education in this country, go out to St. Louis and see Doctor Woodward."

Sir William came to St. Louis and remained a week or more. What he found in the Manual Training school of Washington University so impressed the visitor that he was almost extravagant in his expressions of satisfaction and admiration. He said that in St. Louis he recognized the most practical forms of industrial education he had seen anywhere. After Sir William Mather returned home there came a pressing call for Dr. Woodward to visit Manchester. Dr. Woodward went, remained three or four months until he had started fairly an institution on the plan of the St. Louis school. When the doctor sent back to St. Louis the catalogue showing the plan and curriculum, Mr. Cupples wrote him, "I recognize every word. The only change you have made is to substitute 'Manchester' for 'Washington University.'"

The English are not slow to act when convinced. As a result of the Manchester experiment, introduced by Calvin M. Woodward after the model of the St. Louis school, Great Britain has appropriated a million pounds sterling every year since 1888 for industrial education. A manual training school for the Soudanese youth has been established at Khartoum by Sir Wm. Mather, as a department of Gordon College.

Sir William Mather made a second visit to St. Louis two years ago to note the progress of St. Louis in educational lines. He was accompanied by Mrs. Mather. Mr. Cupples and Dr. Woodward took the visitors to the McKinley and Yeatman high schools and showed them a thousand boys and girls learning to use their hands as well as their heads, the boys in the manual training, the girls in domestic science. There is nothing better in high school architecture and equipment in the United States than St. Louis possesses. The English visitors had not seen the equal anywhere abroad. Then the party went to the colored school and saw the boys and girls receiving the same practical instruction.

"I am surprised," exclaimed the lady. "Wasn't this a slave state? I am surprised that you are doing so much for the negroes."

THE NORMAL SCHOOL,
Seventeenth Street and Christy Avenue, Before the War

CONCORDIA COLLEGE IN 1860,
On Carondelet Road, South of the Arsenal

"Madam," said Mr. Cupples, "the only people who understand the negroes and who know how to make good citizens of them are those who lived in the former slave States."

Then Mrs. Mather insisted upon having some pictures of the colored school children of St. Louis at their studies and especially engaged in the manual training and domestic science work.

"When we go up to Khartoum," she said to Sir William, "I want to show what these people are doing for the little Africans in St. Louis."

The introduction of colored teachers for colored schools was one of the innovations which St. Louis tried with admirable results. It came about after Samuel Cupples and Dr. Calvin M. Woodward had become active in the Public School board. For a number of years the teachers of the colored schools were white. When a young white woman was assigned to teach a colored school there followed an indignant protest from her friends. White teachers failed to arouse the interest among their pupils necessary for best results. Mr. Cupples was a trustee of the Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City, a seminary for colored youth. He made inquiries as to the capabilities of the students who were being educated at the Institute and proposed the trial of colored teachers in the St. Louis colored schools. Dr. Harris, Dr. Woodward and others favored the experiment. At that time the enrollment of children in the colored schools was about 2,000. Mr. Cupples, Dr. Harris and Dr. Woodward visited the colored schools, invited the parents to a conference, had refreshments and explained the purpose to better the educational facilities for the children. They urged that they must have the cooperation of the parents to obtain the improvement desired. Children must attend regularly, must not be kept out on Mondays to go after the laundry and at other times to run errands but must be present five days in the week.

In a year the enrollment of the colored schools of St. Louis had doubled. The improved conditions under colored teachers has been so marked and gratifying that it brought the Public School board to the conclusion to build in 1909 a colored high school to cost $250,000, the best equipped high school for colored pupils in the United States.

The educational theory upon which manual training has been encouraged and developed in the public schools of St. Louis and in Washington University is well stated in these words by the recognized authority Professor Woodward:

I do not believe it a good policy to keep a certain proportion of our youth relatively ignorant that they may be willing to fill what is called the industrial demand. It is said that boys from the mills and from the farms are needed there and should be so trained that they will remain in the mills and on the farms, hence they must not be taught or trained too much.

On this theory training shops and agricultural schools sometimes have been managed, but I question the policy. We are told it is best. Best for whom, and best for what? Best for citizenship or best for the consumer and the business? Would it be best for your son or mine, and would it have been best for us when we were boys?

I was a farmer's son, and at sixteen I was a good and able farmer, but my high school training enabled me to see over the fences, and I broke for pastures new. I believe in giving every boy a glimpse of the world's activities and opportunities, and in allowing

him to make the most of himself, but at the same time he must be trained for usefulness of some sort.

One word in regard to an industrial training which best fosters our industries. I am decidedly of the opinion that they make a mistake who contract the range of one's education, in order to confine him to a limited range of work. Managers of our industries should realize that it is ultimately in the interest of their own business affairs to secure workmen of greater efficiency and intellectual as well as manual skill.

I believe the system of education which is of the greatest benefit to the youth of a community is also of the greatest benefit to the industries of a community, provided those industries are wholesome and desirable. It is impossible to raise the grade of citizenship all through the length and breadth of a community without increasing its value in every domain of labor, whether manual or mental, or both.

It may not be really fashionable to be a skilled workman, but a skilled workman may be a gentleman and a cultivated man. And when we look to the highest interests of the community; when we look at the interests of the unschooled half of our boys, the most effectual way of making them cultivated gentlemen is by first making them skillful workmen. And it is high time that it should be understood in all our public schools, which aim first and last at the development of character, that, as Newton said, "the thrifty mechanic is the most moral of men" and, as Franklin said, "the best workmen are the best citizens."

Sir William Mather went on record with a remarkable tribute to St. Louis and Professor Woodward. He wrote that what he saw and learned on his first visit to St. Louis prompted him to take up the cause of manual training, or as he called it, technical training in England. In Parliament, Sir William stood sponsor for the Technical Education bill. He led the discussion in committee and in the House and was largely responsible for the passage. When success came he wrote to Dr. Woodward again, telling the result to show "how far one little candle throws its beams." Like testimony to the origin of the manual training movement was given by Grasby in his interesting volume on "Teaching in Three Continents—America, Europe and Australia. He found the source of the movement in the St. Louis Manual Training school of Washington University. Professor Chamberlain of Los Angeles once said that no educator ever comprehended so much of an educational creed in six words as Professor Woodward did when he said in an after dinner speech at the Vendome, Boston, 1885, "Put the whole boy to school."

A characteristic of St. Louis educational institutions in all forms has been steady progress. At no time have St. Louis educators rested content with accomplishment. The year, 1909, found the universities and colleges putting forth effort to increase their facilities while the public school board was adding to the equipment new buildings which were unsurpassed anywhere in the country. Washington University, in 1908, came under the chancellorship of one of the foremost of the younger educators of the country, David Franklin Houston. A short time previously, St. Louis University received a new head in the person of one of the most talented Jesuits, Rev. John P. Frieden. The high literary standard always maintained by St. Louis University was illustrated in the spring of 1909 by the winning of three out of four prizes for English composition, for which ten universities and colleges of the Mississippi Valley competed. St. Louis University has entered upon a new era with an advisory board,

composed of professional and business men and with a decision to increase its endowment. Washington University, in 1908, launched a movement to increase its endowment $1,000,000. There is no relaxation from the strong support which St. Louis has for generations given to higher education but rather a raising of ideals.

By the light of a tallow candle, in his room at a boarding house of Jefferson City, the session of 1853, Wayman Crow, wrote the charter of Washington University. He did it alone and of his own motion. He was a state senator. From time to time he had heard Dr. Eliot and others talk of the need of an institution above the high school for St. Louis. But no suggestion or request had come to him to obtain this legislation.

The charter was very brief, not as long as a lawyer might have written. But it went to the Supreme court of the United States and was sustained. It gave the institution this distinctive character:

> No instruction, either sectarian in religion or partisan in politics, shall be allowed in any department of said university, and no sectarian or party test shall be allowed in the election of professors, teachers or officers of said university, or in the admission of scholars thereto, or for any purpose whatever.

The creators meant what this non-sectarian, non-political section said. They provided for the strongest possible enforcement. In the very next section, the charter provided that if any violation of the foregoing was reported an investigation must be made. Any officer offending in the matter of political or sectarian instruction must be removed and he would be, thereafter, ineligible to any office in the University. If the board of directors failed to enforce the prohibition of sectarian and political instruciton, the St. Louis circuit court was made competent to compel the board by mandamus to act.

Marshall S. Snow, coming up from Nashville where he had been teaching, stopped over in St. Louis with Frederick N. Judson, in 1870. Mr. Judson was about to locate as a lawyer. Mr. Snow was willing to spend a few days en route to his New England home for vacation. The two young men made the acquaintance of Dr. Eliot. Almost before he realized it, Professor Snow found himself engaged as a member of the faculty of Washington University. He suggested that, possibly, Dr. Eliot might wish to make some inquiries about him in Nashville, but Dr. Eliot assured him he was ready to close the matter if the professor was. Then when the arrangement had been closed, Dr. Eliot remarked:

"May I ask what church you attend? I never ask that question until after a member of the faculty has been engaged."

That was the non-sectarian spirit of Washington University in its practical application. Upon two men in those early days Dr. Eliot leaned for what he called "the intramural affairs" of the institution. These men were Snow and Woodward. To Professor Snow the relationship with Washington University recalled student memories of peculiar interest. Snow had been a student at Exeter under Hoyt, the much loved preceptor, and Hoyt had come west to be the first chancellor of Washington University, dying in the harness. During two considerable periods of the univer-

sity's history Dr. Snow was called upon to perform the duties of chancellor in addition to the duties of his own professorship.

At the inauguration of Washington University in 1857 Edward Everett delivered an address, one of the most impressive, the most masterly of the many which made him the acknowledged foremost orator of his day. He was introduced to his St. Louis audience by Dr. Eliot. The meeting was held in Mercantile Library hall, the largest auditorium in the city. Prefacing his introduction Dr. Eliot explained concisely why the name of "Washington University" had been chosen.

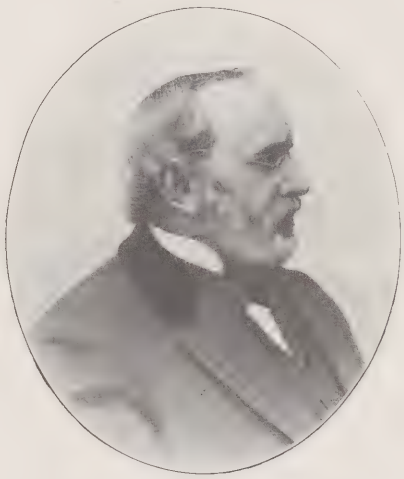
> Under a happy coincidence, the charter had been approved on the 22nd of February, 1853, and the first meeting of the incorporators, at which the organization of the institution was accomplished, was held on the 22nd of February, 1854. By this coincidence of birth, the name of Washington University was suggested. It is also a name admirably adapted to the plan proposed, namely, the establishment of an American university, upon the broad foundation of republican and Christian principles free from the trammels of sect and party; a university for the people, whom Washington served; to educate the rising generations in that love of country and of our whole country which the Farewell Address of Washington inculcates, and in that faithfulness to God and Truth which made Washington great.

Twenty-five years after the beginning Dr. Eliot in a reminiscent strain recalled the circumstances of the selection of title:

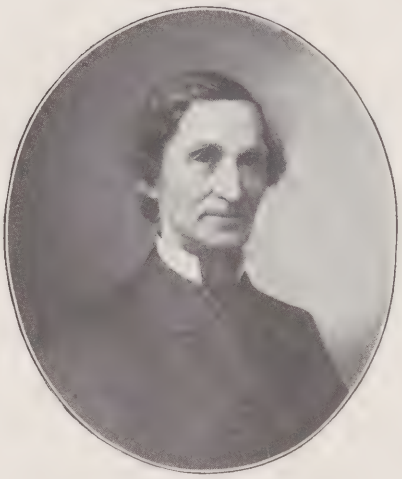
> Some of us may remember the meeting when the name to be adopted for our embryo institution was under discussion, whether it should be seminary, or institute, or college, or school, and the suggestion of university was made by Judge Treat, indicating fairly, not what we were likely to be in our day, but the ultimate end, which was to be held constantly in view. It seemed to me, at the time, to savor not a little of grandiloquence, and, to say the truth, I have not entirely overcome that feeling yet; for university is a great word, and the first American university, in full significance of the terms, is yet to be established. But of late years I have begun to think that the way is opening before us, and that the road, though very steep, may not be very long.

The distinctive character of Washington University was, perhaps, never more forcibly stated than in the language of Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post. A Congregationalist, the first professor appointed to the collegiate department of the University, Dr. Post, at the inauguration, most happily stated wherein Washington University was a pioneer in a new educational era:

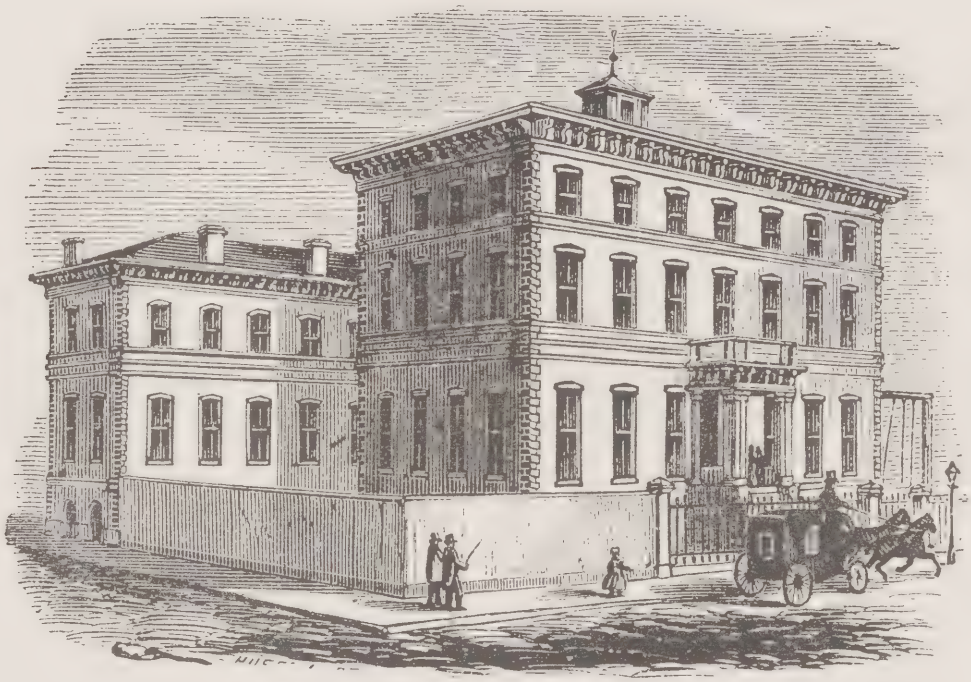
> It seems to me also to augur, or at least to merit success for the institution inaugurated, that, while it is in especial sympathy with the masses, and aims to bless labor with culture, and unite in happy combination the speculative and scientific with the great practical issues of popular education, it is also placed on a broad and liberal basis on which men of different ecclesiastical or political schools can labor together. Such joint action for a noble object is, through its unitive influence, a public benefit as well as an augury of success.
>
> But though the institution is by its character pledged to be unpartisan and unsectarian, God forbid it should ever be unpatriotic or unchristian. And I am happy to believe there is a common ground on which, though with different partisan and ecclesiastic names and symbols, we can stand together in the great work of national education, without compromising or discarding those great and vital truths and principles, religious and political, which must constitute the ultimate warp and woof of all valuable culture and character. The tendency among us unquestionably has been too much toward division and subdivision in educational enterprises; until society is resolved into fragments so



PROFESSOR SYLVESTER WATERHOUSE



PROFESSOR B. T. BLEWETT



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY.

Washington Avenue and Seventeenth Street, in 1861

minute that hardly any one is strong enough to establish for itself a respectable system of institutions.

I am far from affirming that institutions distinctively ecclesiastic have not place and position, and are not doing a great and good work in American society. But while experiments are being made all around us, of institutions of that description, I am gratified to see in our young city an effort of such promise to establish a university on a catholic and general basis, on which fellow-citizens whose walk in life may be in other respects somewhat different, can unite. I believe such an institution has at this epoch in our history a great, a good, a necessary work to do. Should this enterprise succeed as it promises, we may regard it as in some measure inaugurative of a new educational era among us.

Perhaps only one time in its history has the non-sectarian character of Washington University been distorted to furnish ground for adverse criticism. In 1895 a number of ministers held a meeting and talked of starting a school for girls because the influences of Washington University were not orthodox. It was the opinion of some of these ministers that irreligious teachers were employed; that young people were encouraged to break away from the beliefs of their parents. A canvass of the faculties of the departments of the University showed that nearly all of the teachers were members of churches and that the denomination which had taken the lead in the adverse criticism of the institution had nearly twice as many representatives as any other denomination in the faculties. The distribution of professors and teachers of the University among the churches at that time was, Presbyterian, 10; Unitarian, 9; Lutheran, 2; Methodist, 6; Episcopal, 10; Baptist, 4; Catholic, 2; Congregational, 17; Swedenborgian, 1; not members of any church, 22. So far as was made public the ministers held but one meeting to find fault with the University's non-sectarian character. The movement met with no public sympathy and the proposed church school for girls was not heard of again.

Edward Everett's oration at the inauguration of Washington University in 1857 was a glowing, fascinating plea for educational advantages. But two paragraphs went home with peculiar, individual interest to the creators of the University. Around the orator, on the platform, and in the front rows before him, sat the men who had taken up Wayman Crow's charter and of their thought and substance were making the institution. Four out of five of them had never sat in a college class room. Most of them had never enjoyed school training beyond the rudiments. To such men the thought could not have been better expressed than in the words which Mr. Everett gave it:

Nothing could be more abhorrent to my feelings than to speak disparagingly of self-taught men. I have neglected no fitting opportunity to eulogize them among the departed, or to manifest sympathy and respect for them among the living. I know of no spectacle on earth, pertaining to intellectual culture, more interesting than that of a noble mind, struggling against the obstacles thrown by adverse fortune in the way of its early improvement; no triumph more glorious than that which so often rewards these heroic exertions. It is because I appreciate the severity of the struggle, and deeply sympathize with those who have forced their way to eminence, in the face of poverty, friendless obscurity, distance from all the facilities for improvement, and inability to command their time, that I would multiply the means of education, and bring them into as many districts

of the country, and as near the homes of as large a portion of the population as possible, in order to spare to the largest number of gifted minds the bitter experience by which those who succeed in doing so are compelled to force their way to distinction.

This premised, I have four words to say concerning self-taught men. The first is, that while a few minds of a very high order rise superior to the want of early opportunities, with the mass of men, that want, where it exists, can never be fully repaired. In the next place, although it is given to a few very superior intellects to rise to eminence without opportunities for early education, it by no means follows that, even in their cases, such opportunities would not have been highly beneficial, in smoothing the arduous path and leading to an earlier and more perfect development of the mental powers. Accordingly we find in the third place, that highly intelligent men, who have felt the want of early education themselves, are (without an exception, so far as my observation has gone) the best friends of academic education, as if determined that others should enjoy the advantages of which they were deprived. It would not be necessary to leave this platform to find the most striking illustrations of the truth of this remark. Lastly, this epithet, self-taught, is subject itself to great misconception. It is by no means to be supposed because eminent men, in any department of science or art, passed their first years and earned their first laurels without early opportunities of education, that they remained, more than other men, destitute to the end of their lives of instruction from abroad. Far otherwise; in all ordinary cases, the epithet in question applies only, with real significance, to the early stages of a distinguished career. As soon as a gifted person, however destitute of early culture, has possessed himself of the keys of science and literature, and gained access to books, he is no longer self-taught, he is a regularly entered pupil in the great high school of recorded knowledge, in which the wise and famous of every age are the masters.

Original in its theory, Washington University at the very beginning attempted the solution of the new problems in education. "The Practical department" was the first organized. That was the name which Dr. Eliot gave to this branch at the inauguration of the University in 1857. St. Louisans knew it as the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute. John How, who was president of the board having special charge of the Practical department, explained the new field of education which his associates hoped to occupy and cultivate in St. Louis:

Our desire is to establish here in St. Louis an institution that shall have all of the advantages of the mechanics' institutes of our country, with those of the polytechnic institutes of Berlin, Vienna, and other cities of Europe; to have a building where, besides the library and reading rooms usually found in the mechanics' institutes, will be found a place for the model of the inventor, with the engine to work it, and for a school of design. The professors of the various branches of science treat of the mechanic arts, and there are few of these arts which do not need for their successful prosecution a scientific education.

Time has proven that the germ which John How, John O'Fallon, Samuel Treat and their associates, more than half a century ago sought to develop was one of great possibilites for good. Financial stress, following the inauguration of the University, Civil war, misjudment in the construction of a building in the wrong location were handicaps the idea encountered. The University never abandoned the theory but the practice of it did not begin to attain hoped for results until Calvin M. Woodward took hold of it. Professor Woodward was backed by a new generation of business men imbued with the same public spirit as the John O'Fallons of the fifties. Foremost among these friends of Engineering and Manual or

"hand-and-head" education has been Samuel Cupples. Other notable contributors whose gifts enabled Professor Woodward to perfect his manual training plans have been Edwin Harrison, Gottlieb Conzelman, Carlos S. Greeley, Ralph and Timothy G. Sellew, William L. Huse, William Brown, William Barr and Emiline F. Rea.

Far beyond the perhaps dim theory of those who started the polytechnic idea in St. Louis, Professor Woodward carried his plans until the "Practical" features of Washington University became of more than national renown. The innovation was received with skepticism and even with some ridicule. Dr. Eliot was prompted to say of those who opposed:

> A carpenter's shop and blacksmith's forge seemed to them a singular appendage to the college "humanities" and the schools of philosophy and advanced learning which dignify the university career. It seems to have been forgotten that the word "university" was itself borrowed from the "guilds" or trade associations which were known as universities two or three hundred years ago, as the "university of bakers," of smiths, of watchmakers, etc., in Rome and London. Already the prejudice is passing away, and it is recognized as a proper American-republic idea that skilled labor may command the same respect with intellectual development, and that the two should, so far as possible, go hand in hand.

As the experiment of manual training established beyond question its merits, Dr. Eliot said:

"It is in fact only a more systematic development of the educational ideas which lie at the foundation of our whole University enterprise."

"In a republic," he continued, "the head cannot say to the hand: I have no need of thee; nor can the hand say it to the head. The dependence is mutual, and the more frankly we recognize it the better for all concerned. If we can bring educated brains to the work-bench, and at the same time respect for skilled labor into the daily thoughts of the student, we shall be doing the best work of an American University."

"Surely," Dr. Eliot concluded, "it is not beneath the dignity of a Western University, however, high its standard, to inaugurate a new order of things by elevating skilled labor to its due respect among educated men."

Coeducation came naturally as a principle of Washington University in view of the relationship of the institution to the public school system of St. Louis.

"Equal advantages and the survival of the fittest should everywhere be the rule," was Dr. Eliot's theory and practice in respect to educational relationship of the sexes.

The practice was illustrated in the full graduation of a woman as LL.B. by the University Law School, the first instance in this country. As early as 1870, a St. Louis girl was a member of the freshman class of the college.

Always in view was kept the distinctive character of Washington University. The words in the charter and the expressions of the inaugural addresses were not uttered to be forgotten. Addressing the first graduating class in 1862 the acting chancellor, Professor Chauvenet said:

With no party connections, no sectarian bias, no dependence upon the uncertain patronage of state governments or legislatures, independent and self-sustaining, its stands before the world simply as the advocate and promoter of sound learning, true science and just moral culture. It may take years to develop its system in its full proportions, and to produce those results by which alone the mass of the community will judge of its merits. But they (the founders) are content to wait. They are content with having laid the foundations of an institution which is destined to be a great beating heart of the Mississippi Valley, sending forth by its annual pulsations new arterial blood into the social system."

In 1872 Dr. Eliot, who had been almost everything else to the University, was induced to take the chancellorship. In his inaugural he presented the ideal of the creators:

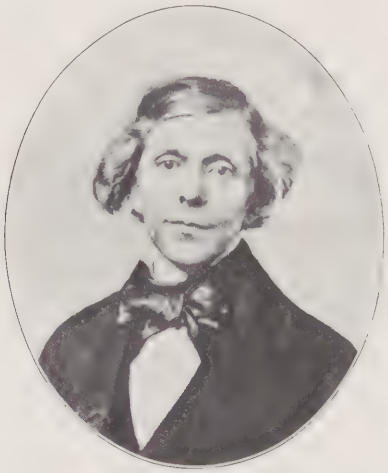
Washington University, in its ante-typal idea, prefigures an institution worthy of the great name it bears; a name which is the symbol of Christian civilization and American patriotism, and to which, therefore, no thought of sectarian narrowness or of party strife can ever be attached; an institution of learning, at once conservative and progressive, with foundations so broad that there is room for every department of human culture, and so deep that neither praise nor blame shall shake its allegiance to truth. We would found a university so strong in its faculty of instruction, so generous in its ideas, so thoroughly provided with all facilities of education, so hospitable to all comers, and so rich in its benefactions conferred, that it should gather round itself a constituency of learning and science, and give tone to the educational movement of the region in which we live. We would found a university so widely acknowledged in its influence, that St. Louis and Missouri should be honored throughout the world by its being established here; and the best class of citizens from all parts of the land, the intelligent, the enterprising, the philanthropic, the skilled laborer and artist, men of wealth and men of intellect, the true bone and sinew, the nerve-power and brain and controlling will of the republic, should be attracted here to find a favored home.

A business study of the subject of education was what Robert S. Brookings set about when he found himself at the head of the trustees of Washington University. Mr. Brookings was sixteen or seventeen years of age when he came out from Maryland to enter business life in St. Louis. He joined his brother who had preceded him in the house of Cupples and Marston. The secret of Robert S. Brooking's success in business is said to have been his habit of making a most thorough investigation and then of working intelligently. Mr. Brookings, Mr. Cupples said, never went into anything until he had given it an exhaustive inquiry. Satisfied as the result of his examination he went ahead with perfect confidence. This business trait Mr. Brookings applied to his investigation of educational matters. He made a study of the workings of American universities so thorough and so complete that his knowledge and conclusions have surprised many professional educators. Few men have such complete information of the operations of the higher institutions of this country as has Mr. Brookings, the result of his personal, tireless investigation. Upon a great chart, the President of Washington University has before him at all times the compiled information of what all of the large institutions are doing.

"A poor boy's college," President Brookings of the corporation recently called Washington University. And he told in glowing words how Washington University had supplied the advantages of higher education to boys

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN 1885

WAYMAN CROW



WILLIAM GREENLEAF ELIOT,
From a Daguerreotype Taken Before
Washington University Was Founded

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN 1909

of limited means from the high schools and from the Manual Training School who wanted to go on and who have become eminent in their callings. It was a story to stimulate pride of all St. Louisans:

Washington University struggled along for nearly half a century, furnishing St. Louis with practically every branch of higher education. Having neither building, equipment nor funds enough for either a college or school of engineering, it managed to support both, and as evidence of the earnest quality of the work done, witness the following service:

In our civic life I think no one will question the overwhelming importance of the administration of our public schools. Superintendent Blewitt and his assistant, Mr. Bryan, are both Washington University men.

The next most important branch of public service is certainly the department of public improvements. Glance through the army of engineers that have administered or been connected with this department over a long period of years and you can scarcely lay your hand on a man that did not receive his training at Washington University. Holman, Flad, Burnett, O'Reilly and Adkins are all Washington University men. Probably the most important branch of this service is the Water Department, as it requires the greatest skill in nearly every branch of engineering. At the end of the term of the present Water Commissioner, Mr. Adkins, this department will have been administered by three Washington University men (Holman, Flad and Adkins) for twenty-four consecutive years. During this period the Waterworks have been rebuilt and their capacity nearly quadrupled, and in this work of reconstruction there were employed as division and assistant engineers more than twenty graduates of Washington University. If the university had produced only two men, John T. Wixford, who by chemical experiment discovered a method for clarifying and purifying our water supply, and Commissioner Adkins, who solved the engineering problem of applying it, the city would be largely its debtor.

A glance at the eleemosynary institutions shows that Doctor Runge, late Superintendent of the Insane Asylum; Doctor Elbrecht, Superintendent of the Female Hospital, and Doctor Kirchner, Superintendent of the City Hospital, are all Washington University men. The Public Library, with its branches all over the city, has become no small factor in our educational life owing to the preeminent efficiency of the Librarian, Mr. Crunden, a graduate, who has served the city as librarian for more than thirty years.

In the little class of six which were graduated in 1870 was a man who fifteen years later served the city as mayor; four years later the State as Governor; and still six years later the United States as Secretary of the Interior, and four years ago, as President of the Louisana Purchase Exposition, was the spirit of embodiment of that great enterprise. He is now a director of Washington University. What has Washington University given to the judiciary? More than one State has been furnished with a Supreme Judge, while between twenty-five and thirty graduates have occupied seats on the United States and state circuit and district court benches.

In the everyday walks of life it would be impossible to gather together a group of professional men of any strength in either medicine, dentistry, law or engineering without being struck by the large proportion of Washington graduates. Two talented young engineers, Richard McCulloch, who has made an international reputation, and now practically superintends and directs the city's vast street railway system, and Harvey Fleming, who is chief engineer of the Chicago Street Railway Company, are in the public eye at the moment.

For nearly half a century Washington graduated from the College and School of Engineering an average of only about ten students per year. What impression have they made on the outside world? Who is the most prominent civil engineer in the country? Some would probably say George Pegram, chief engineer of the New York Subway and Brooklyn Tunnel. Others, appreciating the skill of the bridge builder, would say Charles W. Bryan, chief engineer and manager of the American Bridge Company, which is the bridge department of the great steel corporation that is building bridges all over the world. Both of them are Washington University graduates, as is also F. C. McMath, president

and chief engineer of the Canadian Bridge Company, and William L. Breckenridge, chief engineer of the Burlington Railway System.

Those who read The New York Evening Post and The Nation are utterly ignorant of the fact that Paul Elmer More, literary editor of both these papers, is a Washington University graduate, as is Surgeon General Walter Wyman, of the United States Hospital Marine Service, and Samuel T. Armstrong, president New York Academy of Medicine, author and superintendent of Bellevue and allied hospitals.

Go to the great mining camps of Colorado, and ask who is the most eminent mining engineer in that State. Some will probably say Regis Chauvenet, former president of the Colorado School of Mines. Others may say Seely Mudd, but it makes no difference to us, as they are both Washington University men. When John Hayes Hammond, acknowledged the most eminent living mining engineer, was leaving South Africa as a result of his connection with the famous Jamison raid, he was asked by the owners of the vast properties he had been managing to name the most capable man he knew as his successor. He named, and was succeeded by Pope Yeatman, a Washington University graduate.

In addition to Washington's public school service what has she done for that noblest of all causes—education? Conceding to the Institute of Technology of Boston first place among the technical schools of the country, the Worcester Polytechnic School is frequently mentioned as the second. Washington gave them Engler for their president. Rochester Ford, late president of the University of Arizona; Regis Chauvenet, former president of the Colorado School of Mines; William G. Raymond, dean of the engineering department of the Iowa State University; Doctor G. V. Black, dean of the Northwestern Dental School, at Chicago, probably the highest dental authority in the world; William S. Curtis, dean of our own law department; Professor McMillan, dean of the Western Dental College of Kansas City; Professor Miller, dean of the North Pacific Dental School of Portland, Oregon; Doctor McAlister, dean of the Missouri State University Medical College, and a long list of eminent professors, is the record of the university's contribution to education.

Practically every physician and surgeon of prominence in this city is a graduate of the medical department of Washington.

It is perhaps surprising to many that Washington University, with so small a student body, has made such an impression upon the life of the city and the nation. The explanation is simple. It has always been a poor boys' college, drawing its students almost entirely from the Manual Training School and the High School, more than a third of whom, through scholarships, paid no tuition. They had no social conception of higher education, of being a "college man." They came for earnest training, and they received it from a staff of professors, every man of whom was a master. Think of a small school with a department of mathematics containing three such men as Woodward, Pritchett and Engler; a strong faculty giving its entire attention to a few earnest boys. The result was inevitable.

These boys went out into the world adequately equipped, and their record is the university's most valuable endowment, an endowment more precious than funds. Emerson truly says: "The best political economy is the care and culture of men."

Washington University is "a poor boys college" in a sense other than that Robert S. Brookings had in mind when he, in terse, graphic sentences, told of the alumni and their achievements. The university stands today, in the majesty of its granite quadrangles, a monument to the honor and glory of "poor boys" of St. Louis who began with their unskilled hands in the industries, who swept out stores, who succeeded without the advantages of liberal education, who determined that any boy of St. Louis coming after them should have the opportunity to start better equipped than they did.

Late one night Dr. Eliot was preparing to retire. He had taken off coat and vest. A ring called him to the door. There stood James Smith holding a bundle in his hand. Between the doctor and the merchant, who had been warm friends for years, it was "William" and "James."

"Why, what is the matter, James? Is Persis sick?" asked Dr. Eliot.

"Persis" was Mrs. Smith. The young professors of Washington University called her "Aunt Persis."

"No," said Mr. Smith, "Persis is well. But Persis and I have been thinking and talking tonight about the University and its needs. We have concluded we ought to do something now. Here is this Boatmen's bank stock. I can't sleep and Persis can't sleep until it is in your hands. So I have brought it over to you."

"In that singular manner one early donation of thousands of dollars came to Washington University.

For the first quarter of a century of its existence the largest individual contributor to Washington University was James Smith. With his brother, William H. Smith, and his brother-in-law John Cavender, James Smith came from New Hampshire to St. Louis in 1833. The three young men started the grocery house of Smith Brothers & Co. It is tradition that the partners in the struggling period were not above doing any part of the work. They handled the goods, waited on customers and kept their own books. The house they founded became nearly twenty years later Partridge & Co. When James Smith died childless, it was found that he had bequeathed one-half of his estate to his wife and the remainder, except minor bequests, was left to William G. Eliot without conditions or instructions. This was in accordance with an understanding that the greater part of the property should go to Washington University. It was a fine illustration of one St. Louisan's absolute confidence in another. Smith Academy perpetuated the memory of James Smith. William Henry Smith, the brother of James Smith, was the founder of one of the best endowed lecture courses, giving $27,000 for this purpose.

James Smith had the New England thrift in material things and the New England hunger for education. Circumstances of his youth had prevented him from satisfying that hunger. He lived and worked to make possible for other young men what had been denied him. The Smiths lived on Olive street near Seventeenth. One day Dr. Eliot called there and was met by Mrs. Smith.

"Persis, where is James?" the doctor asked.

"You'll find him in the cellarway blacking his boots," said Mrs. Smith.

Sure enough! There was James Smith, who was giving more than any other man in St. Louis to place Washington University on its feet, putting a polish on his boots.

"Why! James," exclaimed Dr. Eliot. "Why don't you let one of the servants do that?"

"Well, William," replied the old son of New Hampshire, with a little smile, "the servants are so wasteful with the blacking."

Wayman Crow was a giver to the University from the beginning. He subscribed $10,000 in 1860. He gave $138,000 to establish the Art Museum. He sustained the indefatigable Halsey C. Ives in the creation of the Art school. He established a scholarship fund. He provided other funds for special purposes. How often and how much he helped when emergencies arose during the many years he was a director will, perhaps, never be known. The men who were Mr. Crow's partners and successors in business gave. They had started, as he had, from the ground, even below the first round of the mercantile ladder. As early as 1860 William A. Hargadine and Phocion McCreery were two of twenty who subscribed $192,500 to the support of the young University. Hugh McKittrick, of the same house, began giving a little later, but with the same sense of devotion to the institution. It was a frequent act of Dr. Eliot to hand to the treasurer a check with the remark, "Mr. McKittrick has given me $1,000."

Wayman Crow had at least one experience which convinced him that college education does not spoil a young man for business. In 1857 he employed an Illinois youth, from Beloit college, as office boy. In eight years the young man won his way, grade by grade, to a junior partnership in the great house of Crow, McCreery & Co. He was David Davis Walker, born of English and Maryland parents on a farm near Bloomington, named for David Davis, the friend of Lincoln and the eminent jurist of United States Supreme court fame, whose home was in Bloomington. With Frank Ely and others, David Davis Walker added, in 1880, to the group of wholesale houses the Ely & Walker Dry Goods company.

From the so-called border state, neither north nor south, came some of the men who became the most successful merchants in St. Louis. The Crows were of North Irish origin; the Waymans were an English family; but Wayman Crow was from Kentucky, the son of a Virginia father and a Maryland mother, his name combining those of the two families. He was the youngest of twelve brothers and sisters. His education was begun in a log cabin. When he was twelve years old he was apprenticed to what was in 1820 "assorted dry goods, grocers and hardware," at Hopkinsville. He slept on a cot in the store, carried water from the spring, opened, swept and closed. For his services he received "victuals and clothes." When his apprenticeship ended he was considered by his employers to be worth $300 a year to them.

With his Kentucky experience, Wayman Crow, having for a partner his cousin, Joshua Tevis, started at St. Louis, in 1835, the dry goods house of Crow & Tevis. In another twelve months this house will have been in continuous existence three-fourths of a century. It has passed successfully through six national panic periods. In 1857 Mr. Crow borrowed money at 2½ per cent a month and pledged his fortune to protect the firm's obligations. In an address to his creditors he wrote:

> To us our commercial honor is as dear as our lives; to preserve it we are prepared to make any pecuniary sacrifice short of impairing our ability to pay ultimately every dollar we owe.

RALPH SELLEW

DAVID B. GOULD

CITY UNIVERSITY IN 1857 Sixteenth and Pine Streets

Every year Wayman Crow postponed departure for his summer home in order that he might attend the closing exercises of all of the departments of the University. As he came out, after the distribution of the diplomas and the other formalities, he would say to Dean Snow or to some other member of the faculty:

"Well, professor, another baby spanked."

Regularly the trustees of the pioneer period attended the commencement exercises. They could be depended upon for the lecture courses. Watching over the finances, making up the deficits by no means fulfilled their obligation or satisfied their interest. If now and then, one slept peacefully through a Fiske lecture on American history, it did not deter him from attendance at the next.

A red letter day in the calendar of Washington University has been the 22d of February. When that day in 1871 came around, Hudson E. Bridge arose at a meeting of the board and announced a gift from himself of $130,000. This was one of several complete financial surprises which have come in the history of the university. Not a hint had Mr. Bridge given of his intention. He divided the gift—$100,000 to endowment and $30,000 toward the polytechnic or scientific department for building purposes.

Hudson E. Bridge left his New Hampshire home with $6 in his pocket. To economize he walked to Troy. There he worked in a store until he had saved enough to take him to Columbus. His early career in St. Louis was a curious but marvelously successful combination of venture and caution. Mr. Bridge pioneered the way in the stove manufacturing business by bringing the plates from the Ohio river and putting them together in a little foundry attached to the store with which he was connected. Old stove dealers in St. Louis said the experiment was foolish and tried to discourage young Bridge. Foreman and salesman by day and bookkeeper by night, Mr. Bridge went on making stoves until he had proven his theory to be profitable. But while he was venturesome in experiment of manufacturing, he would never borrow capital for his growing business.

Some of these early friends of the university gave in large amounts, evidently after careful deliberation. Others carried their interest in the university as a continuous or current obligation. There was George Partridge, who was "always giving." He was a sterling business man, but was never classed as wealthy. Keeping in close touch with the university's needs, Mr. Partridge would come around just at the time when Dr. Eliot felt the situation becoming urgent and give his check. These timely gifts ran as high as $5,000. In the aggregate, Mr. Partridge gave about $150,000 to Washington University. One of his last gifts was a house and lot on Washington avenue, which the university still owns.

When George Partridge came to St. Louis, about 1840, he formed a company in the wholesale grocery business. One of the stipulations in the articles of partnership was that the house should never sell any alcoholic liquor. Mr. Partridge had built up a larger business in Boston, starting with a capital of $13, and working at first for $50 a year and board. He

had gone through the panic of 1837 without breaking, but he had discovered that a wholesale grocer in Boston at that time must sell liquor if he wanted to hold his own in the trade. He sold out, came west, and kept groceries which did not include "wet goods."

Looking backward, after Washington University had been firmly established, Dr. Eliot said:

> At that first meeting, when the seventeen incorporators were called together in a private parlor, they had not a dollar in hand; there was little or no wealth among them; their conjoined property would not have reached half a million in value; they had no social or religious organization to back them; no definite plan of action; no reasonable assurance of success. There was probably not an individual outside of their own number who thought they would succeed, and the most sanguine among themselves were only half convinced. But beginning with a grammar school on a small scale, they worked with just enough faith to keep them alive, and by deserving success gradually gained it.

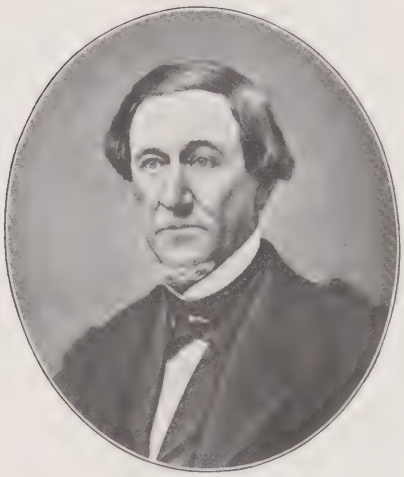
"Mechanic princes," Dr. Eliot once called a class of self-made St. Louisans. When he looked around the room on the first board of directors, or trustees, assembled to give life to Washington University, he saw only here and there one who had received educational advantages. The most of them had been "poor boys" who had gone from a few months in the log school house to learn trades, to sweep out stores. Stephen Ridgely, whose memory is preserved in the new library building of Washington University, taught the rest of the country the use of "spirit gas." This was a preparation made from alcohol by Mr. Ridgely. It was used in lamps with tin tubes two inches high, through which ran long wicks. This St. Louis spirit light was a great improvement on the lard oil which was used in lamps. It was popular until kerosene came into use. Profits of the spirit lamp are represented to the amount of $60,000 in the present library of the university.

The four sons of George Collier united in a gift of $25,000, which was made an endowment bearing their father's name. In token of their esteem for Professor Waterhouse, the endowment was made applicable to the chair of Greek until such time as the university might require it for other purposes. The Colliers chose Washington's birthday, the fifteenth anniversary of the granting of the charter, as the date to make their gift.

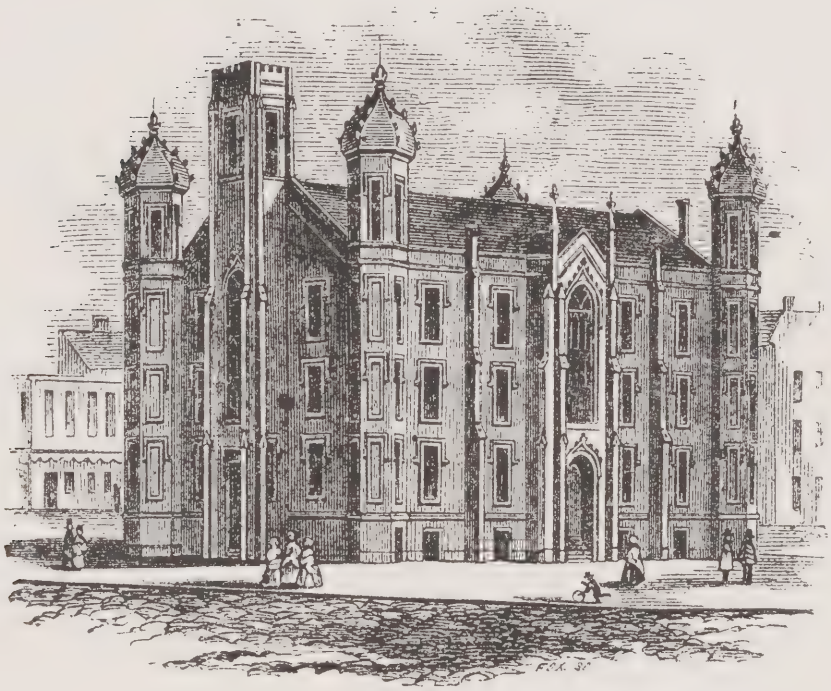
Individuality entered into the condition governing some of the donations. Professor Sylvester Waterhouse, who filled the chair of Greek for many years, by strict economy and careful investment acquired considerable means. He gave $25,000 to the university to be held and invested until it had increased to $1,000,000 when it would become available. The professor carefully estimated that the gift would be multiplied by forty if principal and compound interest were preserved one hundred years. The Waterhouse fund is now $34,000 and growing.

With perhaps two exceptions, the financial support of Washington University has come through individuals or families from fortunes accumulated in St. Louis. Mrs. Mary A. Hemenway was one of the exceptions. This excellent Boston lady took deep interest in American history. She founded in her city the famous Old South lecture course. Desiring to extend the

JAMES SMITH



J. C. WAY



ST. LOUIS HIGH SCHOOL, Olive and Fifteenth Streets in 1860

interest in the history of this country, Mrs. Hemenway gave to Washington University $15,000 for a lecture course, stipulating that so long as he lived, Professor John Fiske should deliver the lectures. During twenty years Professor Fiske came to St. Louis almost annually to deliver these lectures. To found the Tileston professorship of political economy as a memorial for her father, Mrs. Hemenway gave $25,000. Nathaniel Thayer, the Boston philanthropist, was the other non-resident contributor, giving $25,000 in 1860. In recognition of this substantial gift, "The Nathaniel Thayer Professorship of Mathematics and Applied Mechanics" was created in 1870. Professor Calvin M. Woodward has held this position for thirty-nine years.

Twenty-five years after the inauguration, Dr. Eliot, speaking of the financial support given by the friends of the university said:

> In all the years since our beginning, an annual deficiency, varying from $2,000 to $10,000, has been made up by gifts for that purpose. The men who have done this are the true founders of the University, although their names have been scarcely known.

He told of one supporter of the institution, who, not having the principal to give, regularly paid 7 per cent on $10,000. There were professional men like John R. Shepley, who gave from current income almost as regularly as the years rolled around. Henry Hitchcock presided over the law school. For a long period he turned back into the university treasury the sum allowed him for his services. And in addition when special funds were to be raised, he gave generously. In 1871 the university faced a crisis before which even Dr. Eliot quailed. He said "There seemed to be a gulf of difficulties that we could not pass. But from unexpected sources, unsolicited, there came, in the three months that followed, gifts amounting in all to $215,000."

Two generations of St. Louisans gave Dr. Eliot the credit of being the most useful citizen to raise money for the public good. But Dr. Eliot's ways were not those of direct solicitation. They were more effective. They aroused interest. They inspired the first step. They fostered the habit of giving.

"Gentlemen," Dr. Eliot would say to the board at the end of the year, "I am sorry to tell you we have an alarming deficit. I don't know how we are to meet it, but I trust Providence will provide some way."

Then those business men would go over the accounts methodically, arriving at the exact financial situation. One after another of them would write a check. The university would enter upon another year out of debt.

Late in his career, Dr. Eliot remarked that he had never asked any one directly for money in behalf of Washington University. The look of questioning surprise which met this assertion, the good doctor answered with a trace of a smile and a story about a friend who held that it was sometimes "necessary to economize truth." The doctor said he thought it was at least "very handy sometimes to economize truth." And with that he let his declaration about raising money for the university rest.

At one annual meeting of the board, after congratulations on the fine progress of the year the doctor concluded:

And yet, to prove how the ghost of the impecuniousness will not "down," the treasurer reports the usual skeleton in the closet, a deficiency of $5,000, upon which the usual unguent of charity must be poured.

When, in 1883, St. Louisans had invested over $1,000,000 in Washington University, with seven departments, sixty-five professors and 1,200 students, Dr. Eliot put to the supporters the question: Will it pay?

"I believe in getting money's worth for every dollar we spend," said he, "whether for ourselves or others. No man is justified in throwing it away in visionary schemes of philanthropy, any more than in foolish speculation or extravagant living. But I believe that, tried by the strictest test of wise utilitarianism, the work you have in hand is worth its full cost and will justify every sacrifice to be made."

And then, in a few words, the prophetic chancellor pointed out what the evolution of Washington University would mean to St. Louis and to the world:

It is to build up on the foundations already well laid a university which will be to St. Louis and the Western valley what the great universities of Europe and America have been to their respective surroundings; to make our city the center of educational interests, as it must be that of manufactures and commerce; so that the civilization of science and art and polite literature may keep even pace with the growth of wealth. Is not that worth doing, at whatever cost?

It is to establish an American university from whose walls the bitterness of party spirit shall forever be excluded, but in which love of country, loyalty and that allegiance to law which alone can educate men to perfect liberty shall be taught as sacred duties; in whose instructions the narrowness of sectarianism can have no place, but the principles of Christian morality and reverential regard for truth as the voice of God shall be the axioms held above all dispute; a group of colleges and schools, including all departments of learning, from those which deal with pure abstractions and the most subtle scientific research, and to the most practical recognition of the living interests of daily life and the just rewards of industry; providing all needful facilities for the highest and best education both of men and women, to fit them for the best work they are naturally capable of doing. Can we measure or rightly estimate the value of such an institution in a region like that in which we live?

The generation of 1909 does not realize the boldness of the non-sectarian position taken by the founders of Washington University. In that period state universities, with perhaps a single exception, were little known. The leading colleges of this country were under denominational control or patronage. This Washington University movement was viewed as dangerous by many good people. Public sentiment was apprehensive that non-sectarianism might mean irreligion. The first graduating exercises were opened with prayer. Dr. Eliot pronounced the invocation. The newspapers of St. Louis estimated that action as perhaps the feature most interesting to their readers. Dr. Eliot was requested to write out the prayer and he did so. The prayer was printed with the newspaper comment that it expressed "the spirit of the institution." Dr. Eliot prayed thus:

"May the principles upon which this university was founded be sacredly regarded and inviolably kept. From these walls may all party spirit and sectional strife be forever banished while the duties of patriotism and loyalty are faithfully and plainly taught. From these hallowed precincts

may all disputes of sectarian zeal be kept away, while the authority of the Divine Master is daily acknowledged, and the laws of Christian morality and righteousness (rectitude and holiness) are held supreme. May the teachers and scholars of this university thus learn to walk at liberty, by keeping Thy precepts."

Washington University is the gift of individuals to the cause of education. In the more than fifty years of its life, the institution has received nothing from public funds, national, state or municipal. No money has come from denominational sources. The givers have been numerous. There have been several princely contributions to buildings and endowments, such as those of Samuel Cupples, Adolphus Busch, Robert S. Brookings, William K. Bixby, the Liggett family, the McMillan family, and Mrs. Graham. But the university has received in the past two generations from several hundred St. Louisans donations aggregating a great amount. This multitude of supporters has included every creed and every nationality represented in the city's population. The amounts have varied with the abilities of the contributors. But the long lists attest a good will toward the university, a civic pride, a devotion to the highest and best in education.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CULTURE OF ST. LOUIS.

Shall we expect others to think well of a city of which we do not think well ourselves, whose history we are willing to drop from themes of human interest, whose institutions for cultivation and improvement we are unwilling to maintain?—George E. Leighton.

The boy of thirteen who felled the first tree on the site of St. Louis was a student. Cultivation of the mind began with the founding. Those who came afterwards and sought to solve nature's problems, of which St. Louis had many, discovered that Auguste Chouteau was a scientist. Henry M. Brackenridge said: "I made a visit to the elder Chouteau, a venerable looking man, with a fine intellectual head, and was introduced to one of the largest private libraries I had seen, Monsieur Chouteau offered me the free use of this library, of which I gladly availed myself. Here I found several of the early writers of travels and descriptions of Louisiana and Illinois, such as La Houton, Lafiteau, Hennepin, Charlevoix."

The Duke of Saxe, one of the earliest of the European travelers to visit St. Louis, was much impressed with Auguste Chouteau's theories:

The conversation with this aged man, who received us like a patriarch surrounded by his descendants, was very interesting. He was of the opinion that the people from whom the Indian antiquities have come down to us, either by pestilential disease or by an all-destroying war, must have been blotted from the earth. He believed that Behring's Straits were more practicable formerly than at present—at least they must have been Asiatic hordes that came to America. How, otherwise, asked he, could the elephants, since there have been none ever upon this continent, have reached the American bottom, where their bones are now found? This bottom is a very rich body of land running south opposite to St. Louis. Mounds and fortifications are found there. Here the elephant bones are not scattered about, but found lying in a long row near each other, as if they had been killed in a battle or at the assault of some fortification.

Scientific thought in St. Louis, according to the traditions, received its first stimulus when Laclede and Auguste Chouteau selected the site. Flagg, the newspaper man of 1836 recorded this tradition:

It is related that when the founder of the city first planted foot upon the shore, the imprint of a human foot, naked and of gigantic dimensions, was found enstamped upon the solid limestone rock and continued in regular succession as if of a man advancing from the water's edge to the plateau above. By more superstitious people this circumstance would have been deemed an omen, and as such commemorated in the chronicles of city.

Mr. Flagg had the spirit of the scientific investigator. He made a study of these footprints on the shore of St. Louis and developed his theory.

The impressions are, to all appearances, those of a man standing in an erect posture, with the left foot a little advanced and the heels drawn in. By a close inspection it will be perceived that these are not the impressions of feet accustomed to the European shoe;

the toes being much spread, and the foot flattened in the manner that is observed in persons unaccustomed to the close shoe. The probability, therefore, of their having been imparted by some individual of a race of men who were strangers to the art of tanning skins and at a period much anterior to that to which any traditions of the present race of Indians reaches, derives additional weight from this peculiar shape of the feet. In other respects the impressions are strikingly natural, exhibiting the muscular marks of the foot with great preciseness and faithfulness to nature. The rock containing these interesting impressions is a compact limestone of a grayish, blue color. This rock is extensively used as a building material in St. Louis. Foundations of dwellings and the military works erected by the French and Spaniards sixty years ago are still as solid and unbroken as when first laid.

Major Long and his party of scientists, on the government expedition of 1819-20, devoted attention to the footprints. As early as that time the slab had been quarried out and was considered a scientific treasure:

This stone was taken from the slope of the immediate bank of the Mississippi below the range of the periodical floods. To us there seems nothing inexplicable or difficult to understand in its appearance. Nothing is more probable than that impressions of human feet made upon that thin stratum of mud, which was deposited upon the shelvings of the rocks, and left naked by the retiring of the waters, may, by the induration of the mud, have been preserved, and at length have acquired the appearance of an impression made immediately upon the limsetone. This supposition will be somewhat confirmed, if we examine the mud and slime deposited by the water of the Mississippi, which will be found to consist of such an intimate mixture of clay and lime, as under favorable circumstances would very readily become indurated. We are not confident that the impressions above mentioned have originated in the manner here supposed, but we cannot by any means adopt the opinions of some, who have considered them contemporaneous to those casts of submarine animals, which occupy so great a part of the body of the limestone. We have no hesitation in saying that, whatever those impressions may be, if they were produced as they appear to have been, by the agency of human feet, they belong to a period far more recent than that of the deposition of the limestone on whose surface they are found.

In addition to impressions of the human foot, there were upon the stone irregular tracings as if made by some person holding a stick. The local theory was that these marks were made by a human being walking on a limestone when it was in a plastic state. The stone passed into the possession of George Rapp, founder of the society of Harmonites. Rapp was from Wurtemberg. His sect believed in communism. The members practiced primitive christianity as Rapp conceived it to have been. Harmony, Pennsylvania, and New Harmony, Indiana, had been established. Rapp moved about making converts. The "prehistoric footprints" at St. Louis appealed to his imagination. Later generations of scientists gave less consideration to the St. Louis footprints.

In the first decade of the century the leading scientist of St. Louis was Dr. Saugrain. He was described as "a cheerful, sprightly little Frenchman, four feet six, English measure; a chemist, natural philosopher and physician." The few newspaper and literary St. Louisans of that day were fond of Dr. Saugrain, and visited him. One of them left this description of the first laboratory in St. Louis:

The doctor had a small apartment which contained his chemical apparatus, and I used to sit by him as often as I could, watching the curious operations of his blowpipe and crucible. I loved the cheerful little man and he became very fond of me in turn.

Many of my countrymen used to come and stare at his doings, which they were half inclined to think had too near a resemblance to the black art. The doctor's little phosphoric matches, igniting spontaneously when the glass tube was broken, and from which he derived some emolument, were thought by some to be rather beyond mere human power. His barometers and thermometers, with the scale neatly painted with the pen, and the frames richly carved, were objects of wonder, and some of them are probably still extant in the west. But what most astonished some of our visitors was a large peach in a glass bottle, the neck of which could only admit a common cork; this was accomplished by tying the bottle to the limb of a tree, with the peach when young inserted into it. His swans, which swam around basins of water, amused me more than any of the wonders exhibited by the wonderful man.

The doctor was a great favorite with the Americans as well for his vivacity and sweetness of temper which nothing could sour, as on account of a circumstance which gave him high claims to the esteem of the backwoodsmen. He had shown himself, notwithstanding his small stature and great good nature, a very hero in combat with the Indians. He had descended the Ohio in company with two French philosophers who were believers in the primitive innocence and goodness of the children of the forest. They could not be persuaded that any danger was to be apprehended from the Indians; as they had no intention to injure that people, they supposed of course that no harm could be meditated on their part. Dr. Saugrain was not altogether so well convinced of their good intentions, and accordingly kept his pistols loaded. Near the mouth of the Big Sandy, a canoe with a party of warriors approached the boat; the philosophers invited them on board by signs, when they came too willingly. The first thing they did on entering the boat was to salute the two philosophers with the tomahawk; and they would have treated the doctor in the same way, but that he used his pistols with good effect; killed two of the savages, and then leaped into the water, diving like a dipper at the flash of the guns of the others, and succeeded in swimming to shore with several severe wounds, the scars of which were conspicuous.

An object of attention by the early scientists of St. Louis was Sulphur Springs. This was in the valley of the River des Peres, not far from what became Cheltenham. When John Bradbury, the English naturalist, decided to make his home in St. Louis, he built his house near this spring. The members of Long's expedition found Bradbury living there in 1819. They included mention of the water in their report to the government. At that time horses and cattle at pasture went a long distance to drink the sulphur water in preference to any other. When thirty years later the Missouri Pacific began building westward there was a station at Sulphur Springs. A wooden hotel built and a resort was maintained. The spring boiled up in the channel of the River des Peres. When that stream became an open sewer, as the city extended westward, the spring was polluted, and the use of its water was abandoned. John Bradbury made expeditions with the fur traders and trappers. He brought back to St. Louis marvelous stories about animals:

I will here state a few of what I certainly believe to be facts; some I know to be so, and of others I have seen strong presumptive proofs. The opinion of the hunters respecting the beaver go much beyond the statements of any author whom I have read. They state that an old beaver which has escaped from a trap can scarcely ever afterwards be caught, as traveling in situations where traps are usually placed, he carries a stick in his mouth with which he probes the sides of the river, that the stick may be caught in the trap and thus save himself. They say also of this animal that the young are educated by the old ones. It is well known that in constructing their dams the first step the beaver takes is to cut down a tree that shall fall across the stream intended to be dammed. The hunters in the early part of our voyage informed me that they had often found trees near the

edge of a creek in part cut through and abandoned; and always observed that those trees would not have fallen across the creek. By comparing the marks left on these trees with others, they found them much smaller. They not only concluded they were made by young beavers, but that the old ones, perceiving their error, had caused them to desist. They promised to show me proofs of this, and during our voyage I saw several, and in no instance would the trees thus abandoned have fallen across the creek.

I myself witnessed an instance of a doe, when pursued, although not many seconds out of sight, so effectually hide her fawn that we could not find it, although assisted by a dog. I mentioned this fact to the hunters who assured me that no dog, or perhaps any beast of prey, can follow a fawn by the scent. They showed me in a full grown deer a gland and a tuft of red hair situated a little above the hind part of the forefoot, which had a very strong smell of musk. This tuft they call the scent, and believe that the route of the animal is betrayed by the effluvia proceeding from it. This tuft is mercifully withheld until the animal has acquired strength. What a benevolent arrangement!

Of the trappers with whom he traveled, Bradbury said: "They can imitate the cry or note of any animal found in the American wilds so exactly as to deceive the animals themselves."

An eccentric character in the early coterie which represented the culture of St. Louis was Dr. Shewe, as Brackenridge described him:

He had been a traveler all his life, having begun by making the tour of Europe as tutor to the young Count Feltenstein; and was in Paris during the first scenes of the French revolution. He used to show a mark on his leg occasioned by a shot at the taking of the Bastile. He related many anecdotes of the great Frederick and of his generals which he had picked up at Berlin. Mr. Shewe officiated at the Dutch church as a preacher; whether he was ever ordained I know not, but he certainly was not remarkable for his piety. I knew him afterwards as a mineralogist, as a miniature painter and as a keeper of a huckster shop. The last was the occupation he loved best, for he had always before him the two objects upon which his affections were finally concentrated—tobacco and beer. He used to express philosophically the same sentiment which I have heard from Achilles Murat in jest, that whiskey was the best part of the American government.

In his card which appeared in the Gazette, 1810, Dr. Shewe announced that he would continue to give lessons in French, and that he had "a quantity of candles molded from the best deer's tallow which he will sell cheap for cash." One of Dr. Shewe's students in French was Thomas H. Benton.

Before they left St. Louis to go up the Missouri river scientific members of the Long party made some local investigations. Mr. Say and Mr. Peale went down the river to the mouth of the Meramec and up that stream about fifteen miles. They had been told of the discovery of many graves in that locality. The graves were said to contain skeletons of a diminutive race. So much had the story impressed the neighborhood, that a town which had been laid out bore the name of Lilliput. In one of the graves a skull without teeth had been found. This had been made the basis for another local theory that these prehistoric residents of the Meramec had jaws like a turtle. The scientists found that the graves were walled in neatly, and covered with flat stones. They opened several and saw that the bones were of ordinary size, seemingly having been buried after the flesh had been separated from them, according to the custom of certain Indian tribes. The skull with the turtle-like jaw was that of an old man who had lost his teeth. The scientists satisfied themselves that there was nothing extraordinary in the contents of the graves. As the

THE BIG MOUND AT BROADWAY AND MOUND STREET,
From a Daguerreotype Taken in 1850

THE REMOVAL OF THE BIG MOUND,
From a Daguerreotype Taken Before the Civil War

narrative ran, they "sold their skiff, shouldered their guns, bones and spade, and bent their weary steps toward St. Louis, distant sixteen miles, where they arrived at 11 P. M., having had ample time, by the way, to indulge in sundry reflections on that quality of the mind, either imbibed in the nursery or generated by evil communications, which incites to the love of the marvelous, and, by hyperbole, casts the veil of falsehood over the charming features of simple nature."

Not all of the scientific investigations at St. Louis turned out as discouragingly as the expedition to Lilliput. John Bradbury was well satisfied with a trip inspired by the report of coal discovered:

In the year 1810 the grass on the prairie of the American bottom in the Illinois territory took fire and kindled the dry stump of a tree, about five miles east of St. Louis. This stump set fire to a fine bed of coal on which it stood, and the coal continued to burn for several months, until the bottom fell in and extinguished it. This bed breaks out at the bottom of the bluffs of the Mississippi, and is about five feet in thickness. I visited the place, and by examining the indications found the same vein at the surface several miles distant.

Brackenridge also reported upon this chance discovery of coal:

On the east side of the Mississippi, in the bluffs of the American bottom, a tree taking fire some years ago, communicated it by one of its roots to the coal, which continued to burn until the fire was at length smothered by the falling in of a large mass of the incumbent earth. The appearance of fire is still visible for several rods around. About two miles further up the bluffs a fine coal bank has been opened; the vein as thick as any of those near Pittsburg.

John Bradbury explored the caverns in the vicinity of St. Louis and told of the encouragement they offered to a new industry:

The abundance of nitre generated in the caves of this country is a circumstance which ought not to pass unnoticed. These caves are always in the limestone rocks; and in those which produce the nitre the bottom is covered with earth which is strongly impregnated with it and visible in needle-like crystals. In order to obtain the nitre, the earth is collected and lixiviated; the water after being saturated is boiled down and suffered to stand until the crystals are formed. In this manner it is no uncommon thing for three men to make one hundred pounds of saltpetre in one day. In the spring of 1810 James McDonald and his two sons went to some caves on the Gasconade river to make saltpetre, and in a few weeks returned with three thousand pounds weight to St. Louis.

A locality, in the vicinity of St. Louis, which was visited by the early scientific explorers and which charmed all of them was across the Missouri river and along the west bank of the Mississippi. Brackenridge, in a newspaper letter, described the place graphically:

The tract called Les Mamelles, from the circumstance of several mounds bearing the appearance of art projecting from the bluff some distance into the plain may be worth describing as a specimen. It is about three miles from St. Charles; I visited it last summer. To those who have never seen any of these prairies, it is very difficult to convey any just idea of them. Perhaps the comparison to the green sea is the best. Ascending the mounds I was elevated about one hundred feet above the plain; I had a view of an immense plain below, and a distant prospect of hills. Every sense was delighted and every faculty awakened. After gazing for an hour I still experienced an unsatiated delight, in contemplating the rich and magnificent scene. To the right the Missouri is concealed by a wood of no great width, extending to the Mississippi the distance of ten miles. Before me I could mark the course of the latter river, its banks without even a

fringe of wood; on the other side the hills of Illinois, faced with limestone is bold masses of various hues and the summits crowned with trees; pursuing these hills to the north, we see, at the distance of twenty miles, where the Ilinois separates them in his course to the Mississippi. To the left we behold the ocean of prairie with islets at intervals. The whole extent perfectly level, covered with long waving grass, and at every moment changing color, from the shadows cast by the passing clouds. In some places there stands a solitary tree of cottonwood or walnut, of enormous size, but from the distance diminished to a shrub. A hundred thousand acres of the finest land are under the eye at once, and yet on all this space there is but one little cultivated spot to be seen. The eyes at last satiated with this beautiful scene, the mind in turn expatiates on the improvements of which it is susceptible, and creative fancy adorns it with happy dwellings and richly cultivated fields. The situation in the vicinity of these great rivers, the fertility of the soil, a garden spot, must one day yield nourishment to a multitude of beings. The bluffs are abundantly supplied with the purest water; those rivulets and rills which at present, unable to reach the father of waters, lose themselves in lakes and marshes, will be guided by the hand of man into channels fitted for their reception, and for his pleasure and felicity.

The scientists devoted a great deal of time to the Indian mounds of St. Louis. They located twenty-seven along a line leading north of the city and on what they called the second bank of the river. Each of these mounds was measured with care. Several of them were from four feet to five feet in height. The largest was thirty-four feet high. Some were round; others square or oblong. Some were arranged to form a partial enclosure. Several were in a curve. On the Illinois side of the river, within five miles from the river bank opposite St. Louis, the scientists found seventy-five of these mounds. Long's expedition reported on them:

Tumuli and other remains of the labors of nations of Indians that inhabited this region many ages since are remarkably numerous about St. Louis. Those tumuli immediately north of the town, and within a short distance of it, are twenty-seven in number, of various forms and magnitudes, arranged nearly in a line from north to south. The common form is an oblong square, and they all stand on the second bank of the river. It seems probable that these piles of earth were raised as cemeteries, or they may have supported altars for religious ceremonies. We cannot conceive any useful purpose to which they can have been applicable in war, unless as elevated stations from which to observe the motions of an approaching enemy; but for this purpose a single mound would have been sufficient, and the place chosen would probably have been different. We opened five of them, but in only one were we fortunate in finding anything, and all that this contained was a solitary tooth of a species of rat, together with the vertebrae and ribs of a serpent of moderate size, and in good preservation. But whether the animal had been buried by the natives or had perished there, after having found admittance through some hole, we could not determine.

Every St. Louisan of scientific bent liked to talk about the mounds. Every tourist visited them and wrote of them as being the greatest of natural curiosities. Edmund Flagg found in them not only the field for investigation but the opportunity for the preservation of a most attractive civic feature. He wrote:

They stand isolated, or distinct from each other, in groups; and the outline is generally that of a rectangular pyramid, truncated nearly one-half. The first collection originally consisted of ten tumuli arranged as three sides of a square area of about four acres, and the open flank to the west was guarded by five other small circular earth-heaps, isolated and forming the segment of a circle around the opening. This group is now almost completely destroyed by the grading of streets and the erection of edifices.

and the eastern border may alone be traced. North of the first collection of tumuli is a second, four or five in number, and forming two sides of a square. Among these is one of a very beautiful form, consisting of three stages, and called the "falling garden." Its elevation above the level of the second plateau is about four feet, and the area is ample for a dwelling or yard. From the second it descends to the first plateau along the river by three regular gradations, the first with a descent of two feet, the second of ten, and the lower one of five, each stage presenting a beautiful site for a house. For this purpose, however, they can never be appropriated, as one of the principal streets of the city is destined to pass directly through the spot, the grading for which has already commenced. The third group of mounds is situated a few hundred yards above the second, and consists of about a dozen eminences. A series extends along the west side of the street, through the grounds attached to a classic edifice of brick, which occupies the principal one; while opposite rise several of a larger size, upon one of which is situated the residence of General Ashley, and upon another the reservoir which supplies the city with water, raised from the Mississippi by a steam force pump upon its banks. Both are beautiful spots embowered in forest trees; and the former, from its size and structure, is supposed to have been a citadel or place of defense. In excavating the earth of this mound, large quantities of human remains, pottery, half-burned wood, were thrown up, furnishing conclusive evidence, were any requisite further than regularity of outline and relative position, of the artificial origin of these earth heaps. About six hundred yards above this group, and linked with it by several inconsiderable mounds, is situated one completely isolated, and larger than any yet described. It is upward of thirty feet in height, about one hundred and fifty feet long, and upon the summit five feet wide. The form is oblong, resembling an immense grave; and a broad terrace or apron, after a descent of a few feet, spreads out itself on the side looking down upon the river. From the extensive view of the surrounding region and of the Mississippi, commanded by the site of this mound, as well as its altitude, it is supposed to have been intended as a vidette or watch tower by its builders.

From the Big Mound, as it is called, a cordon of tumuli stretch away to the northwest for several miles along the bluffs parallel with the river, a noble view of which they command. They are most of them ten or twelve feet high; many clothed with forest trees, and all of them supposed to be tombs. In removing two of them upon the grounds of Colonel O'Fallon, immense quantities of bones were exhumed. It is evident from these monuments of a former generation that the natural advantages of the site upon which St. Louis now stands were not unappreciated long before it was pressed by the European footsteps.

It is a circumstance which has often elicited remark from those, who as tourists have visited St. Louis, that so little interest should be manifested by its citizens for those mysterious and venerable monuments of another race by which on every side it is environed. When we consider the complete absence of everything in the character of a public square or promenade in the city, one would suppose that indivdual taste and municipal authority would not have failed to avail themselves of the moral interest attached to these mounds and the beauty of their site, to have formed in their vicinity one of the most attractive spots in the West. These ancient tumuli could, at no considerable expense, have been enclosed and ornamented with shrubbery, and walks, and flowers, and thus preserved for coming generations. As it is, they are passing rapidly away; man and beast, as well as the elements, are busy with them, and in a few years they will have disappeared. The practical utility of which they are available appears the only circumstance which has attracted attention to them. One has already become a public reservoir, and measures are in progress for applying the larger mound to a similar use, the first being insufficient for the growth of the city.

Public sentiment in favor of preservation of the Big Mound became active at one time. The movement contemplated the transfer of title to the city. There were several owners. It was proposed to have transformed, into a

public garden or park, three or four blocks of ground, the central part of which would be the Big Mound. Upon the Mound was to be constructed a pavilion. A committee of public spirited citizens undertook to secure the transfer of the land to the city. A. B. Chambers, editor of the Missouri Republican, was one of the foremost advocates of the plan. Mr. Benoist was the owner of a considerable part of the ground desired. The committee waited upon him and presented the arguments in favor of the Big Mound park. Mr. Mr. Benoist declined to transfer his part to the city. The movement was abandoned.

After three generations of scientists had made much in the way of speculation about the mounds of St. Louis and vicinity, there came geologists who studied the soil and the rocks and advanced natural theories to account for most of these landmarks. Away back, in the ages when the Mississippi Valley was being formed, there was drift clay and loess, these later scientists said, covering St. Louis and the valley roundabout so that the surface was from fifty to sixty feet above the present level. Loess is almost anything ground up tolerably fine. As the great rivers wore out their channels and diminished in volume through the ages they left many elevations in and around St. Louis "locally known as 'mounds' the formation of which have generally been referred to human agency." The quotation is from Worthen of the Illinois geological survey, whose theory has been accepted widely by latter day geologists. Support to this theory is given in a thesis by Henri Hus upon whom Washington University in 1908 conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Worthen said further of these mounds:"

> These elevations vary in height from ten to sixty feet and more above the level of the surrounding bottom, and when carefully examined are found to consist of drift clay and loess, remaining in situ just as they appear along the river bluffs, where similar mounds have been formed in the same way by the removal of the surrounding strata by currents of water. We had an opportunity of seeing a good section of the large mound in the upper part of the city of St. Louis exposed by digging into the upper end of the mound for material to be used in filling adjacent lots. It was found to consist of about fifteen feet of common chocolate brown drift clay, the base of which was overlaid by thirty feet or more of ash-colored marly sands of the loess, the line of separation between the two deposits remaining as distinct and well defined as they usually are in good artificial sections of the railroad cuts through these deposits.

The professor concluded ruthlessly disposing of the theories and discussions of the generations of scientists who had measured and dug into and described these prehistoric landmarks:

> Hence, we infer that these mounds are not artificial elevations raised by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, as has been assumed by antiquarians generally, but on the contrary they are simply outliers of loess and drift, that have remained as originally deposited, while the surrounding contemporaneous strata were swept away by denuding forces. They are not found to occupy any fixed relative position in relation to each other, or to have any regularity of size or elevation, and hence antiquarians appear to have inferred that they were raised simply to serve as burial places for the dead. But the simple fact that they were used for this purpose by the aborigines, which seems to be the main argument relied on as proof of their artificial origin, seems to me entirely inadequate to sustain such a conclusion, and they were perhaps only selected by them for this purpose on account of their elevated position, for the same reason that they selected the

Excavating Mastodon Bones in the Suburbs of St. Louis

Opening an Indian Mound in Forest Park

Museum of Mastodon Relics Excavated near St. Louis

highest point of a bluff in preference to any lower point, to serve as the last resting place for the earthly bodies of their relatives and friends. I have very little doubt that many of the so-called Indian mounds, in this State at least, if carefully examined, would prove to be only natural elevations produced by the causes above named.

The Barkis club was a before-the-war organization of thirteen members, of intellectual attainments, who sought no publicity. Each member dined the other twelve members once a year. Henry Shaw was the leading spirit if not the organizer. Dr. Thomas O'Reilly was the last survivor. Henry Shaw wrote an account of his arrival in St. Louis and of the impressions of the town, for St. Louis then had not been incorporated as a city. He left New Orleans the 14th of March, 1819, on a Philadelphia built steamboat, "The Maid of Orleans." Although she met with no serious detention coming up, the boat did not reach St. Louis until the 4th of May. Mr. Shaw wrote:

We were fourteen passengers in all. I knew them well. Among them were Firmin Desloge, John Pilcher, Charles Sanguinet, Louis Benoist and others. At early morning we came in view of the then village of St. Louis, rounding the sandbar that then protruded far into the river and landed above. In passing, the town had a cheerful appearance, some of the houses being elegantly built with verandahs in the Louisiana style. The vessels at the landing were some half a dozen barges and Mackinaw boats. There were no buildings on the river, but on top of the bank were gardens with fruit trees in blossom, forming a pleasing contrast compared to the swampy land and moss covered trees of the lower Mississippi. Few of the cross streets were then open to the river landing. Access to the part of the city on the hillside was by narrow, winding pathways, some wide enough for the water carts used to come to the river for that necessary element. The market was on the river shore at the termination of Market street. Opposite in a commanding position stood the stately residence of Mr. Auguste Chouteau, one of the founders of St. Louis, then a venerable old gentleman. His brother, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., lived higher up the street, his garden wall enclosing a whole block. Besides the Chouteaus many old and respectable citizens had their residences on Main street. Among these were Mr. Bernard Pratte, Sr., Mr. Cabanne, Mr. Gratiot, Mr. Sarpy, Mr. Berthold. Mr. Soulard and Mr. Saugrain had their residences and gardens in the lower part of the village. I have always had the greatest pleasure in recalling to mind the kindness, courtesy and politeness of these old citizens, and from my knowledge of the French language I was on terms of intimacy with many of them. There were some eight or ten brick houses of modern style north of Main street. The principal one was the residence of Governor William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with council house attached. Major William Christy lived a short distance above town. Mr. J. B. C. Lucas lived at the outskirts, now Seventh street. Judge W. C. Carr had a fine residence on the prairie about a mile west of the river. Joseph Charless, Sr., had a house and garden on Market street opposite the present courthouse. The two last named had a fine taste for horticulture and raised superior grapes and other fruits in their garden. The kindness of these gentlemen to me, then comparatively a youth and a stranger, as also the other named American gentleman, is remembered with the greatest pleasure.

"The Eden of St. Louis" was the name given to Shaw's Garden by Prof. J. D. Butler, who visited the place and was the guest of Mr. Shaw in 1871. At that early day was pointed out by an intelligent observer the great benefit which Mr. Shaw's experiments might be to western forestry. Prof. Butler advised those interested in tree planting throughout the west to look to Shaw's arboretum "to learn how and what to plant." He spoke of the good influence already evident upon the growth of St. Louis. He made a very interesting statement obtained from Mr. Shaw himself upon the inception of the garden,

including the reason for the location at St. Louis. Prof. Butler said of Mr. Shaw:

> He first spent about six years in travel, penetrating into other countries and surveying them laboriously but systematically. Meantime, however, he had begun to realize the garden which from childhood had been his ideal. He planted his paradise at St. Louis, not merely because he there owned 800 acres of land, but because of the latitude, the golden mean between heat and cold—the best in America for the most various and vigorous vegetation.

When Edward Wyman established his school in 1843, he set about the formation of a museum of natural history. This work was entrusted to a naturalist of no mean ability, Mr. Bates. The collection was not confined to this country. It was especially rich in ornithology. In 1850 this museum was said to contain the finest department of ornithology in the United States. The variety, rarity and arrangement attracted scientific attention widely. A paleontologist and geologist of international reputation, Dr. Benjamin Franklin Shumard, of a scientific family in Pennsylvania, came to St. Louis to live in 1853. This city was his home while he carried on scientific exploration in the Southwest.

In February, 1909, was observed the centennial of a St. Louisan whose work drew the attention and excited the admiration of the old and the new world. George Engelmann came to St. Louis in 1834, and for a full half century his explorations, his investigations, his papers, made this city respected as a home of the sciences among men of learning far and wide.

Dr. Engelmann was versed in all of the natural sciences, but his favorite study was botany. The work that he began and pursued in and about St. Louis for many years was developed under the encouragement given by Henry Shaw in his magnificent bequests, until to-day the St. Louis School of Botany, under Director William Trelease, is recognized in Europe as well as in the United States as one of the great institutions in that branch of study and research.

In 1843, George Engelmann, William Greenleaf Eliot, Adolph Wislizenus and a few others met in the law office of Marie P. Leduc to form the Western Academy of Science. These young men bought a piece of ground of several acres near Eighth street and Chouteau avenue, started a botanical garden and experimented in forestry. The organization was a pioneer in the scientific field of the United States; it disbanded after a few years, but the members of it went on individually with their scientific work. In 1856 the present Academy of Science was organized, and Dr. Engelmann, one of the leading spirits in the movement, became the president, holding the office fifteen years.

Engelmann studied at Heidelberg with Agassiz. When he graduated in medicine he wrote a paper on plant monstrosities which showed such knowledge of botany as to attract widespread attention. In that early period a graphic writer named Duden was exploring the vicinity of St. Louis, and sending back to Germany fascinating accounts of the climate, the soil and the natural resources. He was the prompter of much of the early German immigration to St. Louis and to the vicinity on both sides of the river. George Engelmann at 23 came out to St. Louis to make a thorough investigation of conditions, acting as the agent of many of his countrymen who contemplated

coming if Duden had not pictured the country too highly. Accompanied by a hunter who acted as guide and helper, Dr. Engelmann was engaged most of the time for several years in the scientific study of the region around St. Louis, carrying his investigations to Southern Illinois, to Southern Missouri and into Arkansas. Besides reporting in a practical way on the country, he made scientific reports on the botany and on the minerals. One of his explorations was a tour into Arkansas, looking for a silver mine which a St. Louis company thought must be somewhere in the Ozarks.

The reports which Dr. Engelmann made upon the resources of the Mississippi Valley in the vicinity of St. Louis were considered so important that they were made the principal features of a periodical called Westland, several numbers of which were published at Heidelberg, leading to the migration of many educated Germans. Settling in St. Louis after his earlier explorations, Dr. Engelmann practiced medicine, aided in the publication of the first German newspaper, the Anzeiger, and joined in the establishment of a German high school. That was several years before the first public school was opened in St. Louis. And with all of these engagements Dr. Engelmann carried on his scientific labors from time to time, leaving home on journeys of exploration.

He became famous on both sides of the ocean as the great American authority on the cactus, the United States Government publishing his report on the subject. By reason of the exhaustive and critical character of his study, his publications were accepted as the authorities in many lines of investigation.

St. Louisans, without regard to scientific attainments, took great interest in a long series of meteorological records which Dr. Engelmann kept with infinite patience and care. Dr. Enno Sander, coming to St. Louis in the fifties, became an intimate friend of George Engelmann and his associate in the Academy of Science. Speaking of Engelmann's position in the scientific history of this country, Dr. Sander said:

> He inaugurated as early as 1835 at St. Louis, with good and reliable instruments, a series of meteorological observations which he continued scrupulously three times a day during nearly fifty years. Such was his zeal that a short time before his death, Dr. Engelmann, himself, swept the snow from the walk leading to his instruments, and even during his last days refused assistance in making his observations. His journal was kept so thoroughly and faithfully that it has become the only reliable source of information on the climatology of the Mississippi Valley for that period. Engelmann's tables prepared from these observations are now authentic records. The officers of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington early recognized the greatness of Engelmann as a scientist and the officers and scientists of government exploring expeditions, fitting out at St. Louis, came to him for advice and aid. Engelmann's instruments, always carefully and faultlessly kept, gave the government scientists the opportunity to compare and regulate their own. To Engelmann these scientists looked for counsel as to collection and preservation of specimens. They came to him to help them determine and classify when they encountered doubt. There are very few of those government exploring reports in which the parts relating to botanical observations and the descriptions of plants were not written by Dr. Engelmann.

To the credit of the Medical profession it can be said that humanity always went hand in hand with science. When Dr. George Engelmann had served two generations of St. Louisans there came a ring at his doorbell one winter

night, with sleet falling. The call was an urgent one. The venerable physician had retired. The son, Dr. George J. Engelmann, prepared to go, rather than arouse his father. The latter had heard the call. He hurried into his clothes, saying in reply to the younger's protests: "Am I already useless, to be cast aside? I would rather die in harness than rust out." He accepted help down the icy steps and was away to the patient.

Associated with Dr. Engelmann in the earlier years of his career in St. Louis was Adolph Wislizenus who came from Germany in 1840 leaving behind him the record of having been one of the students who seized Frankfort when it was the capital of the German empire in 1833. Wislizenus was the son of a clergyman. He escaped after the failure of the students' uprising, completed his medical studies in Switzerland and France and arrived in St. Louis in 1839. Scientific exploration lured him from practice and Dr. Wislizenus went out from St. Louis with one of the fur trading expeditions, reaching Oregon. The report of his observations brought him recognition among scientific men throughout the country. Coming back to St. Louis Dr. Wislizenus settled down to practice with Dr. Engelmann but after five years he was off again on scientific exploration, this time to the southwest, and into northern Mexico. The war clouds were darkening. The St. Louis scientist was taken prisoner at Chihuahua and conveyed to a remote place in the mountains. There he remained until Doniphan and his adventurous Missourians came marching down as if there was no such thing as an enemy's country, when he was released. Wislizenus returned to St. Louis with the "conquistadores," as the conquering heroes of that day were called. His scientific report upon Northern Mexico became authority and has so remained until the present day.

In 1872 Captain Silas Bent delivered before a large audience in Mercantile Library Hall a presentation of his Polar theory which attracted considerable attention and discussion by scientific men all over the world. Capt. Bent was the discoverer of the Behring Straits current and he held to the theory of an open Polar sea.

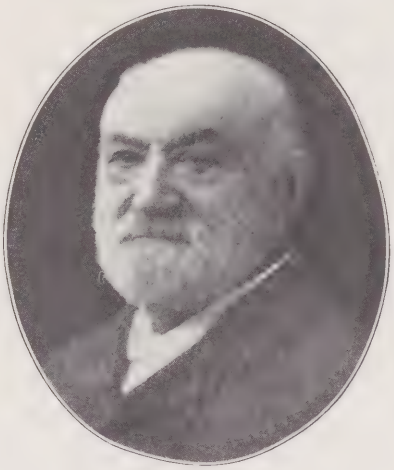
"The St. Louis Movement" had its beginning with Dr. W. T. Harris and Henry C. Brockmeyer in 1857. Dr. Harris was a native of Connecticut, an educator by profession. He came to St. Louis at the age of twenty-two and became connected with the public schools, advancing through the positions of assistant teacher, principal of a district school, and assistant superintendent to superintendent.

Henry C, Brockmeyer was seven years older than Dr. Harris. He came to this country from Prussia when he was sixteen, passed through St. Louis in 1848, and settled on a farm in the interior of the State. Coming to St. Louis in 1857 to make this his home, Mr. Brockmeyer met Mr. Harris and the Philosophical society was started.

To the leaders of the cult, the school of philosophy, established by William T. Harris was a serious, earnest movement. Some of the younger Americans who attended from mixed motives found amusement in the discussions. The Hegelian society as it was called, about 1869, met in the old Tivoli, a very respectable place and at the same time throughly Bohemian in that the visitor

DR. GEORGE J. ENGELMANN

HENRY SHAW



DR. ENNO SANDER

THE BOTANICAL GARDEN AND HOME OF DR. SAUGRAIN

could drink beer, listen to music, order a German meal and talk philosophy. The Tivoli was on Fourth street opposite the Southern hotel. It was one of the distinctive institutions of downtown St. Louis. There, weekly or oftener, the Hegelians met to discuss the correlation and conservation of forces. Perhaps no one was more fluent in the statement and support of the philosophical propositions than Dr. John W. Waters who was said to bear a striking resemblance, phrenologically to Darwin. Dr. Adam Hammer, one of the most assertive and combative members of the medical profession of his generation in St. Louis, was a student of Hegel, Kant and Fichte. He seldom missed a meeting of the Hegelians. One of the younger members of the coterie quoted Dr. Waters as laying before the society for discussion a problem for discussion, with this prelude:

> Here is a grain of corn; it was taken out of the body of a mummy. This body died 6,000 years ago. Death is a mighty and universal truth when only the mortal part is left behind. Here bring ye reason to bear, reason which is mistress and queen of all things. Now, gentlemen, is this grain of corn taken from this mummy's body dead or alive? It is not alive, since there is no evidence of life, only form. It is not dead, for if this grain of corn be planted in the earth where it gets heat, light and moisture, it germinates again, and we have a new crop of corn. If it is neither dead nor alive, it is dormant, and dormancy is neither life nor death, but a state of condition. Nothing exists except what conditions make. Come! Let us place our problem! This grain of corn,—it is not alive; that is A. It is not dead; that is B. But it is dormant; that is X, and X is both and neither. Now then, state the problem! You cannot tell A from B, or B from A, without the intervention of X which is both and neither, and 'tis condition which makes it exist.
>
> "Naturlich!" ejaculates Dr. Hammer, and the philosophical free-for-all is on.

"The St. Louis Movement" attracted a great deal of attention. It brought here on visits Ralph Waldo Emerson, A. Bronson Alcott, Julia Ward Howe. It meant to some who used the expression "a remarkable awakening of interest in metaphysics." It was used by others to describe what they believed to be a marked increase of intellectual activity in St. Louis. Possibly both views were well founded. Dr. Harris, in response to an apparent demand from a circle wider than the Philosophical society, began to publish the Journal of Speculative Philosophy. With the love of wisdom on the part of the limited number, the intellectual activity of the many St. Louisans increased so that it seemed to justify in 1875 the publication of a magazine, which even in later days, would be called high class. The name of the magazine was The Western. The earliest associates with Dr. Harris and Henry C. Brockmeyer in "The St. Louis Movement" were Denton J. Snider, William C. Jones, Dr. Hall, Dr. Walters, C. F. Childs, Professor Howison, Dr. Adam Hammer and Britton A. Hill.

About 1835 St. Louis entertained royalty in the person of King Otho of Greece. The King was out for a good time. He did not make scientific explorations like Prince Max. He did not record his observations like the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. John Jacob Astor sent the King to St. Louis with a request to Pierre Chouteau to show him attention. Mr. Astor and Mr. Chouteau were then leading spirits in the American Fur company. The King was a blonde giant, over six feet in height, with a big moustache and some bad

table manners. Mr. Chouteau gave several dinner parties and St. Louis people tried to entertain his royal highness. The load was rather heavy. King Otho loafed about town, drank wine, played cards, shot at pigeons and rode with anybody who was willing to give up time to his entertainment. Mr. Astor's hospitality toward this visitor cost him about fifteen thousand dollars.

The visit of General Henri Gratien Comte Bertrand occurred about 1842. The aid-major general of Napoleon, had shared the emperor's exile and had been with him at his death on St. Helena. The typical St. Louis welcome was bestowed. A deputation of citizens, in which the old French families were well represented, went to the boat and presented to the general an address of welcome. Then with the St. Louis Chasseurs, the Montgomery Guards and the St. Louis Grays for an escort the committee and the guest proceeded to the Planters.' At the hotel the United States army officers from Jefferson Barracks took charge of the general and conveyed him to the Barracks for a banquet. Later the general was the guest of a committee of citizens on an excursion up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri. Whenever he appeared in public during his St. Louis visit, General Bertrand was received with cheers. He was deeply moved by the enthusiasm of the St. Louis reception. At that time many of the descendants of the old French families still spoke the language and wherever he went General Bertrand was greeted in his own tongue. He found St. Louis a veteran of the Imperial army of Napoleon in the person of Rev. Father Dahmen. Conscripted while a student in a seminary of Saxony, Father Dahmen had served as a cavalryman in several campaigns. He had returned to his studies, had become a superior in the order of Lazarists and was in the seminary at St. Louis fitting young men for the priesthood. Father Dahmen never lost his military bearing. He was one of the first priests to preach in German in St. Louis.

The Grand Duke Alexis of Russia arrived on the 5th of January, 1872, and was the guest of honor at a ball in the Southern hotel on the 8th.

The Maffitt mansion contained a grand reception room probably the largest in the city at that time. This room, or hall, was the scene of one of the most notable receptions in the history of the city. The occasion was the jubilee of Archbishop Kenrick. To honor the occasion Cardinal Gibbons came to St. Louis. Half a hundred bishops, several hundred priests and two thousand of the prominent people of St. Louis, including all creeds, came by invitation to extend their congratulation. Not the presence of the dignitaries, not the throng alone made the affair notable. The details were carried through in strict accordance with a carefully arranged programme. There was no crowding, no confusion. Every guest was presented with courteous dignity. At one end of the reception hall a low dais was placed. Upon the platform Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Kenrick sat. The elevation was just sufficient to bring them face to face and within easy hand-shaking distance of the people. The guests were kept in line and passed along by the masters of ceremonies William C. Maffitt, Theophile Papin, Jr., Pierre Chouteau and Frank D. Hirschberg. Each guest was announced by name distinctly and given time to express to the archbishop congratulations.

The origin of Mercantile Library illustrated the public spirit of 1840-1850. James E. Yeatman gave Robert K. Woods and John C. Tevis the honor of being the originators. "One afternoon in the fall of 1845," Mr. Yeatman said, "while we were standing chatting at our doors on Main street, which were adjoining, the subject of forming a mercantile library was first broached between Mr. Robert K. Woods and myself. Mr. Woods and I resolved to make an effort at least by calling in person upon some few active and enterprising citizens who agreed to meet with us and discuss the matter which they did one night at the counting room of Tevis, Scott & Tevis on Main street. John C. Tevis was a Philadelphian by birth and a man of liberal education and genial manners and habits, and at that time a prosperous merchant. The first meeting was held at night, Dec. 30, 1845. There were eight persons present,—A. B. Chambers, Peter Powell, Robert K. Woods, John F. Franklin, R. P. Perry, William F. Scott, John Halsell and John C. Tevis."

Ira Divoll in 1860 suggested the St. Louis Public library. As superintendent of public schools, Mr. Divoll found himself in possession of "forty-two volumes of the annals of Congress and a collection of school and miscellaneous books, amounting, altogether to about 100 volumes and worth perhaps $100." Mr. Divoll's idea was to establish a public school library maintained by the public school board. The war time was unfavorable for beginning. The proposition was not acted upon until 1865 when an organization was formed separate from the public school board but with close relationship. The first board of trustees of the library was headed by Stephen D. Barlow, president of the school board.

James Richardson was one of the earliest and most steadfast supporters of the Public Library. A school teacher in his native State, New Hampshire, he came to St. Louis in 1857 after twelve years of success in business at Pittsburg, and built up a wholesale drug house, then the largest in the West and with but one exception the largest in the country. Associated with the development of the public schools in the formative period, Mr. Richardson became from the first, one of the most active supporters of the library. When he left the school board he devoted himself to the upbuilding of the library, "which," he once said, "I regard as of more widespread influence than anything in St. Louis except the public schools themselves." In 1881, Mr. Richardson's portrait by Eichbaum, was presented to the Public Library.

In 1867 a St. Louis business man had developed the appreciation of art which prompted him to pay $10,000 for a single canvas. Erskine Nicol's famous "Paying the Rent," which had taken next to highest honors in its class at the Paris Exposition, was brought to this city and hung in the collection of Franklin O. Day. Mr. Day was of Vermont birth. The family was originally from Wales, but was established in this country as early as 1634. With $200 capital, Franklin O. Day came to St. Louis about 1840 and obtained employment in T. S. Rutherford's wholesale dry goods house. He was advanced to partnership within three years and accumulated a fortune in the business.

The statue of George Washington which stands in Lafayette park was located in an honorable position only after much discouragement. It was one of six casts made by W. J. Hubbard, a Virginian, from the original marble at Richmond. The sculptor was Houdon, of the highest rank in Europe. He came to this country at the solicitation of Jefferson and Franklin, while they were in Paris, to undertake the work. He was welcomed by Washington at Mount Vernon and during his stay took a cast of the head of his host. In that way he obtained a perfect likeness of Washington. Returning to France he carved the statue in marble. The commission was given by the legislature of Virginia in 1780, when Benjamin Harrison was governor of the state. The act of the legislature stipulated that the statue of General Washington was to be "of the finest marble and of the best workmanship." When the marble statue was completed, Hubbard obtained permission from the Virginia legislature to have a bronze statue cast from the original. He brought workmen from Munich and made six casts. One of the six went to New Orleans, one to Richmond, one to Montgomery, Ala., one to Charleston, S. C., and one to New York. The sixth was brought to St. Louis by Mr. Hubbard in 1860 and was exhibited in Spencer's art emporium on Fourth street. The artist had been led to believe that the city council of St. Louis would purchase the statue, but when he arrived the council had changed through a new election and refused to make the purchase. The statue stood for a long time in the yard. It was then removed to the Accommodation bank on Chestnut street. Mr. Hubbard after remaining here some months became disappointed and went to New York. His price for the statue was $10,000. Being embarrassed he borrowed $1,500 on it from Erastus Wells, H. T. Blow and Dr. M. M. Pallen, giving a note for ninety days. The note fell due, the statue was sold under the trusteeship and bought in by the holders of the deed. It passed into the possession of the commissioners of Forest Park for $5,000. The difference between the amount borrowed on the statue and the amount paid by the commissioners was sent to the widow of the artist in Richmond. The Lafayette park commissioners thus secured the statue of Washington. This commission was composed of Charles Gibson, W. H. Maurice and Chas. F. Meyer.

As early as 1822 St. Louis began to hold agricultural fairs. In 1841 there was held an agricultural fair at the race track. A mechanics fair was conducted in buildings near Fourth and Pine streets; that was the first exposition in St. Louis. The agricultural fairs and the mechanical expositions were held separately until their combination in the Agricultural and Mechanical Fair Association in 1856. When the Prince of Wales was touring the United States shortly before the Civil war, he spent a day at the Fair. It is a tradition that the chairman of the reception committee desiring to call the attention of His Royal Highness to a particularly fine specimen of horse flesh, slapped him on the back and said genially:

"Prince! what do you think of that?"

When, in 1909, the Fair Grounds became a public park, recollections inspired the following lines by Clark McAdams:

Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society.

LUCAS PLACE, BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Don't you remember the old Fair Grounds?
The arch above the gate,
The stalls and the merry-go-arounds,
And the windmills tall and straight
That spun around at a merry rate
When the autumn wind would blow
And the season was grown soft and late
In the long, long time ago?

The prize ring and the circling seats,
The sulky's flashing wheels,
And the gaited saddler's matchless feats
With the sunlight on his heels?
The music, whinnies, moos and squeals,
The judges stern and gray,
And the monkey cage with its mighty peals
Of joy on children's day?

Don't you remember the display
Of beauty and its wiles
In those old stalls, and that one day
A Prince basked in its smiles?
The showmen in their high silk tiles,
The barker and the clown,
And the planters following the styles
In roadsters up and down?

The Thursdays when we all went out
And gamboled on the green,
And no gallant was there without
His girl in that gay scene?
The pumpkin, squash and the butterbean,
The big prize-winning cake,
The broad-backed hogs, and the silver sheen
Upon the sylvan lake?

ENVOY.

Ah me! The Prince sits on his throne,
The hallowed landmarks disappear,
And the beauty of a day is flown—
Where are the fairs of yesteryear?

Rural free delivery was given a successful trial at St. Louis in 1835 according to a newspaper of that time. Ringrose D. Watson was a merchant on Main street near Olive. His home was at Watson's Fruit Hill about seven miles out. Monday mornings Mr. Watson came into town bringing with him a black pony. If there was mail for other members of his family Mr. Watson fastened the letters to the mane and turned the pony loose to make the run home where a servant was waiting to take the mail.

In 1838 St. Louis began to urge Congress by memorials to build a post office. William Renshaw presided over a public meeting which adopted resolutions. A dozen years went by before the government acted. The site at Third and Olive was purchased. George I. Barnett, a young Englishman, the

son of a clergyman who was a writer of considerable note, came to St. Louis in 1839 and opened the first office of an educated architect. In 1850 he went to Europe for professional study and observation. When he returned the new post office was started on plans prepared by him. That first post office was not finished until 1859. St. Louis outgrew it while it was building. In 1872 Erastus Wells, in congress from St. Louis was able to make such a good case of the city's needs that a new post office was located on the block bounded by Eighth and Ninth, Olive and Locust.

The present generation can hardly realize that there was a time when the legislature of Missouri granted lottery charters. The motive was to raise money for some public purpose. About 1831 the Legislature authorized a lottery to raise $10,000 toward the building of a hospital in St. Louis for the Sisters of Charity. The commissioners provided for in the act sold the privilege of conducting the lottery to James S. Thomas. Charges were made in the newspapers that the management of this lottery meant great gains to the purchaser and comparatively small revenue for the hospital. A committee was chosen to look into the methods Mr. Thomas proposed to adopt. On the committee were such well known citizens as N. H. Ridgely, David H. Hill, Geo. K. McGunnegle, D. Hough, Augustus Kerr, John F. Darby and Bernard Pratte, Sr. They made an elaborate report, the conclusion of which was:

> Your committee then, after an attentive review of the subject, are of the opinion that the charge made against this scheme, that it affords the manager an opportunity of realizing a great and unusual proportion of profit, is not sustained.

Sentiment against the grant of lottery privileges by the legislature grew so strong that the passage of such acts ceased. But lotteries continued to operate openly under old charters. The business was gradually consolidated into what was known as the Missouri State lottery. This institution had many offices. Drawings were held regularly in a public hall. The winning numbers were advertised in St. Louis papers.

The business was based on an old act of the legislature authorizing a lottery to build a plank road from the town of New Franklin to the Missouri river. New Franklin was near Boonville. It had passed almost out of existence. The plank road, a considerable part of it, had slipped into the Missouri river. The Missouri Republican opened war on the Missouri State lottery. It exposed the plank-road myth. It kept up the opposition until by legal and by legislative action the end came not only to the Missouri State lottery but to all open lottery business in this state. The fight was not one of days or weeks, but of years. It required the making of public sentiment, for in 1871 not only lottery offices were conducted as openly as cigar stores are now, but faro and keno houses occupied the most prominent locations on lower Fourth street and were places of common resort. Perhaps there has not been in all the history of St. Louis a moral movement of such magnitude and complete success as this one against lotteries. It led up to the supplemental movement successfully conducted by Charles P. Johnson against gambling. This moral reform was made effective at St. Louis several years before the general government at Washington took up the movement and made it national by barring all lottery business from the United States mails.

WASHINGTON AVENUE, WEST FROM LAKE STREET

WESTMINSTER PLACE

The coming of Jenny Lind made one of the notable days of St. Louis. Early in the morning of the 17th of March, 1851, a group of prominent citizens of St. Louis stood on the levee awaiting the arrival of the Lexington. In that day and long afterwards, Duncan's island was a landmark on the river, off the lower part of St. Louis. Steamboats were in view when they turned the head of Duncan's island. When the Lexington was sighted, the committee of citizens distinguished on the hurricane deck a tall, stout man, who was promptly identified as Phineas Taylor Barnum, the great showman of his generation. Beside Mr. Barnum stood a little lady in a long cloak. This was Jenny Lind. When the carriages reached the Planters house, a carpet had been spread down the staircase and across the sidewalk to the curb. The hotel manager, Mr. Scollay, appeared, bareheaded and bowing with old school graciousness. He opened the door of the carriage and escorted the songstress to her rooms. Assembled in the hotel to extend greeting, were city officials and representatives of the newspapers.

Mr. Barnum was escorted a little later by Sol Smith and Mr. Balmer to Wyman's hall, which had been selected for the concerts. Mr. Balmer explained that a hall was deemed more appropriate for the concerts than a theater, which might have been obtained. Mr. Barnum replied at once with the acumen of the born showman: "Very true. Besides an overcrowded small hall, where the late comers must be turned from the door is always better in its effect on the public than a great hall with scattering, tell-tale vacant chairs."

Five concerts were given in St. Louis. The price of admission was five dollars. A limited number of tickets for standing room only, behind the seats in the balcony, was sold at four dollars. After the audience had been seated, chairs were brought in and sold at five dollars. There was great demand for seats. The choice was disposed of by auction. Every morning the auction was held in the concert hall. An admission price of ten cents to attend the auction was charged and the receipts from this admission were sent by Mr. Barnum to Mayor Kennett, with the request to devote the money to charitable purposes. The highest price paid for first choice the first night was $50.00. The buyer was a man named Byron, who kept a saloon.

Wyman's hall was on Market between Fourth and Fifth streets. As early as six o'clock people began to assemble in the street. By eight o'clock the block was filled with spectators waiting to see the ticket holders arrive. The program of the opening night is reproduced:

PROGRAM

PART I.

Overture—Massaniello ..... Auber
Aria—"Sorgete" (Mometto Secondo) ..... Rossini
Signor Belletti.
Recitative—"Care Compagne" .....
Aria—Come per me Sereno (Somnambula) .....Bellini
Mlle. Jenny Lind.
Rondo Russe, on the violin ..... De Beriot
Mr. Joseph Burke.

Duetto—"Per Piacer all Signora" (Il Turco in Italia).....Rossini
Mlle. Jenny Lind and Signor Belletti.

PART II

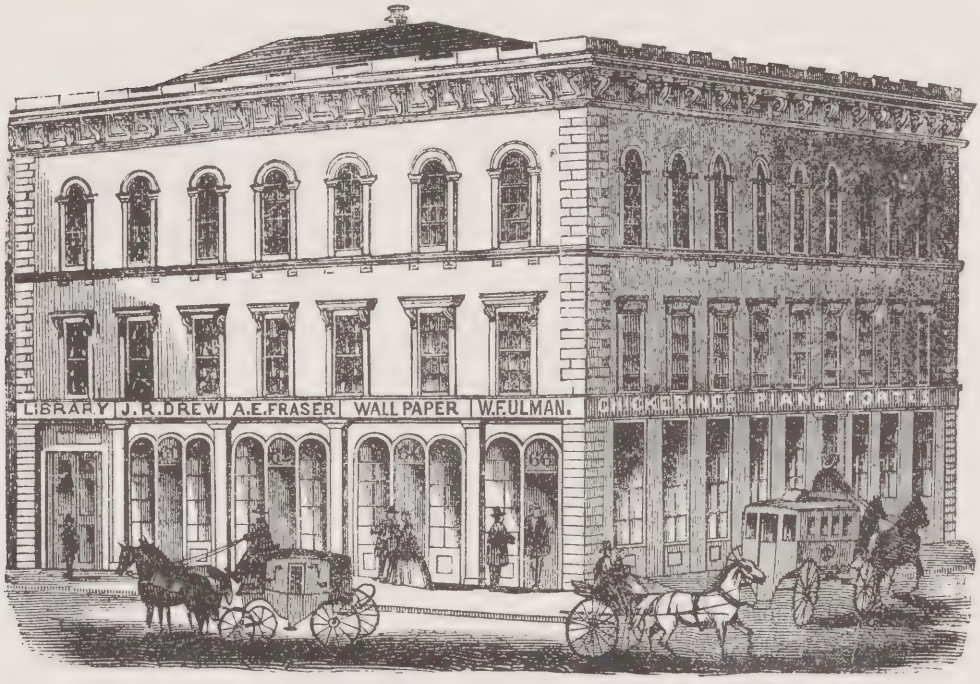
Overture—Crown Diamonds ..... Auber
Aria—Paventar (il flauto Magico).....Mozart
Mlle. Jenny Lind.
Cavatina—Largo al factotum (Il Barbiere) ..... Rossini
Signor Belletti.
Trio, for voice and two flutes, composed expressly for Mlle. Jenny Lind (Camp of Silesia) ..... Meyerbeer
Mlle. Jenny Lind.
Flutes, Messrs. Kyle and Siede.
Grand Wedding March from Midsummer Night's Dream.....Mendelssohn
The Herdsman's Song, commonly called "The Echo Song".....
Mlle. Jenny Lind.
Conductor, Mr. Julius Benedict.

For the second night the sale of tickets was rather disappointing. Late in the afternoon a representative of Mr. Barnum called at the newspaper offices and music stores and distributed passes in large numbers for the evening performance, stipulating that the ladies for whom they were intended must come in evening dress. The result was one of the most fashionable and brilliant audiences of the series. After the second night there was not even standing room. Thus St. Louis was given an illustration of Barnum tactics. During the season of the concerts, according to the newspapers of that time, so many strangers came to St. Louis that the hotel accommodations were exhausted and the steamboats at the levee converted their cabins into dormitories.

In front of Wyman's hall and across the street were several large trees. Boys took possession of these before the first concert and did a thriving business, charging five cents a person for the privilege of a seat in the trees. The evenings were warm. Windows were open. The audience in the trees could both hear and see. When Jenny Lind sang the bird song, the applause was taken up in the street, and especially by those in the trees, who shouted repeatedly, "Encore," "encore." Jenny Lind looked through the windows, saw the outside audience, nodded with a smile and repeated the song. The St. Louis concerts yielded between $35,000 and $40,000. In the troupe was a flute player named Siede. He created great enthusiasm among the St. Louis audience by his performance and by his manner. He possessed extraordinary power of blowing continuously an unusual time without drawing his breath. On the last day Mr. Barnum met Mayor Kennett, and referring to the contribution from admission to the auction sales, said that Jenny Lind had been so pleased with the reception she had received from St. Louis that the mayor would hear from her again before her departure. The next day Mayor Kennett received $2,000 from Jenny Lind and P. T. Barnum jointly, to be devoted to charitable institutions, which were named. One half of the amount, $1,000, was "for relief of distressed emigrants of every nation." Professor Waldauer accompanied the troupe back to New York and then returned to St. Louis. As he parted from Jenny Lind, the little lady handed him a check for $1,200 "to pay the expenses of your journey back to St. Louis." During the stay in St.

GENERAL ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK

JAMES RICHARDSON



THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY,

Fifth and Locust Streets, Before the War

Louis, social and musical honors were bestowed upon the songstress. A serenade was given by the Polyhymnia society, the leader of which was Jacques Ernest Miguel. Jenny Lind was so much pleased with this serenade that she expressed a desire to hear the society in a concert. This was complied with, the concert being given at Xaupi's hall on Market street. Jenny Lind during her stay, visited several times at the home of Charles Balmer, who lived in "Rose Cottage" on Fourth street between Cerre and Gratiot, then a fashionable neighborhood.

Professor Waldauer described Jenny Lind's singing as heard in St. Louis in this way: "Such was the purity and flute-like quality of her upper notes that it was difficult to distinguish between the notes of the singer and those of the flutes. The cadenzas with which she concluded her song were the most wonderful climaxes ever heard on the stage. Apparently disregarding all limitations, whether of written music or vocal possibility, she soared away like a skylark, giving runs and passages of almost incredible scope and difficulty." One of the best descriptions of the Swedish nightingale as she appeared in St. Louis was written by Theophile Papin, Sr. He was, at that time, a young newspaper man, attached to one of the St. Louis newspapers:

> Her features were regular, and her expression in repose rather pensive, but she often smiled in response to the encouragement of her audience, and then her face lighted up, bespeaking, as it seemed, an unaffected, artless nature. She was essentially of the German type, having rather a light complexion and auburn hair, dressed with inverted puffs in a peculiar style of her own, made familiar to the readers of all the prints and magazines of the day. There was nothing dashing in her deportment, but while singing she was under constant inspiration. It appeared, however, more from the earnest effort to perform her part well than from an appeal for applause. She never coquetted with her audience. Her staple was the solid gold itself. The songstress, with her, must be valued by the song, and nothing else. Throughout this concert, and through all the subsequent entertainments, Jenny Lind was greeted at her every return to the stage by the rapturous applause of her auditors. Notwithstanding that they had been well prepared in advance for extraordinary vocalization, her performance exceeded all the previous promises of her eulogists.

Seventy years ago musical education and musical interest in St. Louis received the earliest impetus. And the names of those new comers who introduced into the city of a few thousands this added charm of life are familiar through their descendants to the present generation. When Wilhelm Robyn came from Germany to St. Louis, in 1837, he expected to find a city with developed musical taste. To his surprise the community of about 15,000 persons afforded a scanty support to one music teacher, a Mr. Cramer. There were very few pianos in St. Louis. The best that the first Professor Robyn could find to do was the double bass at twelve dollars a week in an orchestra which played at Ludlow's performances. The only church which had a choir and gave special attention to music was the Cathedral. An Italian named Merilano, whom Bishop Rosatti had induced to come to America, played the organ. Among the principal singers were two young lawyers, Britton Armstrong Hill and Wilson Primm.

Robyn's coming aroused musical interest here. A musical society was organized. Rene Paul took the presidency of it. Concerts were given. Wil-

son Primm and Wilhelm Robyn played together—one, the violin; the other, the piano. Primm didn't know a word of German and Robyn hadn't learned English, but music was a universal language. St. Louis University added music to the curriculum and appointed Robyn the teacher. Monthly recitals were given. Music became the fashion. Robyn trained his pupils and gave the masses of Haydn and Mozart.

Two years after Robyn's arrival, Charles Balmer came from Germany. Robyn had organized a brass band, writing and arranging the scores. The band gave a concert with local talent for the benefit of a new hall. Balmer, the German, was the pianist. Carriere, graduated from the Paris conservatory, played the flute. An Irishman named Farrell handled the violin. Martinez, a Spaniard, picked the guitar. Theresa Weber was the soprano. Theresa and her brother Henry were members of the famous musical Webers, of Germany. They came to St. Louis about the same time that Balmer did. Theresa Weber married Charles Balmer. Henry Weber became the partner of his brother-in-law in the music publishing business. In 1840 Henry Weber started a singing academy in St. Louis.

Three years after Balmer and the Webers, came another who was to be a notable factor in the city's musical growth—Nicholas Le Brun, from France. The Germans of St. Louis organized a military company. They had their own band and at the head of it marched "Nick" Le Brun, then twenty-three years old. The fame of Le Brun as a composer as well as a player spread through the country. In his earlier years he traveled during the season with circuses but he always came back to St. Louis. After he settled down, toward 1850, he was the great band leader of St. Louis.

Henry Robyn came in 1845 to join his brother Wilhelm. He was not so prominent personally but the musicians of the city yielded to him the palm as the organist. He played in the Cathedral. The Institution for the Blind wanted to encourage musical education. Henry Robyn invented a method for printing music so that the blind could read it by touch. The method was employed long after the inventor went down on the Pomerania.

The decade 1840-1850 saw great progress for St. Louis in musical matters. Dr. Johann Georg Wesselhoeft, one of the leading German journalists in this country, came to St. Louis in 1845 and organized the Polyhymnia, the most ambitious musical movement the city had known. Henry Kayser was president. Dr. George Engelmann, Dr. Adolph Wislizenus, Dr. S. Gratz Moses, and Emile Karst were among the young members of the Polyhymnia. Inspired by the enthusiasm of the Polyhymnia, Balmer got together the singers of the city and produced the whole of "Creation" in a manner which made the performance the musical event of a generation.

Miguier, Fallon and Carriere were French musicians of high ability in St. Louis during the decade before the war. Sobolewski became prominent as a leader about the time the Philharmonic society was organized just before the war. He was a very eccentric man but he brought together at one time in united effort the best musical talent of all St. Louis. He worte an opera which Liszt praised warmly. He named the production "Courola," after one of his ten children. Egmont Froehlich came from Germany to lead the Phil-

harmonic. The society went to pieces. The Arion and the Liederkranz became the leading musical organizations among the Germans of St. Louis. Sobolewski led the Arion for a time. Egmont Froehlich was connected with the Liederkranz. The Musical Union was the American organization, with Dabney Carr at the head of it.

The decade 1880-1890 developed many composers and musicians in St. Louis. William H. Pommer came into more than local note as an author of songs and comic operas. Waldemar Malmene, E. M. Bowman, E. R. Kroeger, A. G. Robyn, the Kunkels, Wayman McCreery, Spierning, Waldauer, Anton, Weil, Poppen, Bode, Poepping, Miss Lina Anton are some of the names entitled to mention in connection with the city's musical growth in the past quarter of a century.

On the west side of Second street, perhaps 100 feet north of Olive, was a building used for storage, known as "the Old Salt House." This structure belonged to Scott and Rule. In 1827 James H. Caldwell leased it, added fifty feet for a stage and transformed the interior into a playhouse. Thereafter, for a decade, "the Old Salt Theater," as it was called, was the place of amusement to St. Louisans. A very interesting event in St. Louis theatricals was the appearance of Charles Keemle, the newspaper proprietor. At a benefit to be given Mr. Ludlow, Colonel Keemle consented to take a part in "The Poor Gentleman" for one night only.

In 1836 St. Louis attained the metropolitan dignity which is associated with high class amusement. On the afternoon of May 24th the cornerstone of the St. Louis theater, at the corner of Third and Olive streets, was laid with ceremony. This theater cost $60,000. In design and finish it was considered one of the finest amusement houses outside of New York City. The men who headed the enterprise were: N. M. Ludlow, E. H. Beebe, H. S. Cox, Joseph E. Laveille, C. Keemle and Meriwether Lewis Clark. The opening of the theater created great local enthusiasm. The patronage, however, was not sufficient to maintain a playhouse of such elaborate character. This theater stood where the postoffice was subsequently located, on the southeast corner of Third and Olive streets. The lot was sixty feet front on Third street by one hundred and sixty feet deep on Olive street. For it the syndicate paid, in 1837, $3,000, which was considered an enormous price at that time. The building was designed by George I. Barnett. The front was a copy from the temple of the Erectheum at Athens. Six great columns supported the portico. Over the front was a figure of Shakspeare. A parquet and three tiers of galleries contained 1,500 seats. Before the work was undertaken subscriptions amounting to $65,000 were obtained. When the charter was obtained and the company was organized, a public meeting was held in the town hall. Books were opened for popular subscription. The enterprise was an ambitious one for a community of only 17,000 people. At the inaugural performance a comedy was played. Then came a "tambour major jig." And then followed the farce of "Simpson & Co." St. Louisans in 1840 went to the theater to be amused. This opening performance was given the 3d of July. In those days the summer season was much favored for theatrical entertainment. This theater was built with very large windows on the southern side to catch the

prevailing air currents. As a prelude to the opening performance an address which won the $100 prize in competition with eighteen or twenty efforts was recited by Joseph M. Field. In the company which opened the theater were the Fields and Sol. Smith.

At the laying of the corner stone of the Varieties Theater, on the 18th of August, 1851, Sol Smith officiated as "the oldest man of the theatrical profession in St. Louis." Many roving characters have found St. Louis a good place to settle down. Solomon F. Smith was one of them. He was born in Norwich, N. Y., the first year of the century, the son of a fifer in the Revolutionary war. While he clerked in an Albany store, he read Shakspeare and was a supernumerary in the local theater. Then, for several years, he was a wandering printer and an amateur actor. After a trial of the stage, professionally, he began to read law. For thirty years he mixed newspaper, legal and theatrical business, spending more and more of his time in St. Louis. In 1853 he settled permanently in St. Louis, practiced law and politics and was an Unconditional Union member of the Missouri state convention of 1861. From his own point of view Sol Smith was not very proud of his career in his closing years but with his earlier profession he passed into history as one of the famous comedians of his generation. Upon a plain slab in Bellefontaine cemetery is engraved:

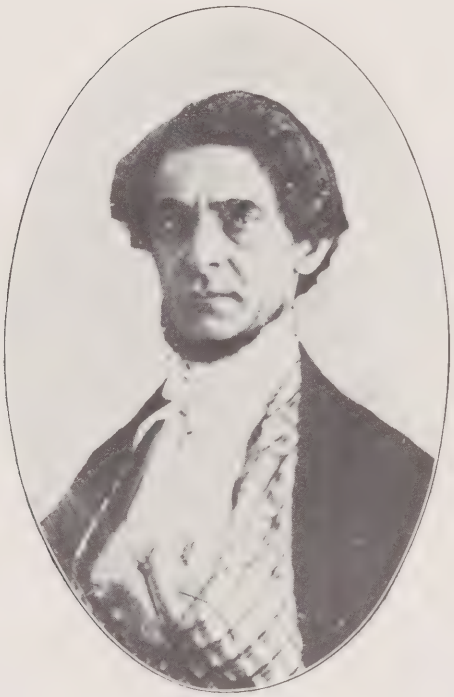
Sol Smith, Retired Actor.
1801-1869.
"Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more."
"All the world's a stage
And all the men and women merely players."
Exit Sol.

Matilda Heron, the great Camille of fifty years ago, first appeared in that character before a St. Louis audience. She played the part four weeks in 1856. Her benefit night brought together the largest attendance that had been seen at a theatrical performance in St. Louis up to that time.

Benedict De Bar, for thirty years connected with the theatrical profession in St. Louis as actor or manager, was the son of a bookkeeper in the Bank of England. When he died his body lay in state in Masonic hall. The city mourned for the Falstaff who had so often amused.

Another actor of the old days who considered himself a St. Louisan and lived here until his death was Mark Smith, a son of Sol Smith. He played "Tom Thumb" in St. Louis during the season of 1836, when he was eight years old. When he was a little older, he was apprenticed to learn iron finishing in a St. Louis foundry, but got back to the stage and became a comedian.

An entertainment that left an impression on this community was given by a Miss Cushman in 1851. "Female pedestrianism," the bills announced. Miss Cushman undertook to walk 500 miles in 500 hours, wearing pink bloomers and a hat trimmed with cherry colored ribbon. The walking drew large crowds.



N. M. LUDLOW

CHARLES R. POPE

ADELINA PATTI,
As She Appeared in St. Louis

JULIA DEAN

The Olympic Theater had its origin with Moses Flannigan of St. Louis, who proposed to build what he called a "hippo theatron." The present location on Fifth street, opposite the Southern, was chosen in 1865. The plans were drawn for a theater in form but adapted for either circus ring or theatrical stage performances. The opening of a new place of entertainment in St. Louis was an occasion of considerable formality. The inaugural performance at the Olympic on the 23d of April, 1866, was introduced with an address by L. M. Shreve, the lawyer. Then followed the "grand equestrian entree" of Levi & North's circus. After that came "single acts of equitation, fancy and comic." The indoor circus did not appeal to St. Louisans. Flannigan borrowed $30,000 from Dr. Gilbert R. Spaulding and David Bidwell, who were managing a string of theaters. The Olympic passed into the possession of the creditors and was made a variety theater in 1867. Two years later it was established as a legitimate playhouse and has been held strictly to that field by Charles Spaulding, and nearly a lifetime under the active management of Patrick Short.

In tragic and heroic roles a St. Louisan won international fame. Charles R. Pope was the son of an architect in Saxony, a friend of Goethe, one of the republicans of the Saxon Switzerland. The father's name was Roehr and that was the boy's name after the family moved to this country in 1840 and settled in Rochester. The father designed several of the public buildings and churches of that city. The youth, like some of the best of the actors of that early day, entered the theatrical profession by way of the printing office. When he decided to go on the stage he took his mother's name—Pope—and kept it all of his life. He was twenty-three years of age when he first appeared here in 1855. After starring in this and other countries twenty years, he built Pope's Theater, where the Century building is on Ninth and Olive streets. Pope and Julia Dean were schoolmates in Rochester. The father of Julia Dean moved to St. Louis. The daughter grew up in St. Louis and became one of the most famous of American actresses in her generation.

In 1878 the Veiled Prophet first appeared in St. Louis. The long series of mystic pageants constitute an extraordinary test of the temperament of the city. Before the war, seventy years or more ago, Mobile originated this kind of entertainment. New Orleans followed. St. Louis came next. Memphis and Baltimore experimented in the field of mysterious organizations, masked paraders and tableaux on wheels. But both Memphians and Orioles were short lived. Kansas City and Omaha imported the idea at later dates with the Priests of Pallas and Knights of Aksarben.

Two conditions seem vital to success—secrecy of organization, charm of spectacle. But coupled with these must be a third essential, as necessary as the others, and that is favoring temperament of the community. The Mystic Krewe of New Orleans and the Veiled Prophet of St. Louis have been eminently and continuously successful through long series of years, because they met the two primary conditions and because they found in these two cities the distinctive temperament of population. The Cowbellion de Rakin of Mobile chose New Year's eve as the calendar opportunity for its efforts to amuse. Comus, Momus, Nereus and the Revelers of New Orleans discovered in the Mardi

Gras period an encouraging public sentiment. The Veiled Prophet selected as the time of his annual coming the second night of what had been to St. Louisans for a generation "fair week." Here the test of temperament was instantaneously promising. The Veiled Prophet has missed no year since 1878.

The Veiled Prophet, and all of his retinue, to the humblest member, are shrouded in mystery. No member may reveal to those outside his own or another's connection. In New Orleans, membership in the Mystic Krewe is reached through membership in a well known social club as a preliminary step. In St. Louis the Veiled Prophet receives the individual directly into his following, rather than through another organization. This membership is limited in number. Candidates are passed upon by a secret committee with rigid scrutiny from two points of view. The personal quality and the business or professional standing are seriously considered. One so fortunate as to find himself duly enrolled is surprised to discover that, no matter what his calling or his associations, as a follower of the Veiled Prophet he is in the midst of his friends.

This policy of careful selection of members contributed not little to the powerful and enduring character of the organization. Followers of the Veiled Prophet seldom resign. Membership passes from father to son. Vacancies on the list are few from year to year and quickly filled. There is no organized body of public purpose, membership in which is so highly prized. Neither politics nor religion cuts any figure in the availability of the candidate. To be accepted is no ordinary tribute to a man's standing in the community. A measure of success in his calling, undoubted respectability, a degree of public spirit—these are qualifications without which none enters.

Assigned to duty on the night of the pageant, the follower of the Veiled Prophet sheds his personality with his raiment. He becomes a number. As such he receives his costume. His instructions are given to him by his number. His place in the pageant is indicated by number. His belongings are stored in a locker which bears the corresponding number. His name is not spoken until the service of the night is finished.

The issue of invitations to the Veiled Prophet ball is a matter of careful detail. A policy as purposeful as that which hedges about the membership is applied. The good of the order dominates in the discrimination which is exercised in the secret censorship of the invitation list. The Veiled Prophet has the memory of an Indian. And this applies to good or ill. The families of those who have been loyal followers of the Veiled Prophet in their lifetimes are remembered with the gratifying courtesy of the annual invitation.

Each member submits a limited list of friends for whom he desires invitations. He enters the names and addresses upon a blank form. This form in no way indicates to the uninitiated the purpose for which it is intended. It indicates a quota of names. By the briefly worded direction it is to be sent to a numbered post office box. Later, although he may have sent in his full list, the member may receive notice that his quota permits one or more additional nominations. This may mean that the member has duplicated a nomination sent in previously by another member. It may mean that his list contained a nomination decided by the secret censorship to be ineligible for an

invitation to the ball. No explanation is asked or offered. The Veiled Prophet's following is established upon mutual confidence and loyalty. No decision of the secret tribunal on invitations is questioned.

To the list of invitations no society test, in the common use of the term, is applied. But the elect of the Veiled Prophet must be of good character. The list from year to year shows a wide representation of the social life of the city. It represents all good elements of society. It is rigidly exclusive of those who are not in good repute. No business or professional circle dominates the membership. No social set dictates the annual distribution of invitations and souvenirs. The guests are representative of the city in the best sense.

In 1856 the St. Louis Fair was inaugurated. With the exception of the Civil war period, when the buildings and grounds were occupied for a great camp, the Fair was given each year, with growing prestige, until it became known widely, drawing exhibiters and visitors from all parts of the Mississippi Valley. To this Fair the citizens of St. Louis devoted the first week in October. Thursday of that week was observed as a municipal holiday. Street illuminations and festivities were added in 1870-1880 to the attractions of Fair week. Early in 1878 the idea of a night pageant was suggested. October of that year the experiment was tried. It more than stood the test of popular approval. Tuesday night of Fair week was chosen for the event.

The St. Louis Fair flourished nearly a half century and then languished. The city had outgrown an agricultural exhibition. A down town exposition created by business men, headed by Samuel M. Kennard, was attended with great success for a period of nearly twenty years. This absorbed the mechanical features of the Fair. The last of the annual Fairs was held just before the World's Fair of 1904. The Veiled Prophet's pageant survived the Fair. It was given the year of the World's Fair and proved to be one of the most attractive events.

When it is stated that each year the twenty or more floats presented by the Veiled Prophet, together with the ball which follows, cost nearly $50,000, an impression of the elaborate character of the event is received. During the thirty years the subjects chosen for illustration have varied widely. The first year the Creation was pictured in moving illuminated tableaux. Then came The Progress of Civilization, The Four Seasons, A Day Dream of Woodland Life, Around the World, Fairyland, The Return of Shakespeare, Arabian Knights, American History, History of the Bible.

It will be observed that the underlying motive of these themes was something more than passing delight to the vision.

The Most Popular Authors, The History of the Louisiana Territory, The Holidays, The Flight of Time, Visions of Childhood, Rulers of Nations, Lyric Opera, Humor, Fairy Tales—these have been among the subjects illustrated.

The construction of the floats was a matter of elaborate detail. Work upon the floats began early in the year and continued without interruption up to the night of the parade. In the beginning it was necessary to import the costumes from Paris. Later all of the construction work, not only upon the floats but upon the costumes, was done in St. Louis. The Grand Oracle's robes

were of heavy satin, trimmed with gold, and lined with silk. Every article he wore was the finest procurable and every article was made new each year.

The stranger, blase with the sights of the world, marvels at the popular hold of the Veiled Prophet. He sees the population of a great city densely massed along a route of five miles. He hears but few loud shouts of applause. The long line of floats passes through hedges of humanity almost as mute as the costumed figures in the tableaux.

The multitudes come. They wait patiently. They greet decorously the Veiled Prophet at the head of his retinue. They stand absorbed until the last float has passed. They melt away. Twelve months later they are back again, with their couisns from out of town, to gaze on the mystic spectacle. No diminution of the people's interest in the Veiled Prophet is discernible. On the contrary the throngs on the streets grow with the years. The urgency of requests for invitations increases.

The actual money cost of these pageants in St. Louis, from 1878 to 1909, has been considerably more than $1,000,000. But dollars do not tell of the time and thought given in the months of preparation each year. The Veiled Prophet is not a repeater. Most certainly he is not a faker in romance or history. He exacts originality. He insists upon high ideals. A general theme must be selected. The subject of each of the twenty or more tableaux must be determined. It must be a consistent chapter in the general theme. Then each tableau becomes a topic of concern, as to detail, personal as well as sentimental. And finally the living characters, as well as the inanimate figures, the architecture and the decorations must be fitting.

In every detail of costume and movement historical accuracy must be observed. The Veiled Prophet is critical in the extreme. As the years go by, as the viewing multitudes become experienced, the Veiled Prophet grows more exacting. One year poetic license was given scope. History was sacrificed. The theme was "The Old-Time Songs." In the illustration of "Comin' Thro' the Rye," the Veiled Prophet sanctioned the common misinterpretation and presented a field of rye, instead of the Scottish stream named Rye. The comment of erudite critics upon the historical lapse grieved the Veiled Prophet sorely. No liberties with history have been taken since that year.

St. Louis was a city of horse cars, of gas lamps, of 330,000 population, when the Veiled Prophet bumped and creaked his first journey over a mile and a half of macadamized and wooden paved streets. The route was from Lucas Market place to the Chamber of Commerce. In 1909 the distance traversed is three or four times as great. The floats roll along asphalt streets which had neither pavement nor sidewalks in those early days. The electric current from the trolley is the illuminant. It has taken the place of the oil lamps, the flambeaux and the Roman candles which lighted the pageant for twenty years. The Veiled Prophet has kept pace with the city's growth and improvement.

The wheels of the floats are now of iron and flanged like the street cars. They roll smoothly on the tracks. The application of the trolley was the solution of a difficult electrical problem; first, to insure personal safety of the Veiled Prophet and his retinue from dangerous shock; second, to guard against

destruction of floats from short circuiting. From year to year the electrical application has been improved upon, until now the system includes an arrangement of shades and reflectors which prevent the light from dazzling spectators and concentrates it upon the tableaux.

The temperament of the community! Without that favoring, the organization and the preparation would be powerless to compel success. The Veiled Prophet is not more popular with one element than with another among the people of St. Louis. Wide-eyed and wondering, the ranks of faces of every hue and nation which enter into the population of the city are raised with like degree of interest when the Veiled Prophet passes. The mystic pageant temperament pervades all St. Louis. It is lacking in most other cities of approximate latitude. It does not exist to any degree on the Atlantic coast or on the Great Lakes. It is unknown beyond the Rocky Mountains. But here, in the heart of the country, with the most thoroughly composite population, the most typical Americans, the Veiled Prophet is at home.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MEN OF ST. LOUIS.

There never was so much talent, so much ability in all branches of life as was connected with the building up of St. Louis. The merchants, the mechanics, the lawyers have left their names on the pages of history. There were determination and purpose with them such as have never been united in the same number of men in the building up of any other town. You may say that St. Louis was most fortunate after the acquisition of Louisiana. All proud spirits, the men of ambition, men of spirit and determination flocked here.—John F. Darby.

"Municipal history, or state history, or national history," said George E. Leighton, one of the most thoughtful citizens of St. Louis in his generation, "is in its last analysis, but the record of the men who have conceived and executed projects that lift the city, or state, or nation over the years and push it forward in the march of civilization."

Blending of the population of St. Louis began early. Creation of the typical American has been progressive through the generations since "the first thirty" landed. In the first thirty were those who had come from New Orleans with the expedition, a few from Ste. Genevieve, several from Fort Chartres and vicinity. As he passed through Cahokia on his way by the wagon road to join Auguste Chouteau on the site, Laclede was joined by several families.

Gallic strains most virile entered into the earliest blending to populate St. Louis. Laclede was of noble family, but of hardy vigorous stock developen in the valleys of the Pyrenees. The first thirty were "mechanics of all trades." They dragged their boat up the Mississippi and began the building of St. Louis in the middle of February. What better proof of their physical qualities could be given!

In the panels of the dome of the court house are historical paintings made by Weimar. The east panel Mr. Weimar devoted to a sketch of the landing of "the first thirty." He endeavored to be historically accurate. He consulted with an aged Frenchman of Carondelet, named LaConte. This local authority claimed that the boat which brought the party was in use for some years following the arrival, and that he saw it frequently. The boat, he said, was known as the one which brought Laclede's advance force. LaConte made a sketch of the boat as he remembered it, and from the sketch Mr. Weimar painted the boat in the picture. LaConte also gave a description of Laclede. Mr. Weimar painted Laclede in the party on the boat, following the description given by Mr. LaConte. The presence of Laclede was not historically accurate, as the boat was in charge of Auguste Chouteau, who had been sent on by the founder to begin the settlement. Weimar represented the boat as nearing the bank. Large forest trees were growing almost at the edge of the water. The Indians were pictured as standing on the bank

in welcoming attitudes. A spring of water flowed out of the rocks near the landing place. The great unwieldly craft was dragged up the ice-bordered river from Fort Chartres in five days. The next morning these pioneers were out with their axes building St. Louis. They spoke French. But most of them had never seen France. They traced back their family descent to ancestors who had come from various provinces of the mother country, some by way of the mouth of the Mississippi; more, to the St. Lawrence.

As early as its first year, 1764, St. Louis was a converging point of migration seeking permanent homes. Generations of these pioneer people in America had softened the speech, had added to the vocabulary, had supplemented the customs. While branches of these families, at home in France, were thinking the way to republican theories, the American offshoots were breathing free air and practicing liberty by instinct. There was little that was Parisian, and nothing of degeneracy, physical or mental, in the first families that settled St. Louis.

About the time Pierre Laclede, in the family chateau of Bedous, was dreaming his plans to found a colony in the New World, another family of France, near Agen on the Garonne, was preparing to divide its energies between the mother country and New France. There were six brothers and four sisters in the house of Charles Sarpy. Five of the brothers came to America and four of them were among the earliest residents and business men of St. Louis. The oldest, the first John B. Sarpy in this country, was a merchant in New Orleans when Laclede lived there. Two years after St. Louis was founded this John B. Sarpy came here. He was a merchant in the settlement for twenty years. Silvestre Delor Sarpy and Pierre Lestamp Sarpy came later. The head of the Sarpy family, which became numerous and influential in the development of St. Louis, was a fourth brother, Gregoire Berald Sarpy. He arrived here, a young man of twenty-two, in 1786. He married a granddaughter of the founder, Pelagie Labbadie. The eldest son of this union, John B. Sarpy, was the man of great reserve force, the director of the internal affairs of the fur house of Pierre Chouteau & Co. in 1830-1840. Berthold, died in 1831, Pratte in 1837, John P. Cabanne in 1841. John B. Sarpy entered the house when he was nineteen. As the elder partners passed away, and as Pierre Chouteau gave more and more attention to outside business, being absent from the city, the responsibilities of the internal management devolved upon John B. Sarpy. Unlike some of the other descendants of early French settlers, John B. Sarpy took a deep interest in national politics. In 1824, St. Louisans cast their first votes for presidential electors. Only 295 votes were recorded in St. Louis. Of the voters only thirty-nine were of the French families. One of them was John B. Sarpy. He was one of 125 St. Louisans who voted for Henry Clay. For the Adams elector, St. Louis gave ninety-nine votes. The Jackson elector received seventy-one votes.

One of the pioneer settlers had followed the fortunes of Laclede from earliest manhood. John Baptiste Ortes was born in the province of Bearne, near the Pyrenees. He was thirteen years younger than Laclede. The elder brother of Laclede was a high official of the District of Bearne.

When Pierre Laclede came to Louisiana in 1755, John Baptiste Ortes, a boy of eighteen, accompanied him. Ortes was with Laclede at the founding of St. Louis. He had learned the trade of a carpenter. He married in St. Louis and lived here until 1814. His wife, who was Elizabeth Barada, born in Vincennes, lived in St. Louis until 1868, dying at the age of one hundred and four years. She was brought to St. Louis by her parents in 1768. She lived here one hundred years. A large picture of Madame Ortes hung in the old Southern hotel. Ortes, like some other pioneer settlers, did not leave his name to posterity. His children were daughters.

Three generations of Papins had lived in Canada when St. Louis was founded. Joseph Papin was at Fort Chartres when Laclede came up the Mississippi with the expedition. His son, Joseph Marie Papin, was in France receiving his education. Joseph Papin arranged to join Laclede's settlement of St. Louis, and went to France to bring out his son. The family was one of the earliest to take residence at St. Louis. The son married the second daughter of Laclede.

One of the Spanish officers who came to St. Louis with Governor Piernas was Benito Vasquez. That was in 1770. Vasquez was so well satisfied with St. Louis that he made the settlement his permanent residence. He married a French wife, Julie Papin. In 1783 Baronet Vasquez was born of this union. He was one of twelve children, six boys and six girls. When American sovereignty was established over the country west of the Mississippi, Baronet Vasquez was just of age. He was picked out as one of the young men of St. Louis to receive recognition from the United States government. He was made an ensign in the United States army and rose to the position of first lieutenant. When General Pike made his expedition across the plains to the Rocky Mountains, Baronet Vasquez accompanied him. Pike took a great liking to the young Spanish-Frenchman who had become an American. In his report of the expedition he refers to him frequently as "Barony." Antoine Bareda was a cadet in the Spanish garrison. He sued his superior officer, Lieutenant Gomez, for calling him "an ass," left the army, became a citizen of St. Louis and married into one of the French families. A member of the Spanish garrison, who became a man of importance in St. Louis, was Joseph Alvarez Hortiz. He married into the Becquet family, acquired property, was the secretary to Governors Trudeau and Delassus, and had charge of the public records at the time of the American occupation. One of his daughters was Madame Landreville. Another of these Spanish soldiers who married a French wife and remained in St. Louis was Eugenio Alvarez.

The Yosti and Vigo families, of Italian origin, were akin. The former family came to St. Louis in 1777. Both the Yostis and Vigos were strongly sympathetic with the American movement for independence. Emilieu Yosti, a younger member of the family, owned and occupied the building on Main and Walnut streets, where Spanish sovereignty ceased in 1804. He was a member of the first grand jury organized after the occupation. In his home the court of quarter sessions held the first meeting.

Antoine Chenie was one of the valuable citizens St. Louis obtained from Canada. He came in 1795, bringing capital to engage in the fur trade, and a spirit of enterprise which was important to the community. Soon after his arrival Monsieur Chenie was surprised to learn that St. Louis had no bakery. He sent back to Canada, engaged a good baker and set him up in business. The shop ran without competition for some years, making money. It was bought out by Daniel D. Page, who also made money. The Chenies settled in Quebec a hundred years before St. Louis was founded. They belonged to a family of high position in France. Antoine Chenie received a good education at the College of Montreal before he came to St. Louis. He married Marie Therese Papin, a granddaughter and namesake of Madame Chouteau.

Moses Austin came to Missouri from Connecticut, by way of Virginia. He had operated lead mines at Wytheville. When he arrived, in 1799, the Spanish governor at St. Louis conferred upon Mr. Austin the grant of one league square of the Potosi lead field on condition that Mr. Austin erect a furnace and apply others ideas, the result of his experience in Virginia, which were new to the province. Mr. Austin erected the first ash furnace, and in three years had obtained a monopoly of the smelting of the district. He showed the French lead miners how to make sheet lead on a flat rock. He built a shot tower in 1799 on the Mississippi river and made bullets for the Spanish arsenals at New Orleans and Havana.

When Antoine Soulard came to St. Louis, by horseback to Pittsburg, and then down the Ohio by keel boat about 1795, Upper Louisiana was very much in need of some one with the scientific ability to lay out the grants which Zenon Trudeau, the Spanish governor was issuing to encourage American settlement. Soulard came of a military family in France. His father was captain in the French Royal navy and lost an arm, shot off by a cannon ball in a sea fight with the English. Antoine Soulard was a lieutenant in the Royal army, and was compelled to flee to escape the guillotine when the revolution came. He succeeded in reaching Marble Head by a sailing vessel, and hearing that St. Louis people were mostly French, he started across the country for this settlement. Governor Trudeau welcomed the refugee to his house. As soon as he learned of Lieutenant Soulard's scientific knowledge he made him surveyor general of Upper Louisana. When Governor Delassus succeeded Trudeau he continued Surveyor General Soulard in office. When the province was transferred to the United States, in 1804, the American captain confirmed Mr. Soulard in his position, and when General Harrison took charge of the province he also retained the surveyor general. Mr. Soulard at length gave up the position voluntarily and retired to his farm, which is now a thickly built portion of the city from Park avenue to Lesperance street, and from the river west to Carondelet avenue. The Soulard farm became famous for the finest fruit orchard in St. Louis. Marriage to Julia Cerre, the daughter of Gabriel Cerre, made Antoine Soulard the brother-in-law of Auguste Chouteau, who had married Therese Cerre. Three sons of Antoine Soulard, who died in 1825, were James G. Soulard, Henry G. Soulard and Benjamin A. Soulard.

John Lewis was one of the first of the Virginians who settled in St. Louis. He came in 1797 and took a farm near the village. One of his daughters married a son of Daniel Boone and another was Mrs. Corbin, who owned "Stoddard addition."

One of the wealthiest of the first settlers was William Bissette. He was of Canadian origin. Bissette had been in business at Fort Chartres several years when Laclede came to found St. Louis. Such was his admiration for Laclede that he chose him to distribute his estate to his nine brothers and sisters. The old bachelor left five hundred livres to buy ornaments for the little log church, which had been recently erected. He left several handsome bequests. He gave a thousand livres to his clerk, Juan La Montague. He directed that his business be allowed to go on for two years with La Montague as a partner, receiving half of the profits "to give La Montague a chance to establish himself in business."

Hyacinthe St. Cyr, a Canadian, and Helen Hebert, of Illinois, were married in St. Louis in 1783. They had fifteen children. One of their daughters married William Christy. Hyacinthe St. Cyr built houses and handled property. He was one of the most active and enterprising inhabitants of the colonial period.

The case of the Guion family illustrated the early commingling of strains which made the St. Louis stock sturdy and independent. The founder of the family was born on the Illinois side of the river half a century before St. Louis was settled. He came to this side with Laclede to establish St. Louis. The Guions were Scotch and French. One of the descendants was James Amabel Guion, for twenty years an official upholder of law and order, part of the time as a police officer and part of the time as city jailer. He was chief of police. When the ordinance requiring police officers to wear uniforms went into effect, he resigned. He said it was un-American. He held that policemen were purely civil officers and that only soldiers should be uniformed. This sturdy character dealt vigorously with the disturbances of his period.

"Amongst their virtues, we may enumerate honesty and punctuality in their dealings, hospitality to strangers, friendship and affection amongst relatives and neighbors," wrote Brackenridge of these people who were Spaniards one day, French the next day, and Americans the third day. The first settler to put a lock on his smoke house in the country north of the settlement was an American. The act was considered an affront to the neighborhood. There was great indignation. Threats were made to remove the lock forcibly.

The high sense of personal honor and justice which characterized St. Louisans in the early period of St. Louis was illustrated by an incident in the family of Joseph Charless, the founder of the first newspaper. Joseph Charless, the second, learned the trade of his father, that of printer, but did not follow it. He went into the wholesale drug business. When the elder Charless died, in 1834, he wanted to leave his estate to his namesake and trusted son, following the old world custom. Joseph Charless, the second,

persuaded his father, while the latter was in his last illness, to make equal distribution of the property interests to all of the heirs.

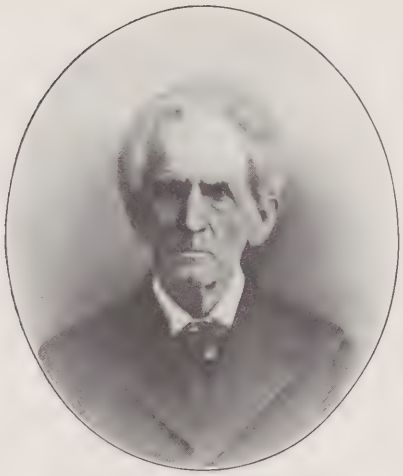
Perhaps the earliest realization of what financial panic meant came to St. Louis, the town, in 1819. It brought out a good illustration of the official integrity which was standard in those days. Pierre Didier was treasurer of the territory of Missouri. He had $20,000 of public money. The funds would not be needed for six months. Pierre Chouteau and Bernard Pratte were Didier's bondsmen. They went to the treasurer, told him they were hard up for cash and wanted to borrow $1,000 apiece for ninety days. Didier seemed very sympathetic, but said he didn't have the money. Pratte and Chouteau suggested that the amounts might be taken from the territorial money.

"My friends," said Didier, "it is not my money. You cannot get him. Here is my house and lot, my horse, my cow, and my bed. Take them and sell them at auction and relieve yourselves."

It seems that Pratte and Chouteau had gone to Didier to try him rather than to get the loans. According to the story which was preserved by William Grymes Pettus and deposited with the Historical society, the bondsmen wanted to assure themselves that the territory funds, for which they had given security were all right. They went away, Mr. Pettus said, "perfectly satisfied that Didier was an honest man."

When the American flag went up at St. Louis, 1804, the population of the town was about 1,000. In the immediately surrounding country were 2,000 people. Before these figures are dismissed as of little consequence, let it be recalled that four years earlier, the United States had taken its second census. The population of the entire territory, which is now Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin, was only 4,875, in 1800. In the sixteen states and three territories of the Union were 5,305,366 people. By comparison St. Louis had a place on the map more important than the number of inhabitants would indicate to this generation. It was not an assemblage altogether alien which the American captain faced when he raised the flag. Americans had been settling in St. Louis. Calvin Adams had brought his wife and boys from Connecticut. His home was at Main and Plum streets. John Boly and his three sons and three daughters were from Pennsylvania. John Gates, an American, had married into the Morin family. William Sullivan had lived among the French pioneers so long that General William Henry Harrison thought it good policy to make him the constable and coroner under American authority. Sullivan also kept the jail for several years and rose to the dignity of justice of the peace when Missouri became a full fledged territory of the United States. James Ranken was another American resident under three flags. He was the first sheriff. David Rohrer and John Biggs were Americans living in St. Louis in 1804.

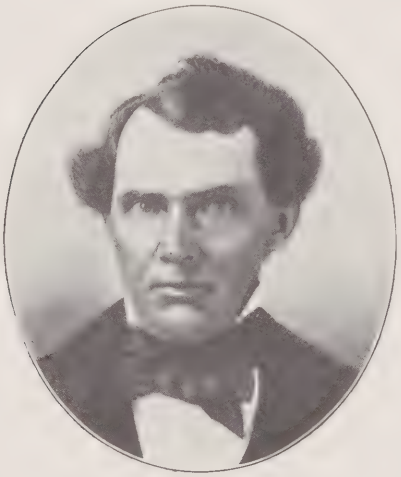
When Governor William Henry Harrison and the Indiana judges visited St. Louis in 1804 to frame laws for the new addition to the United States, Rufus Easton came with them. He was a young lawyer in search of an opening. Born in Connecticut he had studied law in Litchfield. With his license to practice he had tried an interior town in New York. Forming the acquaintance of DeWitt Clinton, he went to Washington and passed the winter



JOHN K. RYCHLICKI

CHARLES P. CHOUTEAU

THE FIRST BENOIST RESIDENCE ON MAIN AND ELM STREETS,
Built About 1790



FRANCIS W. THOMPSON

HENRY T. MUDD

STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

of 1803-4. There he met Vice-President Aaron Burr. Encouraged by the general interest that the Louisiana Purchase aroused, Rufus Easton determined to go to New Orleans and open a law office. He started by way of the Ohio, but stopping over in Vincennes to familiarize himself with territorial laws and practice he decided to make St. Louis instead of New Orleans his place of settlement.

There are few names connected officially with the history of St. Louis in more ways than are those of Rufus Easton and Alton R. Easton, his son. Rufus Easton was named by President Jefferson as one of the first judges. He was next appointed United States attorney. He was elected and re-elected Delegate to Congress. He was the first postmaster of St. Louis and held the position nine years, until he was tired of it. President Monroe made him United States district attorney.

Alton R. Easton was one of the younger children of Rufus Easton. He was sent to West Point. When he returned he studied medicine with Dr. Samuel Merry. Later he held a position in what was then a government office of great importance—receiver of public money. His military training led to the selection of young Easton to command the crack local military company, the St. Louis Grays. At the outset of the Mexican War the St. Louis Legion went into service under Colonel Easton, who became, in succession, assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis, a member of the county court, inspector general of the state during the Civil war, assessor of internal revenue and pension agent. The Easton family has the distinction of having given the name to one of the most important thoroughfares of the city. Many streets were named to honor pioneer citizens of prominence. Some of them, in the evolution of the city, have not fulfilled expectations of importance.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark came back from their marvelous expedition to the mouth of the Columbia to make their homes in St. Louis. Against ties of family in Virginia and Kentucky, in the balance opposed to opportunities for political preferment at Washington and for military advancement in the army they put the attractiveness of St. Louis as a place of residence and the association with development of the Louisiana Territory. There is nothing to show that either regretted the choice. Meriwether Lewis did not leave posterity, but the descendants of Clark multiplied and many of them have known no other home than St. Louis.

"Wise in council and swift in action" was the way Meriwether Lewis described Major William Christy when he appointed him commander-in-chief for the Territory of Louisiana and major-commandant of Louisiana Rangers in 1809. Major Christy was of Pennsylvania birth. His ancestors were Scotch. His father was a captain under Braddock, and was with George Washington in the retreat. William Christy served as an officer in frontier campaigns until his health was shattered. He married Martha Thompson Taylor, of Kentucky, who was related to two presidents of the United States, Madison and Taylor, and moved to St. Louis in 1804. He was, during his thirty-three years residence in St. Louis, a conspicuous figure, six feet high, erect and soldierly in figure, dignified in movement. He combed his hair straight back from the forehead, after a fashion of his own, and it fell to the coat collar.

Three of the daughters of Major William Christy married officers of the United States army, who became well known residents of St. Louis—Captain James H. Dean, Major Thomas Wright and Major Taylor Berry. There were seven of these Christy girls. Their descendants in St. Louis number hundreds. Major Christy was the father of North St. Louis. He was the pioneer in the city's movement up the river. His son-in-law, Major Thomas Wright, joined him in these extensive real estate transactions. A partner was Colonel William Chambers, who came from Kentucky. Major Christy was very patriotic. When he laid off his real estate in North St. Louis he chose for many of the streets such names as Madison, Monroe, Warren, Montgomery.

The coming of the McKnights and the Bradys was an event of 1809. John McKnight and Thomas Brady were the leading spirits in this lively crowd. Of the McKnights there were John, Thomas, James, Robert and William. The McKnights and the Bradys bought a boat at Pittsburg. They rowed down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis. The boat carried a stock of goods as well as the two families. The store of McKnight & Brady was opened. For a short time after the arrival the McKnights and Bradys were spoken of as "the Irish crowd." Before the second year was out the McKnights and Bradys were a power in the community. The second season after their arrival they were able to buy a lot, sixty feet front, on the corner of Main and Pine streets, in the business heart of the city. Here they did business successfully until they were able to erect, in 1816, an imposing structure of brick, the first in St. Louis, for a business house. There were stores downstairs, a hotel upstairs, where was held, in 1817, the first celebration west of the Mississippi of Washington's Birthday. McKnight & Brady amassed enough money at trade to go into real estate. They laid out what is now part of East St. Louis, and called it Illinoistown. McKnight served on the grand jury. Brady presided at the first meeting of Irishmen to organize the Erin Benevolent society. Thomas Brady married a daughter of John Rice Jones, who became chief justice of the Supreme court of Missouri. One of Thomas Brady's daughters married Ferdinand Rozier, the second. The standing which the McKnights and Bradys quickly obtained in the community was shown by the selection of Thomas Brady to be one of the commissioners to receive subscriptions to the first bank established under charter from the territorial legislature in 1813. John McKnight was a commissioner to receive subscriptions to the second bank chartered, and Thomas Brady was elected a member of the first board of directors of the bank. St. Louis never had occasion to regret the coming of the McKnights and Bradys. The McKnights were enterprising in many directions. Robert, one of the four brothers, in 1817, went on a trading expedition to Santa Fe and Chihuahua. This was at the same time that Jules DeMun and Auguste P. Chouteau went out with a stock of goods to do business with the Mexicans. The three young men from St. Louis were robbed of their goods and thrown into jail. There they remained two years. Their treatment was made the basis of a claim against Mexico by the United States. An indemnity of about one hundred thousand dollars was paid by Mexico. Another of the

McKnights, John, a nephew of Robert, went out to Chihuahua in 1826 and accumulated a fortune in trade there. When he returned to make his home near St. Louis he brought with him ten thousand dollars which Governor Armijo had given him to place to his credit. As the Mexican handed the money he declined a receipt, saying "all that I want is your word." The McKnight road, one of the thoroughfares in the western suburbs of St. Louis, was named in honor of this family.

A city of refuge, in the best sense, St. Louis has been. Political troubles in Europe have contributed many desirable citizens. A little boy, Jules De Mun, was concealed in a cellar of Paris at the time of the French Revolution. His father, member of a noble family, had been forced to fly to save himself from the block. A faithful servant hid Jules and his brother Auguste, for a time, then dressed them as the children of the poor and took them out of the city. They passed near the guillotine. Jules began to cry. The older, Auguste, shook him and warned him that they must not attract attention. The boys joined their father in England and were brought to America. After the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, royal letters sent through the French ambassador at Washington invited the return of the De Muns to France. The boys had grown to manhood. They came to Missouri. Jules De Mun became a resident of St. Louis. In 1811 he married Isabelle Gratiot. Born in San Domingo, educated partly in France and partly in the United States, Jules De Mun took rank as one of the most scholarly men in the city. In the latter part of his life he was secretary and translator for the commissioners engaged in the adjustment of the French and Spanish grants. He was register of the government land office, and at the time of his death, in 1843, he was filling, by election, the office of recorder of deeds.

So far back runs the lineage of the Pratte family that it may be called ancient, so far as St. Louis is concerned. The first Bernard Pratte in St. Louis history was titled General Pratte. He was here and prominent in the life of the settlement before the American acquisition. His mother was a native of Missouri, born in Ste. Genevieve. General Bernard Pratte, in his youth, was sent to Canada to be educated, because Ste. Genevieve was lacking in educational advantages. Such was the standing of General Pratte that after the American acquisition he was made one of the territorial judges. Born under another flag, a citizen of the United States only eight years, General Pratte won his military title in the War of 1812. He headed an expedition which went from St. Louis up the Mississippi to Fort Madison to resist British aggression. He served in that war until peace was established. Such was the character of General Bernard Pratte that President Monroe selected him, although he was not a candidate, to be the receiver of public moneys at St. Louis when that was one of the most important federal offices west of the Mississippi.

When the War of 1812 began, the Kentuckians who had settled in and about St. Louis, were among the first to volunteer for service. They were chips of old blocks who had fought in '76. A body of 1,500 horsemen was raised in St. Louis, and in the settlement of St. Louis county and along the Missouri river. Nathan Boone, son of Daniel, was the colonel of this

command. The horsemen decided to cross the Mississippi and join Governor Edwards. They did so by riding their horses into the river and swimming across. John Sappington led them. The Sappingtons came from Kentucky, a family eighteen children strong, in 1806. In the colony, for such it may be called, were forty families from Kentucky, but of those families the Sappington family was the largest in number. After looking over St. Louis, which had been an American city barely two years, the Kentuckians decided to locate outside, in what is now the county of St. Louis. The Sappingtons bought 640 acres, for which, it is tradition, they paid in whiskey, at the price of one gallon per acre. John Sappington had eleven children.

Connecticut was no small contributor to the life of St. Louis. In 1811 Stephen Hempstead came with his family and relatives, a colony numbering twenty. He was a patriot as well as a pioneer. A Revolutionary soldier, he had been left for dead in Fort Griswold. While he farmed where Bellefontaine cemetery is, Stephen Hempstead made it his "daily business to converse with prominent and leading heads of families on the necessity there was of having stated and regular worship in the place." In 1816, Salmon Giddings, another Connecticut man, freshly ordained to preach and determined to be a missionary, came riding on horseback 1,200 miles, to formally organize the first Protestant church in St. Louis. Edward Hempstead had preceded his father, his brothers and his sisters. He rode down to the ferry, on the Illinois side, before the first summer's rains had dimmed the colors of the American flag raised over St. Louis in 1804. Such was the impression the Hempsteads made on the community that when the time came to choose the first delegate to represent the Territory in Congress, Edward Hempstead was elected. When he was an old man, nearing the close of his career, Thomas H. Benton paid this tribute to Stephen Hempstead, the patriarch:

> Mr. Hempstead was a true and brave man, a man pure and without reproach, fearing God and discharging every public and private duty with scrupulous exactness. He united benevolence with true piety, and in him patriotism was sublimated to the highest degree. In the words of Scripture he has been blessed in all his generation.

In 1818 there were enough Irishmen in St. Louis to organize. The Erin Benevolent society was formed. The leading spirits were Jeremiah Connor, who had been sheriff of St. Louis, the Rankens, John Mullanphy, James McGunnegle, Joseph Charless, Thomas Brady. Two years later "the Erins" demonstrated their strength. They celebrated St. Patrick's Day, 1820. That was the first observance of the anniversary in St. Louis. The society paraded. After the procession there was a dinner with toasts.

From night watchman to bank president the career of Sullivan Blood led. At the age of 21, in 1817, Sullivan Blood came to St. Louis from the state of his birth, Vermont. Of sturdy physique, he was just in time to be selected for one of the watchmen. His services were so efficient that the town made him captain of the watch, and he bore the title of Captain Blood the rest of his life. He was a constable ten years, a deputy sheriff and then an alderman. In the business of steamboating, commanding boats built for him, he made a reputation which prompted his selection as president of the Boatmen's Savings Institution.

The Farrars were Virginians, the founder of the family in this country coming to Farrar's Island in the James river, a short distance below Richmond in 1621. Three years after the acquisition, in 1808, the founder of the St. Louis Farrars, a young doctor, just past his majority, settled in St. Louis. He became allied with the Clarks, George Rogers, "the General," and William, "the Governor," through marriage with their niece, Ann Clark Thruston. He had four sons and one daughter. One of those sons followed in his father's professional footsteps and left seven sons and two daughters.

The four sons of Charles Gratiot led lives of activity and prominence. Charles Gratiot, the oldest and the namesake of his father, went to West Point immediately after the American occupation of St. Louis. He graduated with the honors which gave him a place in the corps of engineers. After he had served in the War of 1812, he advanced through the grades to be engineer-in-chief. He built Fort Gratiot on Lake Huron. His great work was the planning of Fortress Monroe. He was engaged for years in superintending the construction. The wife of General Gratiot was Miss Ann Belin, of Philadelphia. One of the daughters of General Gratiot became the wife of Charles P. Chouteau, of St. Louis.

The second son of Charles Gratiot, Sr., was Colonel Henry Gratiot. He lived for a time on a part of his father's great tract of land, known as the Gratiot league square, a part of which is now Forest Park. Henry Gratiot married Miss Susan Hempstead, one of the daughters of Captain Stephen Hempstead, the Connecticut patriot. A daughter of Henry Gratiot, Adelle, became the wife of Elihu B. Washburne, member of one of the famous families of the United States. Mr. Washburne was a member of Congress from the Galena district of Illinois. He was appointed secretary of state by President Grant, but relinquished that position to become minister to France. During the Franco-Prussian war, Minister Washburne remained alone of the foreign ministers at his post, making the legation an asylum for refugees and earning the gratitude of European governments. With him through that trying ordeal the great granddaughter of Madame Marie Therese Chouteau performed her part. The Washburns were a Maine family. Elihu B. added an "e" to his name. One of his brothers was governor of Maine. Another was a United States senator from Minnesota. A third commanded a squadron in the Civil war. Elihu B. Washburne met Miss Adelle Gratiot while her father was engaged in lead smelting at Gratiot Grove, fifteen miles from Galena.

John P. B. Gratiot and Paul B. Gratiot, the third and fourth sons of Charles Gratiot were educated in Bardstown College, Kentucky. John went to Gratiot Grove with his brother Henry and engaged in the lead smelting. The youngest of the Gratiot brothers, Paul, went into the fur trade with Berthold & Chouteau, and was sent to the Upper Missouri. When he returned he joined his brothers at Gratiot Grove. John Gratiot married Miss Perdreauville, whose parents left France after the abdication of Napoleon. His oldest daughter married Edward Hempstead, who moved to Arkansas and became a prominent resident of that state, Hempstead county being named in his honor. John Gratiot was a member of the Missouri legislature.

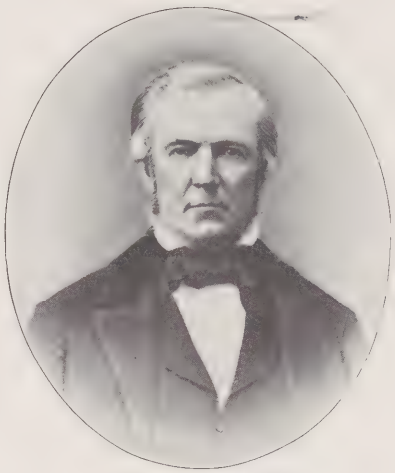
At the time of his death he was residing in St. Louis. Paul Gratiot married Miss Virginia Billon. After his return from the Fevre river lead mines he lived in the vicinity of Forest Park. Between 1850 and 1860 he was a member of the St. Louis County court.

Early records of Masonry in St. Louis illustrate how widely distributed in respect to former residences were the new comers. Missouri lodge was granted a charter by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee in 1815. This charter was issued to Joshua Norvell, who had moved from Nashville to St. Louis, to take charge of the Western Journal, Thomas Brady, a St. Louis merchant, who had come from Ireland, and John A. Pilcher. Among the Masons in St. Louis who joined the lodge, presenting credentials from lodges elsewhere, were Major Thompson Douglass, from Maryland, paymaster U. S. A.; Risdon H. Price, eastern shore of Maryland, merchant; Nathaniel B. Tucker, Virginia, judge of the Circuit court; Thomas H. Benton, Nashville, Tenn., lawyer; Captain Peter Ferguson, Norfolk, Va., who became judge of probate; Dr. Edward S. Gantt, surgeon, United States army; John Rice Jones, Ste. Genevieve, Mo., judge Supreme court; Captain Henry S. Geyer, Hagerstown, Md., lawyer; Sergeant Hall, Cincinnati, lawyer and editor; Jonathan Guest, Philadelphia, merchant; William H. Hopkins, Philadelphia, merchant; William Renshaw, Sr., Baltimore, merchant; David B. Hoffman, New York, merchant; Abraham Beck, Albany, N. Y.; lawyer; Moses Scott, Ireland, justice of the peace; George H. C. Melody, Albany, N. Y.; Joseph C. Laveille, Harrisburg, Pa., architect; Daniel C. Boss, Pittsburg, merchant; William G. Pettus, Virginia, secretary of the Missouri Constitutional convention.

When, in 1820, the Royal Arch Masons wanted to organize a St. Louis chapter they needed nine petitioners. The town could supply only four. Two were found in St. Charles and two more in Edwardsville. The ninth was Clement C. Fletcher, who was in business at Herculaneum, having come from Maryland two years before. For several years Mr. Fletcher rode thirty miles across the Meramec and up the river to attend the monthly meetings of the chapter. He was the father of Governor Thomas C. Fletcher.

The Billons came from Philadelphia. Frederic L. Billon was a boy of seventeen when his father and he came west to seek a new home. The year was 1818. The Billons came by stage coach from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, down the Ohio by keel boat to Shawneetown, overland to Kaskaskia, up the Mississippi by canoe to St. Louis. The journey required sixty days. That was about the schedule of the period. After the father and son had found a home and had arranged to start the business, which was dealing in watches and clocks, the older went all of the way back to Philadelphia to bring out the mother and other eight children. "Moving west" meant something in those days. The father of this family was a Swiss, descended from a family of watchmakers, the best in the world. The mother was of French descent, but had lived in San Domingo and had been forced to leave her home as a refugee at the time of the negro insurrection. The case of the Billon family is a good illustration of the accessions to the population of St. Louis in the first generation of the last century. When his father died, Frederic L. Billon took up the responsibilities of the head of a large family. He was

JOHN B. SARPY
At Thirty-six Years of Age

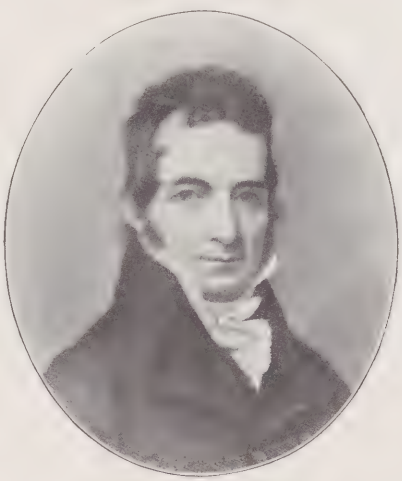


JOHN B. SARPY

SYLVESTER LABBADIE

JOHN MULLANPHY

MAJOR WILLIAM CHRISTY



RUFUS EASTON,
The First Postmaster

STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

then just of age, with eight brothers and sisters younger. Not until these brothers and sisters were grown and able to take care of themselves did Frederic L. Billon have a home of his own. He went to Philadelphia and brought back his wife, Miss E. L. Generelly. He lived to be considerably more than eighty years old. He was alderman and comptroller of the city. He was the first railroad auditor of St. Louis and later was treasurer of the Missouri Pacific. Twelve children were born to him. When St. Louis attained the importance of the first uniformed military company, the "St. Louis Grays," in 1819, Billon was one of the moving spirits. He was made ensign. The service to his adopted city, which St. Louis will remember as the most important rendered by Frederic L. Billon, was his preservation of historical data. From the day of his coming to the end of his long life, he was the local antiquarian. Records and information of every kind pertaining to St. Louis and St. Louisans, Mr. Billon preserved. He was careful and painstaking in this labor of love, with the accuracy that might be expected of a mind which had inherited method from watchmaking ancestors.

One after another the Morrisons came out to St. Louis and vicinity. They were Pennsylvanians, natives of Bucks county, north of Philadelphia. Back of the Pennsylvania parentage was Irish ancestry. John Morrison, the father of the Morrisons, was an Irish gentleman. An uncle of the Morrisons was Guy Bryan, a wholesale dry goods merchant. He gave his nephews training, and as his trade connections in St. Louis and vicinity offered opportunities he gave the boys the benefit of them. William Morrison, the oldest of the brothers, came out to Kaskaskia in 1795 and established stores there and in St. Louis and Cahokia. St. Louis was still under the Spanish flag, and had not begun to give promise of its future. William Morrison married a daughter of General Daniel Bissell of the United States army, who lived in St. Louis for a long time. A grandson of this William Morrison was William R. Morrison, member of Congress for many years from the East St. Louis district, and the leader of his party on the tariff question. Robert Morrison came west from the Philadelphia training school of his uncle in 1798. He married the talented Eliza Lowry, sister of James Lowry Donaldson. The Lowrys were of a famous Scotch family. They migrated from the north of Ireland to Baltimore. James Lowry was given the name of Donaldson, by the Maryland Legislature, to enable him to comply with the bequest under which he inherited an estate. When President Jefferson was making up, with no little care, a commission to straighten out land titles at St. Louis he chose James Lowry Donaldson for the recorder of that commission. Donaldson came out bringing his sister. In 1807 he went back to Baltimore, his sister remaining. The lady had met Robert Morrison at a reception given by William Clark. Mrs. Morrison was the first literary woman of St. Louis. She wrote about St. Louis and the new acquisition of the United States in a manner which attracted wide attention. There was fighting blood as well as literary culture in the Lowrys. James Lowry Donaldson fell at the head of his regiment at the Battle of North Point, resisting the attack of the British on Baltimore in 1814. Of the four sons of Robert Morrison, the oldest went to West Point and died an army officer. The

second and third sons became judges in California, one of them chief justice. The youngest served in the United States navy, entering as midshipman. He left the navy and when the Mexican war came on he raised the first company of recruits in Illinois and went out as lieutenant colonel of the Second Illinois, the regiment which participated in an historic charge at Buena Vista. For his gallantry on that occasion this Morrison was voted a sword by the legislature of Illinois. He was James Lowry Donaldson Morrison, known to two generations of St. Louisans as "Colonel Don Morrison." James Morrison, the third of the Bucks county brothers, settled in St. Charles. His son was William M. Morrison, and his daughters were Mrs. George Collier, Mrs. William G. Pettus, Mrs. Francis Yosti and Mrs. Richard J. Lockwood, wives of men prominent in St. Louis in their generation. The fourth of the Morrisons was Jesse. He came to St. Louis in 1805. Afterwards he joined the St. Louis colony, engaged in developing the lead industry at Galena. Samuel Morrison, the fifth of the brothers, joined the fur traders. He was with Manuel Lisa, and spent some time in the Rocky Mountains. Afterwards he came back to St. Louis and settled in Illinois. The youngest of this famous brotherhood was Guy. He worked in his brother's store and married the widow of Henry, the publisher of the St. Louis Enquirer.

To the the uprising of '98 St. Louis was indebted for several notable families. John Chambers, well established as a publisher in Dublin, suffered for political conscience sake. He was discovered to be a member of the order of United Irishmen. With others he was locked up in Fort George, Scotland, and then banished to the continent. The band of patriots reached New York about the beginning of the century. John Chambers was a publisher in Wall street nearly twenty years. His son Charles married Jane Mullanphy, and in 1819 came to St. Louis. He raised a family of six daughters and four sons. B. M. Chambers and Rev. Thomas B. Chambers were two of the sons. The daughters became the wives of Commodore William Smith, U. S. navy; Captain Joseph H. Lamotte, U. S. army; Thomas B. Hudson, B. F. Thomas, George W. Thatcher and James Larkin.

The Bogy family was of Scotch origin. Joseph Bogy, the father of Lewis V. Bogy, who was United States Senator, was born in Kaskaskia. The late Senator Bogy's mother was in her youth Mary Vital. While the country west of the Mississippi was still under Spanish domination, Joseph Bogy filled the position of secretary to the governor. L. V. Bogy, the Senator, who is identified with the history of St. Louis, was one of seven children.

Besides the Leduc, who in early days held six offices at one time, there was another family of Leducs, which came from France. Louis Leduc settled in St. Louis about 1830. He lived for thirty-five years at the corner of Seventh and Pine streets, where the Fullerton building is. Three Ranken brothers, Hugh, Robert and David, were natives of Londonderry county, Ireland. Hugh and Robert came to St. Louis together in the summer of 1819. They opened a store on Main street. They had been in business in Philadelphia. David Ranken remained in Philadelphia until 1850, when he removed to St. Louis. The Simonds family came from Vermont in 1817.

John Simonds, Jr., who was not much more than a boy when the family arrived, obtained the position of deputy constable. In 1826 he became a river captain. Subsequently he followed the commission business, and in 1850-60 was one of the leading bankers of St. Louis.

Charles Joseph Latrobe, in his book "The Rambler in North America," made something of a sociological study of St. Louis as he found it in 1835. He described a sharp contrast between the old inhabitants and the newcomers, who at that time were largely from the New England and Middle States:

> Since this part of the continent became subject of the flag of the United States, the city of St. Louis, overrun by the speculative New Englanders, has begun to spread over a large extent of ground on the bank of the river, and promises to become one of the most flourishing cities of the west. A new town has in fact sprung up by the side of the old one, with long, well-built streets and handsome rows of warehouses, constructed of excellent gray limestone, quarried on the spot. The inhabitants, of French extraction, are, however, still numerous, both in their part of the town and in the neighboring villages; and it is amusing to a European to step aside from the hurry and bustle of the upper streets, full of pale, scheming faces, depressed brows, and busy fingers, to the quiet quarters of the lower division, where many a characteristic sight and sound may be observed. Who can peep into the odd little coffee-houses with their homely billiard tables—see those cosy balconies and settees—mark the prominent nose, rosy cheek, and the contented air and civil demeanor of the males, and the intelligent eye and gossiping tongue of the females—listen to the sound of the fiddle, or perchance the jingle of a harpsichord, or spinnet, from the window of the wealthier habitant, crisp and sharp like a box of crickets—without thinking of scenes in the provinces of the mother country.

Of the young Germans whom Dr. Duden's enthusiastic description drew to St. Louis, were Alexander and Henry Kayser and their sister, who became Mrs. Bates. The Kaysers were from the Rhine. To Dr. Duden the banks of Missouri, about Hermann, were the American Rhine. The father of the Kaysers was, during twenty-eight years, a magistrate of high repute under the Duke of Nassau. The Kaysers came in 1833, bringing little but good education, industry and high mindedness. They farmed; they bought, they were in the land office; they had to do with the civil engineering of the growing city; they advanced rapidly in the estimation of their fellow citizens. Alexander Kayser became a lawyer in 1841; a lieutenant in the Mexican War in 1847; a presidential elector in 1852. With Thomas Allen he took up grape culture and offered prizes for the best products of Missouri wines. He allied himself with one of the oldest families in St. Louis, marrying Eloise P. Morrison, a granddaughter of General Daniel Bissell.

The Zepps were early comers. Their home, in Germany, was Sipenfeld. They settled in St. Louis in 1834. Jacob Zepp, who was identified a lifetime with the cooperage industry was two years of age when his parents came over. John A. Brownlee, a native of New York, the son of the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, one of the eminent Presbyterian ministers of the east, investigated the prospects of Chicago in 1839, and after a year's experience there moved to St. Louis. He began here as a dry goods clerk and became the head of the firm of Brownlee, Homer & Co. When the Merchants' bank, now the Merchants' Laclede National, was organized in 1857, John A. Brownlee

was chosen president. The wife of Mr. Brownlee was a Miss Ridgely of Baltimore. Francis Adams Lane was Missouri born, coming to St. Louis from Marion county when he was eighteen to become a merchant. He made a fortune and retired in 1848. This branch of the Lanes was of an old Virginia family, but derived the name from Presley Carr Lane, who was for thirty years president of the State Senate of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Lanes were represented in St. Louis by William Carr Lane, the first mayor, and by Francis Adams Lane, a successful merchant.

From the little village of Cahokia, a few miles from St. Louis, John J. Anderson came in 1827 to be an errand boy in Edward Ropier's store. The father, Reuben Anderson, had moved west from Delaware during the War of 1812. He had charge of military stores at Fort Bellefontaine, and then took up his residence at Cahokia. The father's death when the boy was nine years old cut short the education. From errand boy, John J. Anderson advanced to confidential clerk and to partnership. He established the banking house of John J. Anderson & Co., and in 1857 built upon that the Bank of St. Louis. He obtained the charter and was the president. In the fifties John J. Anderson did some things which made him a man much talked about and admired. He was chairman of the ways and means committee of the council when the city appropriated $500,000 for the Missouri Pacific and the same amount for the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He brought from Vermont the marble and built the first marble building in St. Louis at a cost of $80,000. He was one of the ten men who undertook the building of the old Southern hotel before the war, to cost $800,000. James Timon came from Ireland. When he settled in St. Louis in 1819 he had a family of two sons and six daughters. His eldest son became a priest and was Bishop Timon of the Buffalo diocese. The other son was a notary in St. Louis many years. The six daughters grew to womanhood and married.

The Alexander family of Philadelphia sent several representatives to grow up with St. Louis. Joshua Henry Alexander was one of these. He began with steamboating in 1841. He started the first omnibus line which carried travelers by ferry between the hotels of St. Louis and the railroad terminals in East St. Louis, and which Robert P. Tansey developed into the St. Louis Transfer Company. Alexander was at one time comptroller of the city. Maurice W. Alexander was another member of the old Philadelphia family; he kept a drug store in St. Louis so long and so reliably that it became a landmark.

A runaway apprentice boy unwilling to stand the ill treatment of a hard master, B. W. Alexander came from Kentucky to St. Louis when he was nineteen. He had learned the trade of brick layer and followed it three years. With his savings he started one of the first livery stables in 1831, and followed that business over twenty years. Then he became a commission merchant. After that he was an insurance president, a director of the Missouri Pacific railroad and a director in the Bank of St. Louis, and in the Boatmen's Savings Institution.

The Suttons were two brothers, John L. and James C. Sutton, who came from New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1820. They established them-

selves in the blacksmithing business and became known as first class workmen. James C. Sutton moved out on a large farm just beyond the edge of the city. He raised a family of nine children.

Through the revolution of 1831, in Poland, the population of St. Louis was the gainer. John K. Rychlicki was one of 600 who chose the United States as the place of exile, and who were brought over to this country in three Austrian frigates. He was the son of a landed proprietor, a graduate of the University of Warsaw. He refused a high court appointment to join the Polish patriots. When the revolution failed, Rychlicki and his companions sought refuge in Austria, only to be compelled to move on at the demand of Russia. In 1834 John K. Rychlicki came to St. Louis and entered upon the practice of his profession as civil engineer. He lived in this city, a splendid representative of the Polish element in the community, fifty-four years.

Anti-Masonic agitation in other parts of the country found an echo in St. Louis in the early thirties. Edward Bates was worshipful master of Missouri Lodge, No. 1. He had held that position most of the time from the formation of the lodge in 1831. Included in the membership were a number of the Americans who had settled in St. Louis. Mr. Bates offered the following at a meeting of the lodge:

> Whereas, Under existing circumstances, and in view of the high excitement which unhappily prevails in many parts of the United States on the subject of Freemasonry, many good and virtuous persons have been led to doubt whether the beneficent effects resulting from the exercise of our rules do more than counterbalance the evils inflicted upon society by the passions and prejudices brought into action by our continuing to act in an organized form; and while we feel an undiminished reverence for the excellent principles inculcated by the order, and an unshaken belief in the many and great services it has rendered mankind; nevertheless,
>
> Resolved, That immediately after the close this evening this lodge shall cease to act as an organized body, and that its charter be surrendered and returned to the grand lodge.

In October Missouri lodge passed out of existence. That year the excitement over Freemasonry reached its height. The grand lodge changed its meeting place from St. Louis to Columbia. Three years later the grand lodge returned to St. Louis. In 1842, Missouri Lodge was reopened in St. Louis, many of the old members returning to it.

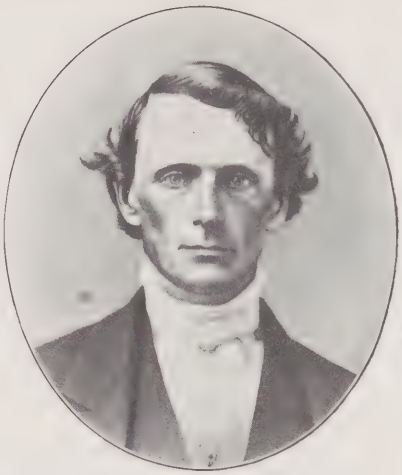
One of the strongest leaders in the movement which established the Republican party in the Mississippi Valley, was a Virginian, and his wife was the daughter of one of the strongest Southern sympathizers in St. Louis. Henry T. Blow was a boy of thirteen years when his father, Captain Peter Blow, moved to St. Louis in 1830 and became the proprietor of the Jefferson hotel. The wife of Captain Peter Blow was Elizabeth Taylor of another old Virginia family. Henry T. Blow had eleven brothers and sisters. From this family came men and women prominent in St. Louis business and society for several generations. Henry T. Blow entered the drug business, and that led him into the investigation of white lead possibilities. He left the drug business to found the Collier White Lead and Oil Co., which proved immensely profitable. Mr. Blow was president of

the company during a period of great prosperity. His wife was the daughter of Thornton Grimsley. Having amassed a fortune, Mr. Blow became interested in the Iron Mountain railroad. He was more than a business man. He figured as one of the most active participants in the Western Academy of Art, becoming the president of that institution. To inspire competition among the architects of St. Louis for something better than the city and its suburbs then showed, Mr. Blow offered a premium of $200 for the best plan of a suburban home to cost not exceeding $20,000.

Early sentiment of thrift among St. Louisans found expression in a public meeting over which George K. McGunnegle presided in February, 1839. This meeting of "merchants, traders and mechanics" was called at the Merchants' Exchange rooms. Charles Keemle, the newspaper man, was active in the movement. J. Smith Homans made an interesting talk on the advantages from the individual and the civic point of view in a cultivation of saving habits. The meeting declared that "there is a large number of persons in this city who have no profitable means for investment of their surplus earnings." A committee of five was appointed to investigate the practicability of a savings association. Josiah Spaulding, Hamilton R. Gamble and Beverly Allen were invited to give their fellow citizens legal opinion as to whether such an institution could be started without a charter from the legislature. In addition to Mr. McGunnegle and Mr. Homans, Asa Wilgus, J. W. Paulding and Wayman Crow were placed on the committee to investigate the subject.

In 1797 the settlement of St. Louis entertained two distinguished visitors in Louis Philippe and Duc de Montpensier, brothers. Louis Philippe was the Duke of Orleans when he was in St. Louis. He became king of France. His downfall occurred in 1848. Louis Philippe fled to England and died there. While on the throne he had said that the man he feared more than any other in the kingdom was Etienne Cabet, the leader of the communists. Soon after the flight of the king, Cabet, at the head of 10,000 communists, marched through the streets of Paris to the seat of the provisional government. The conditions were critical when President Lamartine went to meet Cabet, reached an understanding with him and saved the new government of France. Cabet left France with a number of communists to found a colony. He settled at Nauvoo, the old home of the Mormons, in Illinois. Differences arose. Cabet, with 200 followers, came to St. Louis, in 1853, and established the Icarian community at Cheltenham, now part of the city. After he left France he was accused of embezzlement, and conviction was declared in the absence of defense. Cabet went back to France, secured a rehearing and was acquitted. He returned to St. Louis and died suddenly from an apoplectic stroke in 1856. The community disbanded. Twenty years afterwards, admirers of the Icarian doctrine erected a monument at the grave. They inscribed upon the base of the obelisk, "La Memoire de Cabet." At the foot of the grave they raised upon an iron triangle a crown of thorns. Twenty years more went by bringing the encroachments of the city upon the Old Picker cemetery. In

SAMUEL JAMES



WILLIAM R. McLURE

BENOIST RESIDENCE,
Eighth and Pine Streets, About 1850

THOMAS PRATT

SAMUEL H. LEATHE

STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

1908, there were those in St. Louis who protected the grave of the communist, whom King Louis Phillippe so feared.

Richard Dowling was the walking historian of St. Louis. He was born in Ireland, but his parents came to St. Louis when the boy was ten years old. In the three quarters of a century that he lived in St. Louis, he came to know more people and to know more about those people than anybody else. He forgot nothing, it seemed. Elihu H. Shepard, the schoolmaster and historian, once said that Dowling, who had been one of his pupils, had "a larger fund of information in regard to St. Louis and its inhabitants than any other person in it."

The man who rebuilt St. Louis, after the great fire of 1849, was from Connecticut, a Norwich boy, Oliver A. Hart. He had served an apprenticeship to the principal builders in Norwich. Soon after he came to St. Louis, in 1837, he formed a partnership with Augustus Brewster. When the business district was swept by fire, Mr. Hart, as an architect and builder, was in a position to meet the demands for immediate reconstruction.

The best stump speaker of St. Louis, in 1850-60, was one of the most active Presbyterians. Also a fighting man was General Nathan Ranney. A native of Connecticut, he enlisted in the War of 1812, when he was only sixteen years old. He did some brilliant work at the Battle of Plattsburg, heading a squad of twenty men in the night, surprising a town where there was a large British force and carrying away as prisoners three British officers of rank without the loss of a single man in his squad. In 1819, Nathan Ranney began commercial life in St. Louis. His military rank was attained when Governor Dunklin made him brigadier-general of the Missouri militia in 1836. For years General Ranney was president of the board of public schools and of the Missouri Bible society. He made a very notable and effective speech during the financial panic of 1857, when he called together the business men of St. Louis and inspired confidence at a time of great financial stress.

Speaking at the inauguration of Washington University, in 1857, of the consultation at the first meeting held in 1853, under the charter which Wayman Crow had obtained from the Legislature, Samuel S. Treat said one of the needs for this institution in St. Louis, which was impressed upon the minds of all present, was "the heterogeneous population, with all its diversified and seemingly conflicting habits and casts of thought, out of which is to come an unknown homogeneousness of life and society, leading to and defining a moral and mental order, the like of which, perhaps, has never yet been."

From the West Indies in 1848, came a notable infusion. Guadeloupe had been all but ruined by an earthquake three years earlier. The colony was slowly recovering when revolution occurred in France. Louis Philippe fled. The republican government demanded of the colonies recognition of its authority. Agents of the new order declared slavery abolished in Guadeloupe. Industry was paralyzed. Excesses were threatened. Old families, who represented the best blood of France, faced emigration as the least of

the evils. America was the unanimous choice of these emigres from Guadeloupe. The first of them sought St. Louis. Others followed until, in 1849, they formed an accession strong in character. Among them were the de Laureal, Boisliniere, Tetard, Du Pavillon, Cherot, Bourdon, de Pombiray, Bouvier, Gibert, Ladevaiz, Du Clos, Peterson and Vouillaire families. Not few of these emigres of Guadeloupe, who sought St. Louis, were descendants of the old French nobility. They were people of thorough education, deep religious conviction and charming refinement. They brought into the population of St. Louis a strong strain physically. They were people who showed ready adaptability. Edward de Laureal, who was, perhaps, the leader of the movement, was an amateur painter of no little merit. Several of the ladies of these Guadeloupe families became teachers in St. Louis.

St. Louis was the home of those who came to escape religious as well as political intolerance. Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, on his visit, made this interesting discovery as told by his secretary:

> Reality is some times as strange as fiction, and persons meet in life in a way which astonishes in a novel. In the summer of 1848, the convent of the Jesuits in Vienna was attacked by the people, led by the students, and the "patres" were expelled. Europe, with the sole exception of England, was at this time not favorable to the Jesuits; but England was sufficiently stocked with them, and so they went farther west until they reached St. Louis; six remained here in the convent, and one of them now instructs the Republican youth of the Mound city. But the students of Vienna were in their turn expelled by the soldiers, and one of them who had played a part in the attack on the convent was now also in St. Louis, engaged as printer in the German printing-house.

St. Louis, at that early period, had its growing colony of those who had been conspicuous in political agitation at Vienna. The secretary of Kossuth wrote:

> We found here several of our former friends and acquaintances. Mr. Rombauer, late director of the iron mines in the county Gomor, and then of the musket manufactory in Hungary, is now a farmer in Iowa. If ever the iron mines in Missouri shall be developed, he will see a great field open for his activity. Mr. Bernays, formerly attached to the French embassy at Vienna, keeps a store in Illinois. Mr. Boernstein, the popular German author, the Paris correspondent of the Augsburgh Gazette, is the editor of the most influential German paper in the West. They related to us all their adventures, since we had lost sight of them—novels of real life. Mr. Rombauer had been in California. Several of our countrymen thrive there, but he suffered from the climate and returned to the backwoods of Iowa. In California he had met a pioneer seventy years old, who proceeding from western Pennsylvania, had eighteen times sold his settlement; clearing the woods, building a loghouse, and selling it as soon as he was overtaken by the bulk of the emigration. And even, to California he went, not in order to remain, but to sell his newly acquired property as soon as he could do so with profit. A Hungarian private soldier found that California was the terrestrial paradise; he walked on gold and slept on gold, he said. And yet he left the diggings as soon as he had made some money, and bought a farm and four oxen, to live upon the produce of the soil.

In three years, 1848-50, the arrivals of Germans at St. Louis numbered 34,418. The failure of their revolutionary movement was the gain of this city in highly desirable citizens. Enno Sander, of a good family, a grad-

uate of the University of Berlin, was one of the German "Liberals" who assembled at Baden and declared themselves. Under the provisional government that was established Dr. Sander became assistant minister of war. When the revolution failed and the leaders were being condemned to death or to imprisonment, he made his way to Switzerland, and later, in 1852, he reached St. Louis. The Missouri law creating a state board of pharmacy where every druggist must show his ability to practice, was of Dr. Sander's authorship. The St. Louis School of Pharmacy owed much to his inspiration. Franz Sigel, who became a major-general, and whose equestrian statue is in Forest Park, was one of this St. Louis colony of German revolutionary leaders. Sigel was a graduate of the military school at Carlsruhe. When the revolution started in Baden, in 1848, he raised a corp of 4,000 volunteers and fought two battles with the royal troops. He was defeated and escaped to Switzerland. The next year he went back to Baden. After commanding the Army of the Neckar, he was made minister of war of the provisional government and succeeded to the chief command of the revolutionary forces. After several battles he was again compelled to retreat, and took refuge in Switzerland. In 1856 he came to St. Louis and became a teacher of mathematics in the German Institute. That was his vocation until the Committee of Public Safety organized the Union guards in the winter of 1861, when he was made colonel of one of four regiments first organized.

So strong in numbers and virile in character was the German infusion that some philosophic minds contemplated the theory that the Teutonic element might assimilate the Anglo-Saxon in St. Louis and Missouri. The writer of the book on Kossuth's visit embodied in a suggestive way this idea:

> With Mr. Cobb, the editor of an industrial and statistical monthly paper in St. Louis, we had a long conversation on poetry, art and the future of America. He is a great admirer of Goethe, and has the most sanguine expectations as to the future of his country, and especially of the west. He compared the citizens of the United States with the Romans, who had organized the countries under their sway, who had civilized the people, who had introduced art and literature amongst the barbarians, and had assimilated the provinces to Rome. Mr. Pulszky remarked that the Germans had not yet given up the idea that the west might become their inheritance, and that the power of assimilating other races to themselves is perhaps not so strong in the Anglo-Saxons as it is generally thought. The admirer of Goethe replied in good earnest, "it is not impossible that the Germans may overrun us; the Goths and Vandals likewise defeated Rome when it seemed most powerful."

From 1830 to 1850 the population was multiplied by ten. In the latter year 22,340, one-third of the inhabitants of St. Louis, were of German birth. Ten years later, in 1860, St. Louis city and county had 50,510 people "born in Germany." These figures do not include the American born children of German parents. Two-thirds of a century St. Louis has been receiving a strong influx of German immigration. In 1890 there were 66,000 of German birth. The result has not been the Germanizing of St. Louis, but an assimilation which has given notable elements of strength to an American city. "The young man Absalom" has given the minimum of concern to

this community. No other large city has shown a larger proportion of sons well worthy of their sires. Degeneracy, in descent, has been the very rare exception. Traditions, public sentiment, family ideals, have contributed to the improvement generation by generation. Sons of St. Louisans, grandsons of St. Louisans, great grandsons of St. Louisans hold places in the foremost ranks of professions and vocations. In the present generation there is no reaction from this admirable and hopeful characteristic of the city. When David R. Francis had demonstrated his capacity for business, before public life had engaged his faculties, he was strongly urged to move from St. Louis to New York. Opportunities for business success on an enlarged scale were presented to him. "No," he said, "I shall remain where I am. I have six boys. St. Louis is a better place than New York to raise sons." To many parents St. Louis has proven a good place for raising boys. Sons worthy of their successful sires have grown up, taken their places in business or the professions, and added the honor of the second generation to such family names as Simmons, Fordyce, Scudder, Walker, McKittrick, Catlin, Davis, Carpenter, Francis, Mallinckrodt, Gregg, Stanard, Pettus, Tower, West, Rumsey, Lambert, McCluney, Niedringhaus, Wells, Capen, Allen. Bringing up the boy in the way he should go was one of the tendencies the Germans strengthened. The German St. Louisan made a home; he raised his son to follow him in trade, in profession, in industry. He did this so thoroughly, so generally, so impressively that the example reached and affected all St. Louis. Witness the Meyers, the Paulys, the Anheusers, the Lemps, the Preetoriuses, the Busches, the Schottens.

A philosophical view of the composite population of St. Louis and its surrounding territory was presented in 1875 by Judge Nathaniel Holmes:

> It is the remarkable fact that the several successive streams of westward migration of the white Aryan race from the primitive Paradise, in the neighborhood of the primeval cities of Sogd and Balkh, in high Asia, long separated in times of migration, and for the most part distinct in the European areas finally occupied by them, and which, in the course of its grand march of twenty thousand years or more, has created nearly the whole of the civilization, arts, sciences and literature of this globe, building seats of fixed habitation and great cities, successively, in the rich valleys of the Ganges, the Tiber and the Po, the Danube, the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Seine and Thames, wandering children of the same great family are now, in these latter times, brought together again in their descendants and representatives, Semitic, Pelasgic, Celtic, Teutonic and Sclavonic, here in the newly discovered common land of promise, and are commingled (especially in this great Valley of the Mississippi) into one common brotherhood of race, language, law and liberty.

The census of 1880 was a great disappointment to the people of St. Louis. To be informed by the government that the growth had been only 39,658 in ten years was a shock. The previous decade, from 1860 to 1870 had shown, on the face of the returns, a growth of 125,286. There was something wrong. A movement by citizens to discover errors in the count of 1880, conducted by Professor Calvin M. Woodward, showed some errors of omission, but not what would account for the surprising comparison. A committee of citizens went to Washington to pro-

test against the injustice done to the city by the census of 1880. Carl Schurz was still Secretary of the Interior. The census office was a part of that department. He received the committee. Barely waiting to hear the protest voiced, the Secretary said:

"Gentlemen! I, too, am a citizen of St. Louis. I was very indignant when I saw this report of our population. I have been investigating. See here!"

The Secretary drew from his desk records of the St. Louis census of 1870. When the committee had examined the evidence, there was nothing further to be said by way of protest against the census of 1880.

From 1860 to 1880, twenty years, the population of St. Louis increased 164,944. That is what the honest counts show. The census of 1870 must be discredited and ignored in any analysis of the growth of the population. Possibly a fair division of the growth by decades would allot two-fifths of the 164,944 to the ten years from 1860 to 1870 and three-fifths to the decade from 1870 to 1880. The next ten years, from 1880 to 1890, showed an increase of 101,248. From 1890 to 1900 the increase was 123,468.

Daniel M. Grissom made what must stand as the best study of St. Louis population figures. He pointed out that in 1830, St. Louis, with a population of 4,977, stood forty-fourth among the cities of the United States. Ten years later St. Louis was twentieth. In 1850 St. Louis was the sixth, and held that place in 1860. The year 1870, it has been explained, is unworthy of consideration for population figures. In 1880 this city stood fifth, and continued to hold that rank until the consolidation of New York and Brooklyn gave the fourth place to St. Louis. In eighty years St. Louis has passed in population thirty-eight other cities, and has been passed by but one city, Chicago. St. Louis has held the present rank twenty years.

Scharff, an eastern author of standing as a historian, twenty-five years ago pointed out in a striking manner the convergence of the early explorations and of the later migrations in the vicinity of St. Louis:

> The French who went west from Quebec to Lake Superior, those who descended the Wabash, the Illinois, the Kaskaskia and the Mississippi, and those who ascended the latter stream from the Balize, all met and settled within forty or fifty miles of the city, and the oldest settlement, Cahokia, is within sight of its tallest spires. So likewise the three chief lines of English settlement from New England across western New York to the lakes, from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia westward to the Ohio, and from Virginia, and the Carolinas to Tennessee and Kentucky, all converged at St. Louis. It is rather more than a coincidence that Coronado and DeSoto, the one starting on the Pacific coast and the other on the Atlantic, would actually have crossed paths if they had projected their outward marches two hundred miles farther, and their meeting point would have been very near the site of St. Louis. It is rather more of a coincidence, likewise, that the road of the trading pack and wagon of the New England emigrant, the path of the Virginia ranger and Kentucky hunter, the devious way of the Canadian coureur des bois and voyageur and the route of the trapper should, all of them, have led to St. Louis. In the ante-chamber of the representative of the French ancient regime, or the Spanish hidalgo who might chance to be commandant at old St. Louis, but in no other place on the continent, it would have been natural for Daniel Boone, "backwoodsman of Kentucky," to meet and exchange adventures with the Yankee peddler from Connecticut, the Jesuit priest from Minnesota, the Canadian half-breed trapper

from the head waters of the Missouri, and the sugar planter of Opelousas and Terrebonne. So races and nationalities confront one another today in St. Louis and so likewise, in the remotest past of America's connection with historic periods, we find that convergence of races and nationalities toward the central point of the great Mississippi basin, which was to eventuate in the founding of St. Louis and its establishment as the key city of the mightiest river system upon the globe.

A remarkable gathering of St. Louis pioneers in business, and in the professions, took place in June, 1858. John F. Darby, ex-mayor and ex-congressman, a man of means, occupied a residence where the new Third National bank building is now, on Fifth and Olive streets. He gave a pioneers' dinner, his guests being the men prominent in business and the professions, when he was admitted to the bar, in 1827. Thirty-one years these thirty-one St. Louisans had been engaged in the building of St. Louis:

1 John O'Fallon.
2 William Carrlane.
3 Robert Simpson.
4 Peter Ferguson.
5 Joseph Charless.
6 Archibald Gamble.
7 Thornton Grimsley.
8 Henry Shaw.
9 John Finney.
10 William Finney.
11 Charles Keemle.
12 John H. Gay.
13 John Simonds.
14 Samuel Willi.
15 Louis A. Labeaume.
16 Edward Bates.
17 Sullivan Blood
18 Pierre Chouteau, Jr.
19 Robert Campbell.
20 Edward Walsh.
21 George K. McGunnegle.
22 Henry Von Phul.
23 Louis A. Benoist.
24 Daniel D. Page.
25 Bernard Pratte.
26 Hamilton R. Gamble.
27 Asa Wilgus.
28 Augustine Kerr.
29 Thomas Andrews.
30 Augustus H. Evans.
31 Nathaniel Paschall.

Mr. Darby missed no opportunity to impress upon the rising generation the truth about the men who had made St. Louis what it was in his day:

One great cause of the rise, progress and growth of the city of St. Louis may be said to be the character of the men who were combined together in the building up of this proud and prosperous metropolis. Take the men in all branches of business—the merchants, the mechanics, the steamboatmen, the lawyers, the doctors, and in fact men in every pursuit of life—and we must admit that there never was brought together such a rare and rich combination of talent, genius and industry as were united in the city of St. Louis some forty or fifty years ago. These men all seemed to be governed by the noblest impulses of our nature, and directed by the strictest principles of honor, honesty, uprightness and integrity that can control and influence the conduct and actions of men. In fact every man's word was his bond, and could be implicitly relied upon. The prominent men who gave, as it were, tone, direction, and management to affairs, were, so to speak, the choice and picked men from almost every other state in the Union; for they had not only come from almost every other state but in many instances from almost every county in almost every other state. Such were the men in whose hands were placed the destinies, fortunes, and future grandeur of our noble city.

The period of greatest immigration was from 1840 to 1870. Had the percentage of increase continued after 1870, St. Louis would have had 2,000,000 population in 1890 and 3,500,000 population in 1900. In the year 1909 the city would have been approaching 5,000,000 population. This was not to be

REV. DR. TRUMAN MARCELLUS POST,
From a Picture Taken at the Time He Was Professor of History in Washington University, Before the Civil War

JAMES SOULARD

THE BERTHOLD MANSION,
Fifth and Pine Streets

expected. The human tide had been at flood. In the nature of things it must ebb. In 1870 St. Louis contained 112,000 people born in foreign countries. They represented more than forty geographical subdivisions of the world. Of the 200,000 residents who were natives of the United States, 80,000, almost one-half, had been born outside of Missouri. Their places of nativity were distributed among thirty-seven states and eight territories. Every state and every territory, except Alaska and Arizona, had contributed natives to the population of St. Louis. New York led, with 9,250 of her sons and daughters in St. Louis. Ohio had contributed, 6,800; Illinois, 6,700, and Pennsylvania 5,800 to St. Louis. These states were represented by larger numbers than the other states. But the significant fact is that while these three states had led in numbers, they had not contributed more than their quotas in proportion to their own population. Other much smaller states had furnished their proportionate numbers. Every New England state had given liberally. Connecticut born residents of St. Louis were 628; the Massachusetts born, 2,542; the New Hampshire, 343; the Rhode Island, 150; the Maine, 712; the Vermont, 578. To summarize, the population of St. Louis, in 1870, included 5,000 men and women born in the New England states.

St. Louisans of New Jersey nativity numbered 955; of Maryland birth, 1,502; of Delaware, 56. It is a matter of some surprise to learn that, in 1870, there were living in St. Louis 251 white and 30 colored people born in the District of Columbia.

Thirty-nine years ago St. Louis was classed by many persons as a southern city. It is a fact that in 1870 the white natives of all of the southern states, resident in St. Louis, did not equal the New Yorkers of St. Louis adoption. There were 2,235 Virginians and 3,706 Kentuckians in St. Louis. Louisiana came next with 1,882, and Tennessee fourth with 1,439. Other southern states contributed: Alabama, 462; Arkansas, 246; Florida, 56; Georgia, 340; Mississippi, 554; North Carolina, 190; South Carolina, 150; Texas, 120; West Virginia, 45.

Indiana had sent to St. Louis 2,439; Michigan, 746; Wisconsin, 660. The states west of the Mississippi, in 1870, had not many to spare, but all of them had sent of their natives to swell the population of St. Louis. The Iowa born were 1,424; Kansas, 278; Minnesota, 145; Nebraska, 58; Nevada, 1; Oregon, 2. The territorial natives resident in St. Louis were not numerous, but were well scattered: Colorado, 20; Dakota, 5; Indian Territory, 5; Montana, 9; New Mexico, 27; Utah, 18; Washington, 4; Wyoming, 1.

The widely scattered sources of the foreign immigration to St. Louis must be noted. Not only were the sources many but the varying strength of these numerous inflowing strains was remarkable. The Canada born numbered 1,841 in 1870; the England born, 5,366; the France, 2,788; the Bohemia, 2,652; the Austria, 751; the Belgium, 254; the Denmark, 178; the Hungary, 126; the Italy, 785. The two great armies of immigrants in St. Louis were German and Irish. The fourteen states of Germany were represented in St. Louis in 1870 by 50,640, while those born in Ireland

numbered 32,239. Natives of Africa, Asia, Australia, Central America, Mexico, Cuba, Greece, Norway and the Pacific Islands were residents of St. Louis.

"Most American of cities," St. Louis was pronounced by an observant traveler recently. Three decades, from 1870 to 1900, constitute a period of rapid assimilation of the contributions by countries and states to the population of St. Louis. In 1900 the American born residents of St. Louis numbered 463,888. The foreign born population of St. Louis, in 1900, was 111,356, a few hundreds less than the foreign born in 1870. St. Louis had Americanized with great rapidity. The growth of the city in thirty years was of American birth. Germany led in 1900 as in 1870. The Germany born dwellers in St. Louis in 1900 were 58,781, which was an increase of 8,000 over 1870. The Ireland born were 19,420, a falling off of 13,000. The loss has been made up from other sources. Russia, as a place of nativity, was hardly known in St. Louis in 1870. The Russia born were 4,785 in 1900. The England born increased 500; the Canada born, 1,300; Austria born, 1,800. The Polanders formed a new element in the foreign born population, numbering nearly 3,000 in 1900. Very few natives of Switzerland were included in the population of St. Louis in 1870. In 1900 there were 2,752 Switzerland born. Another country with a much stronger representation, in 1900, was Sweden. The natives of Sweden were 1,116. The St. Louis population of 1900 included natives of Africa, the Atlantic Islands, Australia, the Pacific Islands, Central America, India, Finland, as well as the better known foreign lands.

Perhaps the handsomest of the young St. Louisans of his day was Sylvestre Labbadie. He had been sent to France for his education. He brought back with him the polish of the old world. As he grew in years, Mr. Labbadie could not live up to the portrait which had been painted of him in his youth. One day he saw little Virginia Sarpy looking at the portrait. He said to her:

"You are thinking what a pretty boy I was, and what an ugly old man I am."

"Yes, uncle," said the candid little Virginia.

"You shall have my portrait to remember me by," said the old man; and the transfer was made.

Maryland had given to St. Louis long before the Civil war a remarkable group of men in the persons of Peter and Jesse Lindell with their keen judgment of future real estate values, Michael McEnnis with his bent toward manufacturing, John Kennard and Edward Bredell of mercantile fame, Thomas T. Gantt of striking personality in the law, and Rufus J. Lackland and Robert A. Barnes with native qualities which made them wonderfully successful in financial affairs. Chester Harding was a pioneer in American portrait painting, who spent much time in St. Louis. He was a born artist, self trained. In his youth he was a chair maker. Before he died he was recognized as among the first if not the very foremost of portrait painters of this country. One of his notable works was the portrait of Governor William Clark. Another of Harding's historic pictures was

of Daniel Boone, whom he visited at the old Boone home near St. Charles. When the artist entered he saw Boone lying on the floor toasting a piece of vension fastened to the ramrod of his gun. When Dr. Robert Simpson celebrated his eighty-eighth birthday in 1872, at the residence of his son-in-law, Gen. A. J. Smith, he was the oldest American resident of St. Louis. A keel boat brought him to this city on the first of April, 1809. He remembered that he made his way up the Mississippi by means of poles, cordelle and sails, and that he acted as bowman for the craft. Dr. Simpson was one of the original anti-slavery men of St. Louis. When he was nominated, in 1819, for election to the first constitutional convention of Missouri, he was on the anti-slavery ticket, and with his associates was beaten. Three years latter, in 1822, he went to the legislature and presented the petition upon which St. Louis secured the first city charter. Dr. Simpson was in many respects ahead of his times. He presented in the legislature a bill for the protection of the rights of women and for the protection of homesteads. His views were rejected at that time, but the doctor lived to see these same principles placed upon the statute books of many states.

A group of seven Scotchmen came to this country and founded Dumfries in Virginia. The location was at the head of navigation on a creek emptying into the Potomac some distance below the home of George Washington. Dumfries was a commercial center, a port of no small importance one hundred and fifty years ago. Richard Graham was a descendant of one of the Dumfries founders. He was a major in the War of 1812, aide-de-camp on the staff of William Henry Harrison. After the war the government made him Indian agent at St. Louis. Deciding to make St. Louis his home, Major Graham bought a county seat in the Florissant Valley. He had previously lived some time in Kentucky, and had become a personal friend of Henry Clay. Mr. Clay chided Major Graham for his preference of St. Louis over Kentucky. He suggested that in view of the luxurious growth of brush on the farm, the major had better give his place the name of Hazelwood. He wrote to the major addressing him at "Hazelwood." The major accepted the name not as Henry Clay intended it, as a joke, but seriously. Hazelwood—the place is known to this day. Major Graham married Catharine Mullanphy in 1825. His daughter, Lily Graham, was the first wife of D. M. Frost, who, at the time of the marriage, was a lieutenant in the United States army.

A granddaughter of Major Graham, by his first wife, Miss Fox of Kentucky, was the wife of Judge Wickham. Born in Virginia, educated at Georgetown University in Washington, a resident for some time in Kentucky, Major Graham became thoroughly contented with his St. Louis home. He wrote back to brothers and friends in Virginia repeatedly that nothing could ever induce him to give up his home in St. Louis county. He lived there until 1857.

The O'Neil family was from Roscrea, County Tipperary. Several brothers, two sisters and a widowed mother came to this country in 1829. They settled at Utica in the Mohawk Valley of New York state and remained

there eight years. Moving westward the family remained near Dayton a short time and then came to St. Louis. One of the brothers was Joseph O'Neil. He founded and successfully conducted the Citizens' Savings bank for many years. He managed, with signal skill, the business affairs of the late Archbishop Kenrick at an earlier period. He was one of the founders of Forest Park. So upright and scrupulously honest in his dealings was Joseph O'Neil that a fellow countryman in a spirit of levity gave him the name of "Holy Joe." The name was recognized as having fitness, and clung to Mr. O'Neil all of his life. The Erskines were New Hampshire people of Quaker descent. Greene Erskine before he came to St. Louis, in 1832, had made a fortune in trade at St. Thomas in the West Indies, where he had served in the Danish militia. Part of that fortune he had invested in the founding and publishing of the Knickerbocker Magazine of New York before he established himself in the grocery trade on the Levee in St. Louis. The Uhrigs, for generations, were river men in Bavaria. They handled commerce on the Main. When Franz Joseph Uhrig came to America, in 1836, he managed a ferry on the Susquehanna for eight dollars a month and board. He worked his way to St. Louis in 1838, bought a flatboat and freighted cordwood to the city from the Illinois river, where his brother Andrew had a farm. That led to steamboating. Ignatz Uhrig, a young brother, came over from Lauderbach in 1839. The two Uhrigs left the river to engage in the brewery business, and in 1852 bought from William Beaumont the corner of Washington and Jefferson avenues, to be known for more than half a century as Uhrig's Cave.

The Dyers are of Virginia descent with American patriots for ancestors. Thomas Bickley Dyer came west with his parents from Goochland county in 1826. He married, in 1844, a daughter of Judge William C. Carr, from whom Carr Place, a fashionable residence street in its day, took its name. A son is William Carr Dyer, the educator. David Patterson Dyer, the Federal judge, came, in 1841, from Henry county, Virginia, his parents settling in Lincoln county. His father was a soldier in the War of 1812, and his grandfather was in the Revolutionary army. David P. Dyer, a Douglas Democrat, raised a regiment and served in the Civil war.

When the city of St. Louis extends its official limits and Clayton becomes a ward, when the county courthouse has outlived its usefulness and gives place to a municipal structure, there will be found in the cavity of the corner stone an old Bible with this inscription:

In 1830 two young men, George Cornwell and Richard Tunis, came to the State of Missouri as merchants from Philadelphia. When George Cornwell left home his mother gave him this morocco-bound Bible. He died in St. Louis in 1832, and before he died he gave this Bible to his friend Richard Tunis and he in turn gave it to John F. Darby, who has had it in his possession forty-six years this 9th day of May, 1878. John F. Darby deposited with his own hands this Bible in the place for the reception of mementos in this corner stone of the new courthouse of St. Louis County.

A group of men who became landholders in the county and whose descendants are numerous in both the city and county of St. Louis migrated from Caroline county, Virginia, in 1830-40. There were three Tylers, Wil-

liam, Henry and Zachary; two Colemans, Massey and Daniel; William Boxley. About the same time arrived Rev. Robert G. Coleman with four sons, from Spottsylvania, Virginia.

Army and navy have contributed to the population character of St. Louis. The settlement had a garrison from the time St. Anne de Bellerive marched up from Fort Chartres, in 1776. There came in 1779, and for thirty years thereafter the Spanish detachments. As they left the service many officers and soldiers, French and Spanish, married the daughters of the fur traders and became habitants of the settlement.

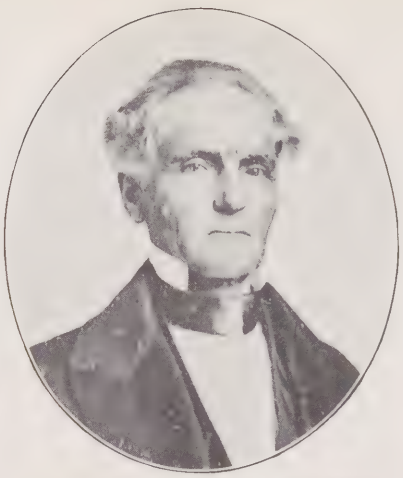
A valuable strain of patriotic military spirit St. Louis gained through the Paul family. The San Domingo insurrection of the negroes, in 1793, prompted several French families to seek refuge in the United States, and ultimately to find homes in St. Louis. The children of the Paul family were at school in France when their father left San Domingo. They came to the United States and lived in Baltimore for some time. Rene Paul came to St. Louis to go into business with Bartholomew Berthold in 1809. He married Marie Therese Chouteau, the oldest daughter of Colonel Auguste Chouteau, the stepson of Laclede. The oldest son of this marriage, Gabriel Rene, went to West Point. He served in the Indian wars, in the Mexican war and in the Civil war, attaining the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army. At Gettysburg, General Paul was left for dead on the field. When the surgeons finally got to him, they discovered signs of life and revived him. Blinded by the wounds received, General Paul recovered and lived more than twenty years after the battle. The first wife of General Paul was the daughter of Colonel Whistler, who commanded the regiment with which he served when a lieutenant. Three daughters of General Paul married into the army. The second son of Rene Paul commanded a company of the St. Louis Legion in the Mexican war. A brother-in-law of Rene Paul fought with the Americans at the Battle of New Orleans. Daughters of Rene Paul married Peter N. Ham, Charles Dubreuil and Frederick Beckwith.

In 1804 Bellefontaine, north of St. Louis a few miles, became the cantonment for a large force of United States troops. Wilkinson, the commanding general of the army, was located there some months. Through this cantonment, the Bissells became identified with St. Louis. Six brothers, named Bissell, lived in Connecticut. All of them fought in the Revolutionary war. One of their descendants was Major Russell Bissell. When General Wilkinson came with the troops to establish a garrison near St. Louis, Russell Bissell was with him. Wilkinson made his headquarters in St. Louis. Major Bissell was placed in command at Cantonment Bellefontaine, as they called it, the fort on the high bluff overlooking the Missouri river. Major Bissell died at Fort Bellefontaine in 1807, and was buried in the little garrison graveyard. His son Lewis Bissell was a captain in the regular army, but after he left the service he came back here and lived at Bissell's Point, near the reservoir in North St. Louis. After Major Bissell came Colonel Hunt in command of Bellefontaine, and then another Bissell, General Daniel, son of one the Revolutionary Bissells of Connec-

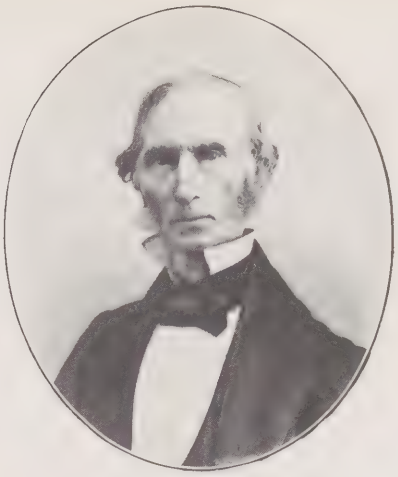
ticut. He built barracks. Cantonment Bellefontaine became Fort Bellefontaine. General Bissell went south to fight in the War of 1812. He never forgot his liking for St. Louis. When he was mustered out, in 1821, he came back, bought a large tract of beautiful rolling country, nine miles up the road to Fort Bellefontaine, and lived there the rest of life. He had three daughters and one son. One daughter married William Morrison; another, Risdon H. Price, and the third Major Thompson Douglass of the United States army. James Bissell, the son, went to school in Connecticut, came back to St. Louis and lived on the home place. Few American families could show such a military record as the Bissells of Middletown, Connecticut. The father and all of the sons were in the Revolutionary army. Four of the sons continued in the regular army. Daniel Bissell was a boy when he enlisted as private. He was a brigadier-general when he left the regular army, in 1821, to make his home in the suburbs of St. Louis.

John Francis Hamtramck was a Prussian who joined the American army in the Revolution, fought gallantly. He remained in the army after peace was declared and obtained high rank. Upon the monument erected to him in Detroit is the inscription: "The United States in him have lost a valuable officer, a good citizen, and member of society; his loss to his country is incalculable, and his friends will never forget the memory of Hamtramck." Colonel Hamtramck has many descendants in St. Louis. He might be said to be the founder of a military family in this country, so many of those descendants have given good account of themselves in uniform. A son, who bore his father's name served in the regular army and resided for some years in St. Louis. He commanded a regiment in the Mexican war. One daughter married Captain Thomas J. Harrison while he was at Jefferson Barracks. Another daughter married Captain Joseph Cross, a former army officer. A third daughter married Dr. Harvey Lane, of Missouri. Two daughters of Mrs. Lane became the wives of Henry G. Soulard and Julius Chenie, of St. Louis.

The July day, in 1826, that Captain Stephen Watts Kearny, brevet major, led four companies of the First Regiment of Infantry up the river bluff to the Rock Spring was the beginning of Jefferson Barracks. Kearny's men pitched their tents near the spring. John Quincy Adams was President of the United States. Kearny called the camp "Cantonment Adams." A couple of months afterwards, on the seventeenth of September, 1826, Colonel Leavenworth, with the Third Infantry, came down the river and formed a separate camp on the reservation. Leavenworth took the name of "Camp Miller" in honor of Governor Miller, of Missouri. But in a few weeks, on the twenty-third of October, the order was issued from the War Department that the new post was to be called "Jefferson Barracks" as a tribute to Thomas Jefferson, who had died the Fourth of July, just six days before Kearny and his men occupied the grounds. General Atkinson was the department commander, but occupied headquarters in St. Louis. The immediate command at the Barracks devolved upon Leavenworth. As the first step toward a permanent post the soldiers were set to work building log houses, into which they moved before cold weather. Leaven-



GENERAL NATHAN RANNEY



JAMES CLEMENS, JR.

JOHN SAPPINGTON

WILLIAM G. PETTUS,
Secretary of First Constitutional Convention of Missouri

FRIEDRICH MUENCH

STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

worth was a born soldier. Although he was stationed only a short time at Jefferson Barracks he established the Infantry School of Instruction. This was the first army service school for infantry in this country. From Jefferson Barracks, Leavenworth went, in 1827, to establish the fort and post in Kansas, which bears his name. Atkinson and Kearny remained to become identified with the history of St. Louis. Lieut. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, in his scenes and adventures in the army, left a pen picture of Jefferson Barracks life in the early days:

None of the actors in those scenes can fail to recur with some pleasure to the gaieties of 1827-8 at Jefferson Barracks. One of the regiments was in cantonment on the south side of the first hill; a quarter of a mile farther on another, the 6th infantry, was encamped; on the crest of the next hill were extensive stone barracks in progress; and still lower down, on its southern declivity, were encamped the 1st infantry, some staff and other officers and their families, were in huts in various detached situations. Two of the regiments had a few months before arrived from a remote outpost. A day or two after joining, I, with several friends, dined at the regimental mess of the 6th. It then was a mess indeed—in numbers and spirit a delightful mess, such as few regiments now have. The president was Capt. ———, with his splendid whiskers and mustache, dignified and easy in his manners, he seemed a type of the old school. Capt. ——— soon after became in low health, and being of impatient temper, his spirits sank under it; his life was in danger; and as a last resort Surgeon G. prescribed a singular mode of treatment —a novel kind of excitement which was intrusted to Lieutenant R. ———. He paraded daily around the captain's tent with a long face, whistling the dead march; and it so happened that being first on the list, the captain's death would cause his promotion. But Capt. ———, taking this view of it, waxed wrathful, and swore he would not die for his tormentor's sake; and the cure was made.

What would thirty young officers be at? Not much time was consumed in considering such a question; in all intervals of duty, we gladly resigned ourselves to the influences of chance or impulse, and sufficient to the day were the pleasures thereof. None thought of the morrow. To the many all was new, even the service itself—a new country and manners, and there were some new beauties. On New Year's morn many were they who found themselves at that log temple of hospitality, the mess house of the 1st, and paid their devoirs to a half whiskey barrel in the middle of an immense table, foaming to the top with egg-nogg. The 6th regiment that day entertained all at the post at dinner, and midnight found us still at the table. On the 8th of January, the 1st gave a splendid ball in an unfinished barrack; a noble display of flags was above and around us, with hundreds of bright muskets with a candle in the muzzle of each. Many from St. Louis were there; and Louisville, too, had several beautiful representatives.

An army marriage of 1841, which gave St. Louis a notable citizen, was that of Major Henry S. Turner and Julia M. Hunt, the daughter of Theodore Hunt and Anne Lucas. Major Turner was of Virginia parentage, his mother having been a member of the Randolph family. Coming out of West Point, Lieutenant Turner was chosen, with two other officers of the dragoons, to attend the royal school of cavalry in France. At that time the French led all other nations in the perfection of their cavalry service.

The young American officer came home after fifteen months study. Lieutenant Turner, with the help of one of the other officers, translated and adapted the French tactics, with some modifications, for the cavalry branch of the United States army. It became a standard authority. In the Mexican war, Lieutenant Turner was made Major Turner for gallant service in three battles. He retired from the army with the intention of leading the

ideal life of a country gentleman in St. Louis county. After 1850 he was assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis several years, and then became associated with James H. Lucas in the banking business. He served in the Missouri legislature just before the Civil war. He was one of the creators of the great St. Louis Fair.

Two officers of the army, who settled in St. Louis and became men of affairs, were the McRees. They were sons of a Revolutionary officer, Major Griffith John McRee, who settled in North Carolina after the independence of the United States was acknowledged. The two sons, William and Samuel McRee were educated at West Point. William McRee was in the War of 1812. General Winfield Scott said of him that "he combined more genius and military science with high courage than any other officer who participated in the War of 1812." William McRee came to St. Louis about 1830 and made this his home until he died in the cholera epidemic of 1833. Samuel McRee remained in the army until after the Mexican War, when he became a resident of St. Louis. He owned considerable property near the crossing of the Manchester road and the Missouri Pacific railroad. When this land was sold and built upon as a suburb of St. Louis the neighborhood was called McRee City. Near by was a large spring which emptied into Chouteau's Pond; this was McRee spring.

One of the military men who settled in St. Louis and became an excellent citizen when he retired from the army, was Colonel Joshua B Brant. A native of Hampton County, Massachusetts, the son of John Brant, a Revolutionary patriot, Joshua B. Brant entered the army at the opening of the War of 1812 with New York troops commanded by Captain H. W. Odell. He fought at Fort George, at Forty Mile Creek, at Lundy's Lane. After the war he remained in the army and advanced to the grade of lieutenant-colonel, taking part in Indian wars. From 1823 to 1829 Colonel Brant's home, so far as a regular army officer could have one, was in St. Louis. He entered business life in St. Louis in 1839, when he left the army, and was the leading spirit in some of the largest building operations here during the forties. The first wife of Colonel Brant was Elizabeth Lovejoy, of Stratford, Connecticut. The second wife was Sarah Benton, a daughter of the brother of Thomas H. Benton.

The Civil war drew some of the best blood of St. Louis to both sides. But when peace came St. Louis drew from both armies new citizens of force and character. A cavalry officer in a North Carolina regiment, Dr. Joseph J. Lawrence came to St. Louis not long after the close of the war and founded the Medical Brief.

The capital of North Carolina sent to St. Louis two sons of Scotch-Irish descent, who were to become eminent in their professions, Rev. Dr. Samuel Brown McPheeters and Dr. William M. McPheeters, the physican. Samuel Brown McPheeters and Francis P. Blair were classmates and roommates at the University of North Carolina in 1841. Twenty years later the McPheeters brothers and Blair were conspicuous personalities in St. Louis. Blair was in the front of the movement to hold Missouri loyal. McPheeters, the physician, was in sympathy with the south. He gave up

extensive practice and the position of surgeon at the Marine hospital to go with the Confederate army. McPheeters, the divine, was of Union sympathy. He was holding a commission as chaplain in the United States army, and strongly advised southern officers that it was their duty to be loyal to the government. Returning to the pastorate of what was then the Pine Street Presbyterian church, now the Grand avenue, Dr. McPheeters became the central figure in an ecclesiastical controversy, the conditions of which must seem almost incredible to this generation. He had taken the oath of allegiance. While chaplain he had declared his intention to fight if the Confederates attacked the fort where he was stationed. But in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church he took ground against action on "The State of the Country," holding that the church was prohibited by its constitution "to meddle with civil affairs which concern the commonwealth." The other side of the controversy was taken by Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge. In the bitterness Dr. McPheeters was called a traitor. The controversy was taken up in St. Louis where the war feeling was very strong. Dr. McPheeters was ordered, by the military authorities, to cease preaching and to leave Missouri in ten days. Then came President Lincoln's famous order declaring that the government of the United States could not attempt to run the churches. The order of banishment was countermanded. The local presbytery became involved. By church decree Dr. McPheeters was separated from the Pine street congregation. When the war was over he was invited to return, but his health had broken under the strain. He suffered martyrdom for belief in the spiritual independence of the church. The McPheeters case was one of the St. Louis tragedies of the Civil war. Dr. McPheeters came back to resume his practice. He had been a hero in the cholera epidemic of 1849. He became a leader in moral movements and was the first president of the society for the suppression of vice, formed to meet the demoralization, which was part of St. Louis' inheritance from the war.

An intense Union man of southern birth and education was John D. Stevenson. He was not only a native of Virginia, but received his education in the Old Dominion and in South Carolina. He practiced law in Virginia before coming west in 1841. His wife was Miss Hannah Letcher, a first cousin of John Letcher, the war governor of Virginia. But with such antecedents John D. Stevenson put aside his law books and went into the Union army in the spring of 1861 as colonel of the Seventh Missouri Infantry. As a member of the Missouri legislature he had opposed, with all of his might, the efforts of Governor Jackson to have Missouri join the southern Confederacy.

Five Wears, brothers, fought in the battle of King's Mountain and helped to win one of the decisive patriot victories of the Revolution. From one of the five Wears descended James Hutchinson Wear, the wholesale merchant, and David Walker Wear, the lawyer, residents of St. Louis about the time of the Civil war. The father of the Wears was a pioneer settler of Missouri, coming from Tennessee. He founded the town of Otterville. James Hutchinson Wear founded the Wear-Boogher Dry Goods

company. Albert S. Aloe came from Edinburgh, Scotland. By way of preparation to establish himself as an optician in St. Louis, in 1862, he sailed before the mast around Cape Horn, and built a sugar mill in South America. Weshpool, Wales, was the birthplace of David Harries Evans, who was the first resident on Lindell boulevard, to contribute ground for the widening and beautifying of that thoroughfare. Among the heirlooms which Samuel H. Leathe treasured, in his St. Louis home, was the musket his grandfather carried in the Battle of Lexington. Before he came to St. Louis to reside permanently, this son of Massachusetts was successively a sailor, an explorer in the Rocky Mountains, a horse trader in the south, a '49er in California, a merchant in Boston. Such was the diversified experience which prepared him for his part in the St. Louis firm of Pettus and Leathe, importers of works of art.

Descendants of Solomon Slayback, who was with Washington at Valley Forge, came to Missouri by way of Cincinnati, where Dr. Abel Slayback was a leading member of the medical profession early in the last century. Alexander L. Slaybach, a grandson of the Revolutionary patriot, was educated in Missouri and settled in Lexington of this state. Three of his sons were residents of St. Louis after the Civil war. Charles McLaran, the head of the McLaran family, came from Baltimore. His father was a Revolutionary officer. His grandfather was obliged to leave Scotland for engaging in the movement to put Charles on the throne. As a member of the first board of police commissioners Colonel McLaran participated in the organization of the metropolitan police system. The family of which Henry B. Belt as an elder brother became the head, was from Virginia, but lived in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1815. There Henry B. Belt was born. His father was interested in mineral prospecting. The family moved to Missouri between 1820 and 1830. In the cholera epidemic at St. Louis of 1849, the mother, a brother and two sisters were victims. Henry B. Belt as a youth was a clerk in the sheriff's office many years. He was best known as a real estate dealer, forming with John G. Priest in 1853 the firm of Belt and Priest, which continued in business twenty-seven years.

Nearing the end of the century, about 1895, grand old men gave strength of character to St. Louis. They were eighty, but they were active. Their influence in the community was impressive. It was felt in business and in all of the professions. These octogenarians pursued their vocations regularly. The youngest of them had been born as early as 1815. Others could date back their birthdays to 1807 and 1809 and 1812. These men were long time St. Louisans. They had seen the city's evolution. They had not relinquished their interest or their hold on the affairs of life. They constituted an element such as probably no other city could show and such as St. Louis had not before known. There were other St. Louisans full of years and honors, but they had retired and were enjoying well earned repose from active duties. Life in St. Louis has always encouraged longevity. There has been no better place to grow old. Most men withdraw from cares at three-score and ten. St. Louis has had its full quota of these. But in addition, the citizenship of 1895 included these notable personalities who

were to be seen day after day engaged in business or professional work, not as vigorously as in earlier life, perhaps, but still to be accounted as part of the city's active life.

When Augutus F. Shapleigh entered the hardware business steel had had not come into use for pens. Daniel R. Garrison, the moving spirit in the construction of the first railroad leading west from St. Louis, was 34 years old before St. Louis thought of such a thing as a railroad, and when the first public meeting was held to agitate on the subject. He was past 40 before the locomotive reached the Mississippi. Carlos S. Greeley established a wholesale grocery at St. Louis when Chicago was simply Fort Dearborn. Dr. S. Gratz Moses was private physician to Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, and eldest brother of Napoleon. While he was a resident of Paris, in this capacity, he enjoyed confidential relations with the Murat family. This was between 1830 and 1840. Two of the moving spirits in the establishment of the first public dispensary west of the Mississippi, in 1841, Drs. Moses and William M. McPheeters, were still in active professional life. Giles F. Filley was on the electoral ticket for Fremont, in Missouri, when Buchanan was elected president. John D. Perry had seen more than sixty years of active business life in St. Louis.

Melvin L. Gray came down to his law office, shed his coat, rolled up the top of a big desk crammed with legal papers and received his clients in July days. He was a classmate of the poet, John G. Saxe. Dr. Louis Bauer emerged from the consultation room of a down-town office with sprightly step and cigar poised between his fingers. Dr. Bauer was a colleague of Bismarck in the Prussian Parliament of 1848. Bismarck and Bauer, with one other, shared the distinction of being the youngest members of that body. Bismarck was then in retirement. Dr. Bauer, eight months and fourteen days older, received his patients, lectured regularly before medical classes and contributed copiously to medical publications. Oliver A. Hart was at one time an architect and a builder in St. Louis. Under his supervision four of the churches of the city were constructed. They were the finest of the period. Mr. Hart lived to see every one of those churches, built to last a century, removed to give place to business blocks, and he was still in active management of varied interests.

"Hard work," said Melvin L. Gray, in accounting for the fact that at 80 he was finding it difficult to stop being a lawyer. Hard work, Mr. Gray believed, had been conducive to long life and good health in his case. It had inspired regularity of life and good habits. Mr. Gray admitted that there was such a thing as "the demon of overwork." At one time years ago he attempted to carry too great a load. "The result was," he said, "I found myself breaking down. I took a few months' rest, resumed practice and have kept it up. About a year ago I began to wind up my business. I refused to take new cases, and I now have but one on hand. I can't say that I have pursued any special rules of life. I have lived regularly, and that is about all there is of it."

In the fifty-three years of steady practice at the St. Louis bar Mr. Gray carried weighty responsibilities. He confined himself to civil practice. As

executor, administrator and guardian he had the handling of hundreds of estates, some of them of large value, and not infrequently he was given charge of them without bond. No one ever sustained any loss through Mr. Gray in a fiduciary capacity. There were in 1895 but two men living whose practice at the St. Louis bar antedated Mr. Gray's. Both of them had been retired several years. They were Samuel Knox and Judge Samuel Treat.

To fresh air more than to any other one thing Dr. Louis Bauer ascribed his vigor and fine flow of spirits at eighty-one. "Neither summer nor winter," said he, "do I sleep with closed windows. In the summer I have my bed-room windows wide open. In the winter, no matter how cold it is, I leave a crack of one, two or three inches. People warn you about draughts. You can't have fresh air without draughts. I live on plain food. I take an occasional glass of wine with a friend. Beer? Well, I take that less occasionally than the wine. As for cigars, I have reduced my allowance. I average not more than three a day. Moderation in all of these things is my rule, and so I am still able to receive my patients, to give my lectures and to do my share toward the surgical literature of the day."

Two other members of Dr. Bauer's profession had not neglected to "heal themselves." Dr. Moses was a year older and Dr. McPheeters was a year younger than Dr. Bauer. Neither of them had retired entirely from active practice. Both of them were 50 years old when, because of their smypathies, they were invited by the authorities to leave St. Louis and go South. They spent their years of exile attending to the necessities of ex-Confederate soldiers. Dr. McPheeters came naturally by his Southern affiliation. He was a North Carolinian by birth. Dr. Moses' birthplace was in Philadelphia, and his ancestors were merchants. In 1895 it was over forty years since Dr. McPheeters wrote a history of the great cholera year in St. Louis, which won him much fame. It was over fifty years since Dr. Moses, as city physician, helped devise the first sewer system in St. Louis. But these two men were still practicing their profession.

Very few of these St. Louis octogenarians of 1895 were born with silver spoons in their mouths. Giles F. Filley as a youth went into a tinner's shop and learned that trade. Melvin L. Gray, a Vermonter, went South to Alabama and taught school before he took up law studies. Augustus F. Shapleigh clerked in a hardware store for $50 a year. He did it against his will, for he wanted to follow the sea, as his father had done before him. Oliver A. Hart served as apprentice in a carpenter shop in Norwich, Conn., and his start in St. Louis was made as a builder. Carlos S. Greeley was clerk in a grocery. Henry L. Clark left his home in Ireland when he was only seventeen years old to become a sailor. Thomas B. Edgar learned carriage making and established a manufactory in the city in 1835. Daniel R. Garrison put in four years of toil in a machine shop.

An easy conscience is conducive to longevity. The St. Louis octogenarians who still remained upon the active list in 1895 were without exception men of strict integrity. Among them were some whose lives illustrated a sense of honor that was extraordinary. Take the case of Giles F. Filley. At fifty-two years of age Mr. Filley found himself responsible for a debt

THE CHILDREN OF JAMES H. LUCAS

From an Old Daguerreotype

of nearly $1,000,000. This had come about solely through the appearance of his name as indorser on another man's commercial paper. It was not a business venture on Mr. Filley's part. It was an act of friendship. Mr. Filley was urged to take advantage of bankruptcy and rid himself of the burden incurred through no moral responsibility. He refused to see it that way. He assumed the paper he had indorsed, not only the principal, but the interest, and at the age of sixty-six paid the last dollar. The interest had added materially to the debt. The actual amount Mr. Filley paid in sustaining this indorsement was $1,300,000. At the same time he carried on and extended his manufacturing business.

These octogenarians believed that it was better to wear out than to rust out. They had worked all of their lives and worked hard. Daniel R. Garrison's experience was interesting. Forty-five years before he had attempted to retire and enjoy life. He had made what in those days was a handsome fortune. He bought a fine home and with his brother Oliver proposed to settle down. Before he passed a year in leisure he was back in business, and the greatest achievements of his life had been since then. There was no railroad into St. Louis, east or west, north or south, when Mr. Garrison resumed work. He took hold of and finished the Ohio and Mississippi to East St. Louis, the snort of the iron horse drowning the chorus of frogs on Bloody Island for the first time in 1858. After that Mr. Garrison got behind the projected Missouri Pacific and pushed that until it was completed to Kansas City. Not many people know that a change of gauge to standard was made on the Missouri Pacific. Mr. Garrison planned it and the rails were moved into place from St. Louis to Kansas City in sixteen hours, a great feat for that time. The building of the Vulcan and Jupiter Iron Works at Carondelet to turn out rails from Missouri iron for Missouri road-beds was the next great project to which Mr. Garrison turned his attention, and he was past sixty when he carried that through successfully.

Several others of the octogenarians were prominent in the early railroad enterprises of St. Louis. Thomas B. Edgar and Oliver A. Hart were directors of the Missouri Pacific during the pioneer period. Giles F. Filley, John D. Perry and Carlos S. Greeley were directors in the Kansas Pacific. But W. D. Griswold was longer and more closely identified with railroad construction than any of them. Mr. Griswold left the practice of law to become a railroad builder. He was a fellow-student of Melvin L. Gray at Middlebury College, and was prepared for college by the Rev. Dr. T. M. Post, of St. Louis. He came west in 1835, and soon after formed a law partnership at Terre Haute with John P. Ushur, who, during the war, was Secretary of the Interior. For a number of years Mr. Griswold practiced in the circuits of Indiana and Illinois, meeting frequently Abraham Lincoln. Some time before the war period, however, Mr. Griswold became interested in railroad construction. There were few lines in the west when he built the old Evansville and Crawfordsville. Then he took hold of the Terre Haute, Alton and St. Louis, completed it and put it in a well managed condition at a time when it was in danger of becoming a wreck. Still later, Mr. Griswold took charge of the Ohio and Mississippi and brought order out of

chaos there. After giving many of the best years of his life to the development of the railroad interests of St. Louis, Mr. Griswold turned his attention to real estate, and was one of the first investors to foresee the transformation to come between Grand avenue and Forest Park. He bought a tract of farm land there for $1,000 an acre and lived to sell it for $5,000 an acre, and to see it fashioned into one of the most elegant residence places in the country.

Blood will tell in men as well as race horses. To "good stock" Daniel R. Garrison attributed in considerable part his hale old age. His father was a New Englander. His mother was of Holland descent and a member of one of the Knickerbocker families of New York. The combination of New England energy with the phlegmatic Holland nature was a fine one for results. It produced a famous family of Garrison brothers, whose enterprise was only bounded by the continent.

At eighty-six James M. Franciscus was as erect as a West Pointer and walked with a quick, springy step. He was the athlete of all the octogenarians. He took his bath the first thing in the morning, just as he had done for thirty-five years. He used 15-pound dumb-bells before breakfast, as had been his custom for more than thirty years. He walked from one to two miles every day. It was doubtful if in both mental and physical vigor, age considered, there was in 1895 the equal of Mr. Franciscus in the United States. Daniel T. Jewett, the lawyer, was two years the senior of Mr. Franciscus, and still active in his profession.

To exercise, plenty of it, more than to any other one thing, Mr. Franciscus attributed his wonderful physical condition. A sedentary occupation is not considered the most favorable to long life. But this gentleman was a living example of what an office man may realize if he supplements his indoor occupation with plenty of outdoor exercise.

Mr. Franciscus was a native of Baltimore, where his father was in the sugar refining business. He became a broker and then a banker, continuing in that business. In his sixty-five years of continuous experience in financial affairs Mr. Franciscus saw about every phase of banking tried in this country. The opinion of such a man ought to go a good ways. He said:

"I think the present is the most perfect system. In the earlier period we were doing business with state banks and there was no security for the circulation, except the honest and faithful management of the banks. The currency of one state was at a discount in another. Failures were occurring almost every month or two. Since the national banking system was adopted there has never been any loss sustained by one bank on the circulation of another."

Mr. Franciscus did not smoke. He did not use tobacco in any form. He went to bed at 9 and got up at 6. At eighty-six he did not know what "the burden of years" meant.

Another case in which office life had not undermined health was that of Henry L. Clark, who had been secretary of the Wiggins Ferry company thirty-two years. Mr. Clark gave up the active, roving life of a sailor

to become a bank teller in St. Louis about 1835. William Stobie, at eighty-three, retained the management and direction of his mills.

These St. Louis octogenarians did not live to be eighty and active by dodging responsibilities. They worked hard, but they did not survive by leading treadmill lives. They took chances to the limit. Some of them found time to try several occupations. Nearly all of them put money and mind into experiments. Giles F. Filley once went out of the tin-making business to demonstrate that stone china could be made with profit from the potter's clay found under St. Louis. He imported skilled potters from England and carried on the enterprise several years before he went into stove-making. Augustus F. Shapleigh was in business in Philadelphia before he came to St. Louis. James M. Franciscus conducted a brokerage and banking business in Baltimore, Louisville and New Orleans before he decided that St. Louis was the most promising of the four cities. Daniel R. Garrison went into the manufacture of steam engines in St. Louis in 1835, when such an enterprise had not been dreamed of in the Mississippi Valley, and when the rush of the gold miners to California occurred in 1849 Mr. Garrison followed it and sold products of St. Louis manufacture at prices that made him a fortune. Oliver A. Hart built houses, organized a fire insurance company, managed the first gas stock company in St. Louis and went into the manufacture of iron and steel and the building of railroads.

One of these octogenarians of 1895 put his impress upon the architecture of St. Louis. Visitors to the city in the years following the Civil war commented much upon the simplicity of the house fronts, business and private. George I. Barnett came to this country from Nottingham, England. He was the son of a Baptist minister. Although he was only 25 years old when he settled in St. Louis, he was thoroughly grounded in the beliefs of the Italian school. Being a very positive man, Mr. Barnett succeeded in impressing those ideas upon the architecture of St. Louis to a marked degree. There were other men in St. Louis who called themselves architects, but most of them were only builders. Mr. Barnett pushed his theories aggressively. After ten years of planning and building in accordance with his school, he went to Europe for further architectural education, and came back unchanged in views. He furnished the plans and superintended the erection of 2,500 buildings. Architects with less positiveness of views copied his general style. Young architects came out of his office. In time Mr. Barnett came to see a city, the architecture of which was very much after his heart, an architecture which he was wont to describe as "the truly legitimate." But he outlived his success. He survived to see St. Louis countenance the colonial, the Queen Anne and every other school.

The octogenarian who gave St. Louis a very vigorous push in a direction the opposite of the Italian school was Aaron W. Fagin. Mr. Fagin began life in Ten Mile Creek, an estuary of the Ohio. He was another of the eighty-year-old hard workers. He was a farmer and advanced from that to keeping a country store. He traded on the river and made money enough to establish himself in St. Louis in 1842. From that he launched into milling, and before the war made a contract to deliver 50,000 barrels of flour in

ninety days, a transaction which was nine days' talk on 'change. Having amassed a fortune, Mr. Fagin determined, about 1880, to set the pace for architecture very different from that which St. Louis had been following. He said there was too much sameness of appearance and too much economy of material in the business structures of the city. He declared his intention to have something original and striking. He put up on Olive street a front 152 feet high, of granite and plate glass. Into that front he worked thirty-eight polished red granite columns. He constructed windows of ingenious variety in shape and size. While the huge irregularly shaped granite blocks were being piled up to form the facade of the Fagin building, St. Louis people stood in awe-stricken groups at a respectful distance, expecting to see the whole thing come tumbling down like a cob house. While St. Louis was marveling over this skyscraper and Mr. Barnett was going around the block to avoid profaning his eyes with such illegitimate architecture, Mr. Fagin, at the age of sixty-nine, started on a leisurely tour around the world. When he returned he took upon himself the active management of his big building, which had proven as solid as the foundation of St. Louis.

The cloth had a narrow escape from missing representation among the active octogenarians of St. Louis. The Rev. Dr. Montgomery Schuyler, who at eighty-one performed the duties of dean of the Cathedral, intended to be a lawyer. He read law books two years after he graduated from Union College, and before he made up his mind that he preferred theology. The venerable divine came of sturdy Dutch stock. His ancestors founded a Dutch colony on the Hudson, near Albany.

These St. Louis octogenarians, active in 1895, were important factors in the history of St. Louis.

Tracing the moral fiber of latter day St. Louisans back to the early generations was a topic that appealed to L. U. Reavis, who wrote much about the city and its population:

> An allusion to an incident in the history of the city may be permitted which illustrates the texture of those moral elements of character derived from the crude looms of the early settlers of the trappers' village. In 1849 St. Louis was visited with the triple furies of fires, flood and pestilence. The best portions of her business locations were reduced to ashes; five thousand of her people died with a disease that bid defiance to medical skill; her rivers rose and flooded her productive bottom lands. Ruin stalked through her streets and pervaded the country tributary to her commercial support. At this trying moment, with that self-reliant and indomitable will which carried her founders safely through the ordeals to which they were exposed, she met the responsibilities of the trial with an independent spirit, a prowess of resistance and recuperative energies of the highest type. Honorable as it is to our nature that sympathy finds a lodgment not alone in individual bosoms, but in communities and nations, our citizens asked no aid from this benevolent feeling to meet the exigencies of the hour. Not a dollar was received or asked from contiguous or distant cities. The bravery and self-reliant characteristics of the trapper shone out in the artisan, merchant and professional man of the present, and an immediate effort was put in requisition to redeem losses and repair devastations. Such an exhibition of unconquerable will, of inherent strength, is surely a forcible prognostic, a grand prohecy of the ultimate destiny of our beloved metropolis.

When St. Louis was stricken by the cyclone of 1896, this moral fiber of the community showed itself in the message which Mayor Cyrus P. Walbridge sent out to the world. St. Louis was grateful for the generous tenders of aid, but could and would care for her stricken section. The prompt action was wise. St. Louis was not destroyed as the first reports had it. The business of the city was going on. All obligations of trade could be met. The mayor's message corrected a world-wide impression which would have done the city incalculable harm.

"The shamelessness of St. Louis" was an utterance of superficial observation by a stranger in 1902. The conscience of the community had been aroused. The work of investigation and reform was under way. Revelations of official impurity were shocking, but the city was showing its inherent goodness by vigorous prosecution of evil doers. A city which can and does do this is not "shameless." The conditions in St. Louis were not worse than those in other large cities, but St. Louis exposed and punished the official grafting.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ST. LOUIS WOMANHOOD.

Forty years or more ago, within three blocks from where we are now seated, there stood an old church, and in that church was conducted a Sunday School where, under the guidance of my mother, I received my childhood training,—a mother whose unselfish life, whose trust in God and uncompromising integrity have ever been my inspiration and standard. The mother of long ago, whose influence I still feel within me, and my good wife, whose steadfast character has ever upheld me, have been my strength and my guide during the eight years of official life. If I have succeeded in doing good to my fellowmen, then the memory of the one and the presence of the other should share in the great honor you have this night conferred upon me.—Rolla Wells, eight years mayor, at testimonial banquet, 1909.

"La mere de St. Louis," the mother of St. Louis! This was the title by which the villagers knew Madame Chouteau. It was bestowed early in the history of the settlement. Across the river, in a farm house of Cahokia, Madame Chouteau and the little children were sheltered through the spring and summer of 1764. They could see the gray walls of government house rising among the trees. In September they were moved to the settlement. Madame Chouteau was the first woman to enter upon residence in St. Louis. Naturally the title of mother of St. Louis was given to her. It continued with her to the end of her four-score years of eventful, honorable life.

Marie Therese Chouteau was born Bourgeois. Her parents belonged to the court of Spain,—the father, a page to the king; the mother, a maid of honor to the queen. There was mutual attraction without deference to the wishes or plans of the elders. The young people had their way, wedded and came across the sea to New France. One of the epidemics then so prevalent in the lower province made little Marie Therese an orphan. The fortune was left in the care of a paternal uncle. Marie Therese was not beyond infancy when her guardian placed her in the Ursuline convent at New Orleans.

In 1749, before the girl reached her majority, a marriage was arranged for her by her uncle and guardian. Family tradition does not ascribe worthy motive for the encouragement of this marriage. Material interests were involved. The happiness of the orphan was not of first consideration. If Marie Therese Bourgeois remained a ward until of age—the legal age was in that time fourteen years—there must be an accounting of the estate left by her father. If she married before she was of age, she could legally sign the paper which would release her guardian from his responsibility. Material concern, according to the family history, prompted a sacrifice of the child's happiness. Marie Therese Bourgeois went from the Ursuline convent, the only home she had known, to become the wife of Rene Auguste Chouteau.

The husband was much older; he had considerable means for those days. The immature girl was high spirited. The union was unfortunate; it ended in separation. Marie Therese Chouteau went back to the convent. A babe was

born in September, 1750. The boy was christened Auguste Chouteau. Marital relationship was not resumed. The youthful mother regained her good spirits. She was a child again. She played in the high-walled convent garden. One day there came a terrifying shock. An ape, the ugly pet of the neighborhood, clambered along the galleries from house to house until he came to the place where the baby, Auguste, was sleeping. The ape took up the child carefully and began to climb one of the columns to the roof.

A cry of alarm attracted the girl from her play. The sight of her child in the arms of the ape awoke the maternal instinct. From that hour Marie Therese Chouteau was a matured, resolute, serious woman. She started toward the house. The ape stopped on the edge of the roof and was apparently about to drop the baby, and to seek safety. Some one with presence of mind restrained Marie Therese. Seeing that there was to be no pursuit, the ape sat down on the roof, took the baby in its lap and, imitating the actions of a nurse, pulled the pins from the clothing and put them in its mouth. Having undressed the baby, as it had seen the nurse do, the ape restored the clothes, put back the pins, carefully climbed down from the roof to the porch and put little Auguste in the cradle. Then the ape climbed back along the railings to the place where it belonged.

Before that day, Marie Therese had left the baby to the good sisters. She had played with dolls. She had jumped the rope with the girls of the convent school. After that day she put away childish things. But there was no suggestion of return to the marital relationship with Rene Auguste Chouteau. The civil record of the marriage stood. Several years the mother and her child remained in the convent.

Pierre Laclede arrived in New Orleans in 1755. Not long afterwards he made the acquaintance of Marie Therese Chouteau. The young French gentleman, from Bedous, was of excellent family connections. He had means. He entered business life in the lower province. He was well received in official and mencantile circles at New Orleans. A period of commercial depression prevailed. Colonial war and Indian troubles disarranged trade. Laclede, having had good education and military training, offered himself for service in the government forces. He was accepted and was given a commission. Maxent was colonel of the regiment. Leading men of the colony became warm friends of Laclede. In the official records of 1757, Laclede was referred to as a "merchant and officer of militia." He was in favor with the governor, Kelerec, the highest representative of France, in Louisiana. That year, 1757, two years after his arrival at New Orleans, Pierre Laclede and Marie Therese Chouteau were married. It was a union which representatives of church and state personally sanctioned and heartily approved. In the eyes of all, Madame Chouteau became the wife of Pierre Laclede and was so respected.

Pierre Chouteau, son of Pierre Laclede, was born in 1758. Three daughters were christened Chouteau. When Laclede mustered his "considerable armament," backed by powerful influence at New Orleans, and came up the Mississippi, he brought his wife and children with him. Upon Auguste Chouteau, the boy of thirteen, son of Rene Auguste Chouteau, Laclede bestowed

MADAME AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU,
Born 1769, Marie Therese Cerre

MRS. MANUEL LISA,
Wife of the Fur Trader

Copyright, 1897, by Pierre Chouteau

THE HOME OF MADAME CHOUTEAU, MOTHER OF ST. LOUIS

all of the confidence and affection a father could give to an eldest son. The family was harmonious and happy. With the earliest profits realized out of the fur trading, Laclede provided for the future of his wife and children. He built a house and secured the grant of the lot on Main and Chestnut streets to Madame Chouteau and the children. He set apart for them a farm in the outskirts. The property made over to the family was valued at about four thousand dollars, a considerable sum in that period.

Laclede, his wife and his children were by universal recognition the first family of St. Louis. Neither by tradition nor by record is there evidence that the habitants regarded the difference in names as extraordinary. The family occupied in church relations the same leading position accorded socially and politically. As the daughters became of marriageable age, they were sought by the three most prominent business men in the community.

Rene Auguste Chouteau died in New Orleans, 1776. He left some property. Auguste and Pierre Chouteau gave to Pierre Laclede power of attorney to look after their mother's interest in the estate, when he went down to New Orleans.

Madame Chouteau was certainly not thirty years of age when she made the three months' journey up the Mississippi. With her were three little children. John Pierre was five. Victoria was three and little Pelagie was one year old. This journey was the beginning of experiences which developed the heroic qualities. After the winter at Fort Chartres or Kaskaskia, the mother and the little ones were taken to Cahokia. They traveled in a charette. This was a vehicle without springs and of two wheels. Upon the shafts and cross pieces, which were attached to the axle, was a basket-like body. In this were conveyed Madame Chouteau and the children. The driver was Antoine Riviere, who followed Laclede to St. Louis. He lived in St. Louis and its suburbs until he was 110 years old. The year of the founding, the third daughter, Marie Louise, was born to Laclede and Madame Chouteau. In September, 1764, Laclede's house, on the west side of Main street, between Walnut and Market was ready. Mrs. Chouteau and the children were brought across the river to St. Louis. Until 1768 this house was the home of Laclede's family and at the same time headquarters of the government which Laclede and St. Ange established. It also contained the office of Maxent, Laclede & Co. In 1768 Laclede completed a stone house on Main and Chestnut streets. To this he moved the family. The home was deeded to Madame Chouteau and the children. It was the home of "the mother of St. Louis" until her death in 1814.

"La mere de St. Louis," meant more than phrase of compliment. It stood for much besides the fact of earliest residence. Madame Chouteau was in many ways the motherly woman to all St. Louis. She was of positive practical character, but mingled with the traditions of her business shrewdness are many memories of good works. From the Chouteau home on Main and Chestnut streets were carried through the settlement remedies for the sick and delicacies for the convalescent. Strawberries ripened on the prairies of St. Louis in June. Grapes darkened and sweetened in the groves along the River des Peres in September. As regularly as the seasons, fruits were preserved

and wines were made. A liberal portion of her household stock Madame Chouteau set aside each year to meet the calls of sickness. To her that was not only for her children and grandchildren, a numerous flock, but for any one in the village who needed delicacies to tempt back the appetite.

There were periods of years during which St. Louis was without professional physicians. The mysteries of birth and death were never absent. Homely remedies, unscientific surgery met the needs. To the emergencies Madame Chouteau responded. The gentle-born, convent-bred girl mothered the whole settlement. Her ministrations were not all physical. A woman of not many words, Madame Chouteau came to have great influence in the community. Her sons and her daughters looked to her for advice in all matters. Her counsel was sought upon questions which concerned the settlement. The Spanish governors treated her with great deference. No priest, or dignitary of the church, visited St. Louis without early paying his respects to Madame Chouteau.

The portrait of Madame Chouteau, which has been preserved by her descendants represents her in the dress which belonged to the simple, every day life of St. Louis womanhood before the American occupation. It was painted at the instance of one of the sons. An artist had come to St. Louis. Both Auguste and Pierre Chouteau wanted pictures of their mother to place in their great stone mansions. They differed as to the mode in which the portrait should be painted. One wished to have a picture of his mother as he knew her best, in the garb of home, with the handkerchief about her head. "No," said the other, "she must be painted as the grande dame." And so two portraits were executed. The artist wrought his work on wood. Madame Chouteau was pictured as the whole settlement knew her, "the mother of St. Louis." She was also painted in the stately elegance of the first lady of St. Louis, wearing the long gold earrings given to her mother by the Queen of Spain. The fate of this second portrait is unknown to this generation. The one in the plain garb was saved.

In 1847, the anniversary of the founding of St. Louis was celebrated. The personality of chief historic interest that day was Pierre Chouteau, first born of the union of Pierre Laclede and Marie Therese Chouteau. He was very old but in full possession of his mental faculties. A part of the anniversary day, Pierre Chouteau passed at the Berthold residence on Broadway and Pine streets. An incident of the celebration was the appearance on the streets of a carriage and occupants representing the time of Louis XV, when St. Louis was founded. Seated in the carriage were two members of French families, one dressed as a marquis, the other as a marquise. Upon the front seat were two children, also in costumes of the period of Louis XV. With the old residents and their descendants the appearance of this representation of Laclede's time and station aroused much sentiment. Among those in the family group at the Berthold mansion who saw the representation was Sylvestre Labbadie, son of Sylvestre Labbadie who married Pelagie Chouteau, the second daughter of Madame Chouteau and Pierre Laclede. Sylvestre Labbadie, the younger, was sent to France in his boyhood and educated there. He brought back with him love of the country of his ancestors strongly impressed upon

MRS. THEODORE HUNT,
(Miss Anne Lucas)

MRS. ANNE LUCAS HUNT
(Miss Anne Lucas)

MISSES ADELE AND MARIE THERESE SOULARD

MISS LILY FREMONT

MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT,
(Miss Jessie Benton)

him. He had intense admiration for Napoleon. At the head of his bed, he kept a bust of Napoleon, as long as he lived. Sylvestre Labbadie was more responsive than the rest of the group to the representation of Laclede in the carriage. He was deeply moved. Only under the influence of mastering emotion would he have ventured upon what followed. As the carriage passed along the street, Monsieur Labbadie turned to Pierre Chouteau and stretching out his hands, said in an impassioned tone:

"Uncle! I implore you. Give us our name."

Pierre Chouteau straightened himself and seemed to throw off the infirmity of age. He raised his cane, as if almost tempted to strike, but used the gesture not to harm but to emphasize. He said:

"No! The name you've borne must go to the end."

On the 16th of February, the day after the celebration, John F. Darby wrote to Pierre Chouteau, sending him the banner with a letter closing: "Last evening after you had retired from the festive board, Col. Grimsley in a most happy and appropriate manner donated this banner to you, as a tribute due to the only living being amidst the vast concourse of citizens assembled on that occasion, who had ever seen the face of Laclede—one who has such a just claim upon the affections and feelings of the whole people of the city of St. Louis. Upon me as the presiding officer on that occasion, was impressed the pleasing duty of carrying out the wishes of the donor by presenting to you this banner, which I now do, on behalf of and in the name of Col. Grimsley, the grand marshal of the celebration."

In his reply of the same date accepting the banner Pierre Chouteau wrote: "Honors rendered to the dead we know cannot affect them—they are beyond the reach of human hands—but it serves to excite the living to emulate their virtues and their worth; and permit me on this occasion to say that Mr. Laclede, with whom I was acquainted (although very young), was in every sense of the word worthy of the honors now paid to his memory."

Madame Chouteau demonstrated her business capacity in a letter to Governor Cruzat on the 29th of December, 1785. Her statement was a model of brevity and clearness:

Marie Therese, widow Chouteau, takes the liberty of informing you, sir, that on the 27th at about eight o'clock in the evening, her negro man Baptiste discovered the runaway Indian slaves, who had fled from the village some time ago, on the hill of Barns in the rear of the village. He spoke to them, and by some pretext kept them there until he came and apprised Mr. Papin, whose slave was one of them, that no time was to be lost, if he desired to catch him, and told him where they were. Mr. Papin, without giving him time to run and get permission from his mistress, gave him a bottle of rum and sent him back to the place he left, by giving them drink to try to detain them until he, Papin, could get the assistance necessary to come and arrest them. He got together a few without loss of time, and arrived on the ground but a very short time after the negro Baptiste. I do not know if the slaves made any movement to escape, but in a moment several shots were fired by Mr. Papin's party, which unfortunately killed the negro of your petitioner.

As Mr. Papin acted so very hastily and inconsiderately in this matter, not appearing to reflect on the danger to which he exposed my negro man between his party and the runaways, and was the occasion of his death, in sending him upon his dangerous expedition without my knowledge or permission, I ask your authority that I be paid for loss. His services were invaluable to me, sir; his good qualities, his ability, his attachment to

the family, the care he continually took of my interests, not only in his own work, but overlooking the others, so that I could safely trust him with the management of all my slaves, in the flower of his age. No money can remunerate me for his loss. And as my demand is based on the laws, which forbid the employment of a slave unless with the knowledge and consent of the owner, you will compel the said Papin to pay me the sum of $1,000, which, considering his great value to me, will be but small compensation for my loss.

VEUVE CHOUTEAU.

The case loses nothing in interest by reason of the fact that Mr. Papin was the son-in-law of Madame Chouteau. Six years previously he had married Marie Louise, the youngest of the Chouteau girls, the one who was born the year of the founding of St. Louis. Papin was the son of one of the fur traders who came from Montreal to St. Louis. He had pressed his wooing so ardently that he won Marie Louise before she was of age. The daughter of the settlement was a few months under fifteen when she was wedded.

A gift of facile composition runs in the Papin family. Some of the most charming sketches of early St. Louis were from the pen of Theophile Papin, a descendant of this Jean Marie Papin. The answer to Madame Chouteau's complaint is a long one. "My mother-in-law's negro" is the phrase Mr. Papin employs repeatedly in his account of the tragedy. The desperate character of the runaways is mentioned. The plan to capture them is given the aspect of public service. Mr. Papin sets forth his arrangements to surround the runaways and enforce surrender.

"I sent my brother-in-law, Labbadie, who seconded me in these operations, to inform the lieutenant governor of the steps taken."

And thus he draws into the case another member of the family, for Sylvestre Labbadie had married Pelagie Chouteau who came to St. Louis before she was three years old. Mr. Papin describes in graphic language the assault on the barn of his mother-in-law. The scene of the attack was where the chamber of commerce now stands.

As time pressed I lost not a moment. After instructing all not to fire unless in defense of his own person, I divided my band of soldiers and militia into two equal parts, each to take a separate road so as to surround easily the spot where the criminals were. Before reaching the place of the combat, after repeating the injunction not to fire, I sprung into the quarry with a brave militiaman who would follow me, when we were immediately assaulted, not only by our enemies in front, but by a general discharge of gun shots on both sides by our own people.

Preserved, both of us, by a Providence who watched over our days, it was only the unfortunate negro who received his death by a chance ball, without the satisfaction of witnessing the glorious end of the action.

Mr. Papin closes his statement to the lieutenant governor with this well worded argument:

After having exposed myself to the greatest danger for a matter of public concern, acting only by express orders, would it be just that the whole burden should fall on me, and that I should be compelled to pay for the negro who volunteered himself and when I had a right to command?

The governor was perplexed. Madame Chouteau's claim was based on law. Mr. Papin's defense was plausible. The governor took testimony "for a clear understanding of the matter," as he put it. The depositions failed to

show who fired the fatal shot. Governor Cruzat announced: "I pass it over to the superior tribunal at the capital for examination and final decision." So the case went down to New Orleans. Back it came with the ruling that the owners of the runaway slaves in the capture of whom the negro was killed must unite in paying Madame Chouteau. Three of the principal merchants of St. Louis, Gabriel Cerre, Louis C. Dubreuil and Charles Sanguinet, were summoned "to carefully consider and correctly appraise the qualities, intelligence and value of Mrs. Chouteau's negro man, Baptiste." They unanimously appraised him "at the value of six hundred silver dollars as a full compensation for his loss." The amount was assessed against the two sons-in-law, J. M. Papin and Sylvestre Labbadie and four others. On the 15th of May, 1787, sixteen months after she had presented her claim, Madame Chouteau received from Governor Cruzat the six hundred silver dollars.

A story told of Madame Chouteau is that she received a present of a comb of honey from a friend in Kaskaskia. At that time bees were not known in St. Louis. Madame Chouteau, with her usual enterprise, made inquiries as to the manner in which the honey was produced. She was told that the bees were a kind of fly. Thereupon she sent a faithful negro man to Kaskaskia with a small box in which to bring a pair of the bees that she might raise others and produce honey. John Bradbury, the scientist heard this story in St. Louis in 1810. He says before 1797 bees were scarcely known west of the Mississippi but in 1811 the wild swarms had spread as far west as six hundred miles up the Missouri from St. Louis. The Indians had a theory that the bees preceded white settlements and that wherever the bees were found, white settlers might be expected shortly. Madame Chouteau was persistent. She did not rest satisfied until there were bees in her garden. She had the first hive in St. Louis.

The eldest daughter of Madame Chouteau, Victoire, bore thirteen children to Charles Gratiot, the American patriot. Nine of the thirteen married and left families. From three of the daughters of Victoire Chouteau Gratiot, came the Cabanne, the Macklot and DeMun families. The second daughter of Madame Chouteau, Pelagie, the wife of Sylvester Labbadie, had one son and four daughters. The youngest daughter of Madame Chouteau, Marie Louise, who married Joseph M. Papin, was the mother of fourteen children, ten of whom grew up and married. Beckwith traced a thousand descendants of Madame Chouteau. When John Jacob Astor heard of the blindness and business embarrassment of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., he said: "They'll never upset him, sir; that man carries the equivalent of half a dozen strong banks in his head; he cannot be downed."

A woman's tact eased the situation when the first Spanish governor came to St. Louis. The settlement had done well under St. Ange. Self chosen government had been satisfactory. Moreover, these hardy fur traders were a long way from New Orleans, and had grown independent. If they couldn't have the French flag over them, they didn't care for any. But Don Pedro brought with him a French wife who had all of the charm of her country women. She became popular at once. St. Louis womanhood accepted Spanish sovereignty. The rest was easy for Governor Piernas.

Names of many families foremost in the colonial period of St. Louis disappeared. And yet descendants of these pioneers are numerous in the present generation. Two conditions account for this. Large families were raised by the St. Louis pioneers but in many of them daughters were more numerous than sons. Young men came from all parts of the United States to live in St. Louis; they married into these pioneer families. Many sons of pioneers went forth to engage in trade and commerce as the frontier was pushed westward; they became the founders of other settlements. There was nothing strange about the disappearance of the names. The blood of the pioneers of St. Louis flows in many thousands of descendants who bear other honorable names.

Both of the children of the first physician of St. Louis, Dr. Andre August Conde were daughters. Both married in St. Louis. Marianne became the wife of Charles Sanguinet. Constance married first a Spanish officer of the garrison, and then Patricio Lee. In the first generation the name of Conde was lost. But from the Sanguinet branch came a multitude of descendants. The union was a notable one. Charles Sanguinet was a native of Quebec. His father was an educated man and held one of the highest civil positions of his day, that of notary. Charles Sanguinet came to St. Louis in 1775 and four years later the marriage with Mademoiselle Conde took place. Ten children were born, seven of them daughters. One of the daughters married Francisco M. Benoist, from whom descended the Benoists. Another became the wife of Joseph V. Garnier, and her daughter married Hon. John Hogan, a member of Congress from St. Louis. Eulalie Angelique Sanguinet became Mrs. Josiah Bright, leaving a son and a daughter. Anne Caroline, the youngest of the Sanguinet girls was Mrs. Horatio Cozens, leaving male descendants, one of whom was William H. Cozens.

Joseph Mainville for years held civil office in St. Louis. He was one of the syndics. Coming on the first boat with Auguste Chouteau he secured a home on Main and Locust streets. His family consisted of five daughters and two sons. All of the daughters married in St. Louis.

Three years after the founding, Clement Delor de Treget, who had been an officer in the French navy and who was possessed of means, came up the Mississippi, expecting to join the settlement of Laclede. De Treget and his wife were charmed with the scenery about five miles below the settlement. St. Ange granted them the location that pleased them. A stone house was built. This was the beginning of Carondelet although the name was not given until several years later. De Treget had five children by his first wife and four by the second. Seven of the nine were daughters. De Treget's oldest son Pierre had eight children, four of them girls. He named his daughters Cecile, Adelle, Odille and Selina.

In the family of Rene H. Kiersereau who led the chanting in the church and in the absence of the priest officiated at funerals were four daughters and one son, Gregory. This son, Gregory, No. 3 in the Kiersereau family, had four daughters and two sons. Three of the daughters and one son married Tayons. The latter were among the first comers to St. Louis. They were

MRS. ROSA K. WALKER
(Miss Rosa Kershaw)

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THE BOUGENOU HOME,
Where First Marriage in St. Louis was Celebrated

millers, spelling the name Taillon in the colonial period. Tayon avenue took its name from this family.

Louis C. Dubreuil left a large family in which daughters were the large majority. He lived in St. Louis thirty years, becoming one of the most wealthy business men. Dubreuil and Sylvestre Labbadie came from the same part of France. They were young men who joined the settlement soon after it was established. They were alike successful in business. They lived near neighbors and died not only in the same year but within a few weeks of each other. Of the eleven Dubreuil children eight were daughters. Six of the daughters married. Their husbands were St. Vrain, Lebeaume, Delaurier, Tharp, Hempstead and Paul Liguest Chouteau.

A code of courtesy and respect, as well as one of morals, prevailed in early St. Louis. In Catalan, which was the name of the village before it was called Carondelet, a man spoke offensively of the wife of another habitant. He used this language in the presence of several ladies. The case was reported to the Spanish governor. The offender was sent for. He was asked for proofs of what he had alleged. Confessing that he could not substantiate the charge, he was given his choice of a retraction or such punishment as the governor might see fit to inflict. Retraction was chosen. The man signed this humiliating document:

> I declare that it was wickedly and wrongfully that I made the statements that I did to these ladies. It was while under the influence of liquor that I calumniated her honor and reputation, having always known her, as I now know her, for a virtuous woman, with nothing with which to reproach her integrity. I crave pardon from God, the king and the lady, begging her to forgive me and promising to respect her on all occasions, beseeching you to ask her to accept the present declaration which I am ready to make to the lady publicly.

The governor declared that "considering the gravity of the offense the written recantation is not adequate to the injury done the lady."

The order was that the offender "be conducted on the next Sunday to the door of the parish church, at the close of mass, where he will publicly make the necessary reparation, as stated in his written recantation. He will then undergo an imprisonment of fifteen days as an example to others."

The French laws which defined the status of the married woman in that period were explicit and comprehensive. They gave to her rights of property and of person stronger than those conferred by the English laws. They provided for civil contracts preliminary to marriage. They preserved the identity and independence of the wife. While the married woman changed her name she could save by contract, and frequently did, the power to act singly in business and property transactions. The married woman, no matter what her years, became of legal age at once.

When William Tardy and Madame Joanna Henry decided to get married they signed a contract. Then they went to the church. The contract set forth:

> Four cows, two young steers, one heifer, three calves, sixty hogs, a furnished bed, two iron pots, an oven, six crockery plates, two pewter dishes, two sad irons, a spinning wheel, the above articles with all they produce in future, being by right Mrs. Henry's

property, are confirmed to her and her successors by this contract forever. And it is declared hereby, that neither their marriage nor any other pretext gives any right to said Tardy over the articles above mentioned. Mr. Tardy declared that he accepted all of the above conditions.

If there was no ante-nuptial contract, the husband and wife held their property in common. When one died, the other received half of the estate. Children or other legal heirs of the deceased received the other half. Marriage contracts were, if not the rule, quite frequent. The industrious Labusciere drew many of them. Occasionally there was another kind of contract to be drafted. It was the reverse of the marriage contract. The church could not divorce. The Spanish governor could send the incongenial apart with an agreement which disposed of the property.

Old Joe Verdun, the cabinet maker, married the widow Marianne Richelet. They lived together twelve years, had five children and acquired property on Main street near Myrtle. Then they went to Governor Cruzat with the declaration that for the salvation of their souls they would have to separate. The contract of separation set forth:

Not being able to sympathize together and wishing to put an end to their disagreements, they have unanimously resolved of their own free will to contract by these presents an act of separation, hoping by this means to insure the safety of their souls which each appears to desire, not being able to do so on account of their continual quarrels in the conjugal state.

Marianne Richelet, the agreement proceeds "shall remain in peaceable possession and hold all the goods which they this day own; the said Verdun being bound not to trouble her, withdrawing only the following articles: his gun, bed, clothes, two axes and all implements of turner and cabinet maker, these being indispensably necessary to him."

Marianne, the agreement stipulated, must pay all of the existing debts. The closing paragraph of this remarkable document dealt with the offspring.

As regards the children, they being four in number, two male and two female, the parties have agreed that they shall remain under the care and charge of their mother who binds herself to take charge of them and raise them in honor and in the fear of God.

The madame, like some other excellent women in early St. Louis developed a capacity for taking care of herself in a business way. She made trading trips by river and acquired more than a living for herself and children. She was known in the community as "La Verdun" and was treated with respect. One of the daughters married into a family of high standing. Many descendants of the Verduns are living in St. Louis.

"Neither song, nor story," wrote Richard Smith Elliott of St. Louis, "has ever done justice to the women of the frontier. Their industry, patience, fortitude and endurance have been so wonderful as only to be accounted for by the fact that they knew no better. Their manifestation of these qualities has often put to shame—or ought to have done so—the men associated with their lives. The great world knows little or nothing of the faithful sisterhood of pioneer women; but their obscure lives were often full of what in men would be called heroism; and we owe to them in a great degree the spread of empire westward, ever since the matrons and maids were first led into the

MRS. R. J. LOCKWOOD,
(Miss Angela Peale Robinson)

MISS MARY LOUISE DALTON

MRS. EMELINE F. REA
(Miss Emeline Frisbie)

MRS. MARGARET A. E. McLURE
(Miss Margaret A. E. Parkinson)

wilderness by Daniel Boone and his courageous comrades. There ought to be an obelisk erected—taller than any on earth—and dedicated to the pioneer women of America, who ever since the landing of the Mayflower, have been the patient and slightly rewarded servitors of civilization."

Henry M. Brackenridge wrote in 1810 of the pioneer families and social life of St. Louis:

> The women make faithful and affectionate wives, but will not be considered secondary in the matrimonial association. The advice of the wife is taken on all important, as well as on less weighty concerns and she generally decides. There was scarcely any distinction of classes in the society. The wealthy and more intelligent would of course be considered as more important personages, but there was no difference clearly marked. They all associated, dressed alike and frequented the same ball room. They were in fact nearly all connected by the ties of affinity or consanguinity; so extensive is this that I have seen the carnival, from the death of a common relation, pass by cheerless and unheeded. The number of persons excluded was exceedingly small. What an inducement to comport one's self with propriety and circumspection! The same interest at stake, the same sentiments that in other countries influence the first classes of society, were here felt by all its members.
>
> In their persons they are well formed, of an agreeable pleasant countenance, indicating cheerfulness and serenity. The dress of the females was generally simple and the variations of fashion few; though they were dressed in much better taste than the other sex. The American costume is generally introduced into the best families and among the young girls and young men universally. I never saw anywhere greater elegance of dress than at the balls in St. Louis. These people exhibit a striking difference when compared with the unconquerable pertinacity of the Pennsylvania Germans who adhere so rigidly to the customs, manners and language of their fathers. A few years have effected a greater change with the inhabitants of this territory than has been brought about among the Germans in fifty years. Their amusements were cards, billiards and dancing; this last, of course, the favorite. The dances were cotillions, and sometimes the minuet. Children have also their balls and are taught a decorum and propriety of behavior which is preserved through life. They have a certain ease and freedom of address, and are taught the secret of real politeness,—self denial. Their language, everything considered, is more pure than might be expected. Their manner of lengthening the sound of words, although languid and without the animation which the French generally possess, is by no means disagreeable. They have some new words and others are in use which in France have become obsolete.

Remarkable were these families of daughters of St. Louis pioneers, both before and following the American occupation. Excellent wives and mothers they made. The sons of pioneers went out to win the Great West. They made up expedition after expedition of peaceable conquest. They established a hundred settlements, now flourishing cities, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from St. Louis to Dubuque. Their sisters married the young men of the northern and southern states and of the nations of Europe, who came to find fortunes in St. Louis.

Of old Connecticut stock was the Camp family which settled in St. Louis in 1786. The Camps were not the first Americans to become St. Louisans. Philip True came from Virginia in 1781. By his second wife, who was of Pennsylvania birth, he had nine children. Many descendants of this first American settler live in and about St. Louis. A tragedy preceded the coming of the Camp family. Rev. Dr. Ichabod Camp was born at Durham. His ancestors, back more than a century, were notable in Connecticut history.

They were among the first settlers of Hartford and Milford. Ichabod Camp graduated at Yale in 1743 when the college was a three-story wooden building with a cupola. He went to England and spent several years in London, receiving his license to preach from the Bishop of London. After his return to America he had parishes in Connecticut and Virginia. Coming west with a family of daughters and with a retinue of slaves, Dr. Camp settled at Kaskaskia the year after George Rogers Clark captured and occupied the town and fort. In the seven years of his residence at Kaskaskia, Dr. Camp was the associate of Shadrach Bond and other pioneer settlers who were the makers of the early history of Illinois. In 1785 Dr. Camp's daughter Catherine married John B. Guion, of Canadian birth. Because of unkind treatment she returned to her father's house the next year. The husband followed and tried to compel the wife to rejoin him. Dr. Camp met his son-in-law at the door and attempted to restrain him. He was killed by a shot from Guion's pistol. A short time before the tragedy Stella Camp had married Antoine Reilhe, a French gentleman of good family who had taken up his residence in St. Louis. The widow and her daughters moved to St. Louis in May, 1786. Mrs. Camp was a Boston woman—Anne Oliver.

The daughters married. Louise, the youngest, became the wife of Mackey Wherry. In 1904 there were enough Wherrys to have a family day at the World's Fair and in celebration of the gathering a tree was planted in Forest Park near the Missouri building. At least three generations of Wherrys have held the office of city register of St. Louis. After the death of Guion, Catherine Camp married Israel Dodge, a Connecticut man, who came out to Missouri with the Austins. Upon Mrs. Dodge her husband settled a house and grounds, one thousand silver dollars, two slaves and a thousand arpents of land—about eight hundred acres. Another of the Camp girls, Charlotte, married Moses Bates. The oldest of this famous quartette of daughters, Estelle Camp Reilhe, left a son and two daughters. One of the daughters, Margaret Reilhe, became the wife of the first governor of Missouri, Alexander McNair, to whom she bore ten children. As strange, though not as tragic as the event which brought his wife's family to St. Louis was the incident which made McNair a resident of the same place. McNair was of Pennsylvania birth. He was at college in Philadelphia when his father died. Returning home, a question arose between him and his younger brother as to which should control the estate. The mother agreed to leave it to a test of physical superiority. The younger won. Alexander McNair went into the army, came west and settled in St. Louis the year that the American flag was raised. Ichabod Camp's descendants in St. Louis are numerous. The esteem in which his widow and daughters were held is evidenced by the land records. To Mrs. Camp the Spanish governor granted a lot 120 by 150 feet on which to locate a barn at Fourth and Almond streets. To Mrs. Camp and her son-in-law Antoine Reilhe the same Spanish governor granted a tract of 2,900 arpents on the River des Peres.

One of the most notable of the matings in early St Louis was that of Manuel Lisa and Mary Hempstead Keeney. Lisa had been a fur trader making expeditions up the Missouri for nearly thirty years. He clung to his

Spanish and could speak a little French, but no English. Mary Hempstead had come out from her Connecticut home with her father, Stephen Hempstead. She knew no Spanish and very little French. Unable to communicate by language with each other, Manuel Lisa and Mary Hempstead became engaged, were married and lived most happily together. Years before, Lisa had married an Omaha Indian woman who had borne him two children. When he married Mary Hempstead he decided to take her with him to Fort Lisa, his fur trading post, just above the present city of Omaha. Word was sent in advance that the Indian wife must be removed from the vicinity of the post. This was done, but Mitain, the Omaha woman, came back and sent the child, a fine boy named Raymond, to see his father. When, in the spring of 1820, Lisa prepared to return to St. Louis with the season's packs, he sent for Mitain, the Indian wife, told her their relations could never be renewed and asked that the boy be given to him to take to St. Louis to be educated. The Indian wife grasped the boy, ran to the river, got a canoe, rowed across and hid. The next day she returned; humbly presented the boy, saying she knew it would be better for him to go to St. Louis. But she begged that she be allowed to go as a member of the household, offering to put up with anything if she could be near to see her children occasionally. Lisa refused. The woman became very angry. She told Lisa their marriage had been for life; he had no right to turn her away. The scene was distressing. Lisa returned to St. Louis, was stricken that summer with a fatal malady and died at Sulphur Springs, a health resort south of Forest Park, and now within the city limits. For the education of the two Indian children he left $4,000.

By his neighbors in St. Louis Lisa was known as Manuel. He was called Mr. Manuel. Those not familiar with Lisa's early history supposed that Manuel was his surname. Mrs. Lisa became known to the community as Aunt Manuel. She was a woman of beautiful temper, capable and much given to good works. Upon the shaft in Bellefontaine which marks the resting place of Manuel Lisa is graven "Aunt Manuel."

"The Lone Woman" Pelagie Chouteau was called. Her mother died when she was a child. Sons, a house full of them, were born to Pierre Chouteau, the senior, or "the major," as he was commonly called; Pelagie was the only girl in the family. For this distinction the Indians bestowed on her the title of "the lone woman." As she grew into young womanhood, Mlle. Pelagie became distinguished in another way. Among the many fair granddaughters of Madame Chouteau, there was none more charming. Pelagie Chouteau reigned socially in her father's great stone house. There Bartholomew Berthold, the young Tyrolese officer, who was perhaps the most accomplished scholar of the day in St. Louis, came awooing. The marriage took place in the winter of 1811. Thenceforward she was Madame Berthold. The Berthold mansion for a generation was a social center, where the traveler carried away the best of impressions of St. Louis hospitality. Then came more than forty years of widowhood.

The slave population of St. Louis was never large. Evils of slavery were mitigated by the humane, gentle, even affectionate care which the wives of St. Louis slave owners bestowed upon their dependents. The traveling companions

of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, came to this city expecting to find material for criticism. They wrote about a close view they had of the institution:

Today I visited a large American establishment belonging to Colonel O'Fallon. The place reminded me of a Hungarian house; a large solid stone building on a hill, in the midst of a park with stately trees, surrounded by cottages. But here the likeness ceased; the inmates were black slaves. As far as I saw, they are well fed and well clothed. When we arrived at the door a negro woman opened it; it was the former nurse of Mrs. Pope, the lady who accompanied me, the daughter of the proprietor. Black Lucy seemed delighted to see her young mistress, and brought all her children and grandchildren to greet her—a numerous band of woolly-haired imps, by no means handsome; but Mrs. Pope petted them, and genuine affection seemed to exist on both sides. Tomorrow we leave St. Louis. On the whole it has left me the pleasant impression of young and expansive life.

Tradition tells of the consideration which Madame Chouteau bestowed upon her slaves. There were free negroes in St. Louis long before the American occupation. They received concessions of land. The wills filed in the colonial records show that freedom was given to faithful servants. To the Spanish governor petitions, such as the following, were addressed:

Louis Villars, lieutenant of infantry, in the batallion of Louisiana, humbly prays you that he is the owner of a negress named Julie, about thirty years of age; that she has rendered him great services for a number of years, especially during two severe spells of sickness your petitioner has undergone. The zeal and attachment she exhibited in his service having completely ruined her health, he desires to set her at liberty with a view to her restoration.

In 1801 and 1802, a subject of considerable correspondence between the Spanish governor at St. Louis and his superior at New Orleans was the importation of negro slaves into St. Louis and into other settlements of Upper Louisiana. The Spanish representative at New Orleans was Juan Ventura Morales. In 1801 he sent to the Spanish governor at St. Louis, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, a copy of royal orders "that His Majesty does not wish for the present to have any negroes introduced into that province." The reason assigned is that the King "has allowed 5,000 negroes to be introduced free under a concession given to a French firm, Cassague, Huguel, Raymon and company.

"For your information," writes Morales, "I send you copy of the royal orders." And he adds, "May the Lord keep you many years."

About ten months later Intendant Morales wrote at considerable length about this order against importation of slaves into St. Louis. The inference might be drawn that Governor Delassus had found difficulty in the enforcement of the royal orders and had questioned the wisdom of the orders. It seems evident that Don Carlos felt the need of advice or instruction from his superior. Morales wrote in May, 1802, in this way:

It is not the place of the subordinate chiefs or of any good subject to inquire or investigate the causes which may help the King in his determinations. The duty of these chiefs is to obey and comply blindly with whatsoever is ordered to them and what is prescribed in the royal laws unless by so doing they see there is some danger. In such cases the subordinate chiefs can delay the compliance with such orders until the King shall learn of this and may resolve what His Royal Majesty shall consider agreeable. Under this principle, the introduction of negroes being considered, it is my duty to obey and comply with the orders of His Majesty.

MRS. MARY F. SCANLAN
(Miss Mary F. Christy)

MRS. MARY ANN WAY
(Miss Mary Ann Ellis)

MRS. CAROLINE O'FALLON
(Miss Caroline Schutz)

MRS. VIRGINIE S. PEUGNET
(Miss Virginie Sarpy)

MRS. MARY ANN BOYCE EDGAR
(Miss Mary Ann Boyce)

ST. LOUIS WOMANHOOD

Morales tells Delassus that he has been denying the applications of planters to import slaves and that this policy must continue until the French firm has brought in the 5,000 under the concession. He points out to Delassus the argument which may be used in defense of the royal orders and suggests the course of action against the violators of the King's instructions:

> The King, perhaps, had strong political reasons for the concession given to the mentioned French citizens. It might compromise his royal authority if this Intendance should not watch for the introduction of negroes. To refuse the introduction of negro slaves we have an excuse in the revolution attempted not many years ago in Virginia and Carolina by that class of people. There is no doubt that the American government and the owners of slaves wish to get free of these people at any sacrifice. What, then, would become of this Province if its chiefs, with closed eyes to such an important matter should permit the introduction of such a dangerous people?

Intendant Morales proceeds with real diplomacy to make a fine virtue of the necessity to enforce the royal orders:

> The unfortunate example of the French islands and the knowledge of what was attempted in the North colonies, which was not effected because the plot was discovered in time, must persuade not only the sensible men but also those who are interested in an imaginary prosperity caused by this dangerous people, that it would be against public tranquillity and law and justice if this Intendance does not see the wise order prohibiting introduction of negro slaves is not ignored. Therefore I request you to exercise the most exact watchfulness without accepting any permission but the one from the King. In the event there shall be any introduction of negro slaves you will make verbal process of the case and apprehend the negroes. You will forward everything to this Intendance

The first list of taxpayers of St. Louis is not a long one but it contained the names of several people of color who owned real estate. Geoffrey Camp was listed as a mulatto and Marie Labastille as "negresse libre." Suzanne, "negresse," owned a house and lot which was assessed at $250, quite a comfortable homestead for 1805. Laveille, "free negro;" Flores, "free negress;" were among these first taxpayers in St. Louis. Esther Morgan, "a free mulatto," owned valuable property on South Third street. When the first constitution for Missouri was to be framed, a ticket of candidates who were "opposed to the further introduction of slavery into Missouri" was nominated but failed of election. The persons on this first anti-slavery ticket in St. Louis were J. B. C. Lucas, Cash Bowles, Robert Simpson, William Long, Rufus Pettibone, John Brown and John Bobb.

The negro population of St. Louis in 1870 was only 22,045, about one-twelfth of the city. In thirty years thereafter it had not kept pace with the city's growth. In 1900 there was one person of African descent to about twenty white people in St. Louis.

During one of the cholera epidemics Major Richard Graham, living at his country seat, Hazelwood, wrote to a friend: "The cholera made its appearance and was followed by a congestive fever which carried off sixteen of my negroes. . . . It has shattered me a good deal. Marshall and I have not as yet recovered from the shock of melancholy feelings in seeing so many human beings dying around me and looking up to me as their only hope in their despair and their agonies. My place was a perfect hospital and Mrs. Graham and myself constant attendants and nurses amidst the thickest of the

cholera. We escaped as well as our children." Mrs. Francis D. Hirschberg, who was Miss Mary Frost, a granddaughter of Major Graham, wrote in comment on this letter: "A sidelight, this, upon the position of master and slave—since so often misunderstood. The kindly Virginia traditions were held to: no slaves were sold; no corporal punishment was allowed. The family ties were held as sacred and respected accordingly."

When Robert Lewis went to California in the rush of 1849 he took with him Jesse Hubbard, a slave who belonged to his wife. Lewis and the colored man came back with $15,000. The master divided fairly with the slave. Hubbard took his share to his mistress, who in her turn divided with him and gave him his freedom. The negro bought a farm and settled in St. Louis county.

Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post described the people as he found them when he first came to the city in 1833: "The society of St. Louis as I found it then, though largely French, was quite cosmopolitan, made up from all parts of the United States and from countries beyond the sea. Its tone and spirit of frank, genial hospitality strongly attracted me." Dr. Post deplored the existence of slavery in St. Louis as the "one skeleton in the closet of our house of beauty, promise and pride." He spoke of the "earnest, brave, accomplished Christian women." He was full of confidence in the future of St. Louis society. "The city was not without signs of a profounder and a more enduring prosperity in the rise of institutions—moral, religious and humanitarian—in which a living Christianity in the people must develop itself. Hospitals, asylums, homes and benevolent societies were clustered around the multiplying churches, while schools, academies, universities, libraries, newspapers and the varied educational instrumentalities gave proof of the consciousness of the higher needs of intellectual and moral culture, and of the presence among us of that which must be the hope and glory of every community—a class of public spirited and large minded philanthropic Christian men."

The slave traders had no social recognition in St. Louis. One of them was stoned by boys shortly before the Civil war. St. Louis parted with slavery willingly. What pro-slavery sentiment had existed was largely because of sympathy for the South, where family ties bound and trade relations existed.

Organized charity in St. Louis began in 1824. It was the result of a movement by the foremost women of the city. The first meeting was held at the residence of the governor, Alexander McNair. Mrs. George F. Strother was chosen president of the Female Charitable society, as it was named, and Mrs. McNair was made the first vice president. It is told of the wife of the first editor in St. Louis that no one in need was turned away from her door. Mrs. Sarah Charless lived to be eighty-one years of age. She was a resident of St. Louis half a century. St. Louis was notably lacking in hotels when Joseph Charless came to start the first newspaper. Strangers whose credentials or appearances justified were made welcome at private houses. To accommodate the newcomers who often found it difficult to obtain shelter, Mr. and Mrs. Charless opened their home, which was a large one on Fifth and Market streets. A sign was hung from a post, bearing the announcement "Entertainment by Joseph Charless." With the house was a garden, one of the finest in St. Louis, occupying half of the block bounded by Fourth, Fifth,

MISS HESTER BATES LAUGHLIN,
1894

MISS BESSIE KINGSLAND,
1895

MISS LOUISE McCREERY,
1896

MISS JANE DOROTHY FORDYCE,
1897

QUEENS OF THE VEILED PROPHET

Market and Walnut streets. There the vegetables and fruits were raised for the table which became famous. In a card to the Gazette Mr. Charless stated that strangers "will find every accommodation but whisky." Mrs. Charless was one of the most active members of the Presbyterian church.

Women had their share in the patriotic events of the pioneer period. The Gazette told of a Fourth of July celebration in 1809. Toasts were offered by ladies. Mrs. McClure offered: "Long may we enjoy peace and equality, and our religious and civil rights under the auspicious wings of the American Eagle."

Miss Jane McClure gave: "The genius of the seventeenth century, Dr. Priestley."

The sentiment chosen by Mrs. Coats was: "Perpetual disappointment to the enemies of the Union."

By Mrs. Blair the following was proposed: "The memory of General Washington and all the heroes of 1776."

This celebration was held at Harrisonville, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, a few miles below St. Louis. Opposite Harrisonville, on the Missouri side, was Herculaneum. For both of these settlements their founders had great expectations, confident that they would rival if not surpass St. Louis.

A romance of the decade 1820-30, coming down to the present through family traditions links the names of two of the famous Coalter sisters with two St. Louisans who became eminent. There were five of the Coalter sisters. The family was among the best of South Carolina. Three of the sisters married South Carolinians, William C. Preston, Chancellor Harper and Dr. M. Means. Edward Bates, the young St. Louis lawyer, courted Caroline J. Coalter. He was rejected, but so gently that the friendship between them continued. One of Edward Bates' strong characteristics was the ability to inspire confidence in himself. Miss Coalter was induced to admit to her suitor that her preference was for Hamilton Rowan Gamble, the young Virginia lawyer who had come out to join his elder brother, Archibald. Miss Coalter explained that she could never marry Hamilton because of his habits. Edward Bates, so the tradition runs, went to Gamble, told him what he was losing and induced him to sign the pledge. Gamble kept the pledge. He became exemplary in his habits. In 1827 Hamilton Gamble and Caroline Coalter were married. But before that Edward Bates had married Julia D. Coalter, the sister of Caroline. A third of a century later these two men, both of Virginia descent, with South Carolina wives, became leading characters in the opposition to secession of Missouri. Bates went into Lincoln's cabinet and Gamble became the war governor who organized Missouri for loyalty to the Union.

The seven daughters of Rufus Easton, the first postmaster of St. Louis, formed one of the most notable groups of young women during the years when St. Louis was passing through the transitions of village, town and city. The mother of the Easton girls was a New York lady of culture. As they grew up, the girls received the very best educational advantages which could be given them. Their hands were sought in marriage by some of the foremost young men of that generation. One of the sisters married Henry S. Geyer, the lawyer; another, Archibald Gamble, brother of the governor; a third, Major

Sibley, with whom she founded Lindenwood seminary at St. Charles. Another of the Easton sisters became the wife of Hon. Thomas L. Anderson of Palmyra.

Second marriages in the early days of St. Louis were made the occasion of strenuous congratulation. John F. Darby told this in his Recollections:

> The custom had prevailed in St. Louis, from time immemorial, when a widower or widow got married, to charivari them on the night of the wedding. It was determined, therefore, to charivari Colonel O'Fallon on the night of his second marriage. For this purpose about a thousand or twelve hundred of the "boys" collected together and proceeded down the street, and stopped in front of the house where the wedding took place. They had horns, trumpets, tin pans, tambourines, drums, triangles, and every conceivable instrument that could make a noise. They yelled, they screeched and shouted. They bleated like sheep; they lowed like cattle; they crowed like chickens. They had a sprinkling of the Rocky Mountain fur traders and trappers with them, who occasionally seasoned the entertainment with Indian yells and warwhoops. They made such a hideous noise and confusion of sounds that the guests in the house could hardly hear themselves talk.
>
> At last Judge Peck, of the United States court for the Missouri district, who had stood up with Colonel O'Fallon on that occasion, came out on the little platform in front of the house, and called out in a loud voice, "Silence! Silence!" The noise was ceased. Judge Peck went on to say: "I want to know who is the commander of this very respectable company of gentlemen?" Colonel Charles Keemle stepped forward and said that he "had the honor to command this very respectable company of gentlemen." Judge Peck proceeded: "I am instructed by Colonel O'Fallon to say to this very respectable company of gentlemen, that he recognizes them all as his friends, and that they are authorized to go forth and enjoy themselves, and make merry at his expense at any place they choose."
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> The crowd gave three cheers for O'Fallon, and went off down town, where they caroused, drank and frolicked all night. It was reported that they cleaned out two groceries for which Colonel O'Fallon had to pay $1,000 the next day.

A curious craze reached St. Louis in 1839. It affected all of the women folk. The climate of St. Louis was especially adapted to the mulberry. An acre of mulberry trees would feed the worms, and the worms would produce cocoons, giving thousands of dollars' worth of silk. For a time silk culture was on every feminine tongue. Mulberry trees were planted until the suburbs of St. Louis promised to become one great mulberry grove. The legislature granted a charter. The Missouri Silk company was organized. There was something wrong in the theory. The silk industry never attained practical results. Mulberry groves languished and disappeared.

The distribution of $1,000,000 in money and real estate in philanthrophy and charity was the record one St. Louis woman left behind her, as devoid of publicity as circumstances would permit. Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt died thirty years ago. The institutions she founded or fostered are still doing good. Her mother died in 1811, a few years after the family settled here. The girl of fifteen came into the management of the household of her father, Judge J. B. C. Lucas. She had the vivacity of her French descent. Her own personality as well as her father's official station made her one of the social leaders of St. Louis. Her first husband was Theodore Hunt, who had retired from the United States navy, and her second husband was Wilson P. Hunt, his cousin. Mrs. Hunt founded the house of the Good Shepherd, the church and the school of St. Mary's. She gave largely to the Little Sisters of the Poor. As a widow, managing her great estate as if she held it in trust, giving with discrimination a fortune to do good, shunning any personal credit for her benev-

MISS MARIE SCANLAN,
1898

MISS ELLEN H. WALSH,
1899

MISS SUSAN LARKIN THOMSON,
1900

MISS EMILY WICKHAM,
1901

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olence, transmitting her business affairs to others as she neared four score and finally enjoining such arrangements for her funeral as should avoid display Anne Lucas Hunt was one of the most impressive personalities in St. Louis womanhood.

A woman's influence and judgment laid the foundation of the great Lucas estate. When Judge Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas accepted the appointment of commissioner of land claims and judge of the territorial court at St. Louis from President Jefferson, he was living near Pittsburg on a farm. Some time before he had taken a lot in Pittsburg for a fee. He had traded the lot for a horse. By a sudden rise in values of real estate, the lot sold for $25,000. The incident made a deep impression upon Mrs. Lucas. The judge moved to St. Louis in 1805. He sold his farm for $5,000. After his arrival here he put into land his surplus and his salary. He was influenced to do so by Mrs. Lucas. Mrs. Hunt told the story in a sketch of the family written many years ago:

> On the advice of my mother, who had learned experience from the sale of the Pittsburg lot, he invested his salary in the purchase of land. He bought mostly out lots, facing on what is now Fourth street, each lot being one arpent wide by forty arpents deep. All this land was used as a common field, each man cultivating what he pleased. There were no fences of any kind on it. By purchasing a lot at a time, he at length came to own all the land from Market street to St. Charles and from Fourth street to Jefferson avenue. He did not buy it as a speculation but for what it would produce; it turned out, however, to be an immense speculation, for the whole seven arpents front did not cost him over seven hundred dollars, and that property is now worth, I suppose, seventy millions. A hundred dollars was what he usually paid for an arpent in width by forty deep, though sometimes he got it for less. The heirs to this vast estate need not thank my father for it, for he was too much of a politician to think of investing his money in land; it was my mother's foresight that suggested the investment which turned out so well.

There were twelve children in the family of John Mullanphy, all of whom received educational facilities unusual for that day. Most of the children were sent to Europe to complete their educations. The last daughter died in a convent in Paris. Jane married Charles Chambers; Katherine married Major Richard Graham, of the United States army; Ann married Major Thomas Biddle of the United States army, who was killed in a duel with Spencer Pettis; Mary married General W. S. Harney, of the United States army; Eliza married John Clemens; Octavia married first Dr. Delany and later, after his death, Judge Boyce.

Ann Biddle was the first of her sex in the United States to be mentioned prominently for canonization. It was said that she had bestowed more on charities than any other woman in the United States. When she died in January, 1846, her funeral was attended by an immense number of people, the children of the male and female orphan asylums being present. Mrs. Biddle had given up her private residence to the orphan asylum which her father had endowed. She made provision for a building for indigent widows.

Practical forms the philanthropic efforts of St. Louis men and women of all generations have assumed. The story that John F. Darby told to illustrate Bryan Mullanphy's policy of helping people to help themselves is entertaining:

One gloomy day, late in the evening, a woman was sitting at the old market, holding a fine looking cow. She had come from a farm on the Illinois side to sell the cow. She had been waiting hours for a purchaser. In passing Judge Mullanphy saw her. He asked what she was going to do with the cow. The woman said she wanted to sell her. The judge inquired the price. The woman told him. "Is she a good cow?" asked Judge Mullanphy. "She is," said the woman, "and a fine one to milk." The judge inquired why the cow, if so good, was for sale. The woman replied that she had so many children to support she was compelled to sell the cow to raise some money. The judge remarked that if his stable was finished, so that he had a place to keep the cow he would buy her, but the stable "was not finished." Here the judge performed a sort of theatrical part, running across Market street to the north side. The poor woman thought she had lost an opportunity to sell the cow. But after crossing the street, Judge Mullanphy stopped a minute, as if considering something. He then went back to the woman and said: "I will give you the money for the cow now,—here it is," handing the money. "You take the cow back to your place in Illinois, and keep her for me; and here is some more money to pay you for keeping the cow for me." Mullanphy never sought for the woman or the cow afterwards.

Winifred Patterson gave $648,000 to philanthropic and religious purposes, dividing the money among ten or twelve St. Louis institutions. A lifetime of devotion to philanthropy in the most effective forms has been the record of Mrs. C. C. Rainwater. The Young People's Humane society, the first of its kind in this country, was organized in 1885 by Mrs. Ida Holt with sixteen members between the ages of five and twelve years. It attained a membership of 1,800.

The home for girls conducted by the Sisters of Mercy is conducted on a plan quite unlike any other institution. It provides several departments graded to meet the circumstances of respectable self supporting girls. In the department of St. Michael's Private Accommodation girls are boarded at $3.50 a week; in St. Catherine's, at $2.50 a week; in St. Xavier's, at $1 a week. St. Xavier's department affords a home for young girls who are just beginning to support themselves on small wages. The dollar a week means three meals, light, water, heat and use of laundry. As their circumstances improve, the girls remove to other departments. In a fourth department deserving girls temporarily out of employment work for their board until they can obtain places. In a fifth department the youngest girls out of homes are given training to fit them for situations. St. Joseph's Hospitality is a refuge for the night, given to homeless women.

"United Jewish Charities" in St. Louis means the Jewish hospital on Delmar boulevard, the Home for Aged and Infirm Israelites on South Jefferson avenue and the Jewish Educational Alliance on Ninth and Carr. This alliance institution contains a night school, kindergarten, industrial school, commercial school, legal aid bureau, penny savings bank, conservatory of music and department of advanced classes. The United Jewish Charities carries on a branch of the pure milk commission, cooperates with the juvenile court, aids the truant officer of the board of education. It comprises also the United Hebrew Relief association, the Selma Michael Day nursery and the Free Employment bureau.

The loveliest woman of St. Louis in 1812 was Isabelle Gratiot, granddaughter of Madame Chouteau. She had beauty of feature and charm of man-

MISS MAUD WELLS,

1902

MISS LUCILLE CHOUTEAU,

1903

MISS STELLA WADE,

1904

MISS JULIA CABANNE,

1905

ner. The social event of that year was the marriage of Isabelle Gratiot and Jules DeMun, one of the best educated young men of the town, for St. Louis had not then become a city. Jules DeMun had lived in France and England. He had enjoyed the best of educational advantages. He spoke and wrote Spanish. His manners were gentle and retiring. The union was ideal. There were five daughters. Isabelle, the namesake of her mother, became the wife of Edward Walsh and their first born was Julius S. Walsh. Julie DeMun married Antoine Leon Chenie. Louise was Mrs. Robert A. Barnes. Emilie became the wife of Charles Bland Smith. Walsh was from Ireland. Barnes was a native of the District of Columbia, descended from a Maryland family. Smith was a native of St. Louis, of Virginia and Kentucky descent. Only one of these four great-granddaughters of Madame Chouteau married into a French family. In his will Robert A. Barnes, who left a great estate to found a hospital, referred to Mrs. Barnes as "my beloved wife, the most devoted daughter, wife and mother I ever knew." Mrs. Barnes was a devout Catholic. There was not only no conflict of religious opinion between them but Mrs. Barnes coincided heartily with her husband in his plans to place his hospital bequest in the hands of Methodist trustees.

From Fincastle in Botetourt county, Virginia, came several of the brides of pioneers to St. Louis. One of these was Sarah Mitchell, whose father had removed west in 1818. At the golden wedding of Mr. and Mrs. William Glasgow,—the lady was formerly Miss Sarah Mitchell,—the story was told that when Mr. Glasgow first saw the young lady in St. Louis he was so pleased with her appearance he declared at once that she should become his wife. Miss Mitchell was at that time only sixteen years old, but that had been the marrying age among the young ladies of her family for four generations, and she said she felt bound to keep up the old custom. Mr. and Mrs. Glasgow went to live about 1831 in a three-story dwelling on Fourth street, between Market and Walnut. At that time this seemed to be so far out in the country that Mrs. Glasgow's lady friends expressed regret, saying it would not be convenient to visit her in such a distant suburban dwelling. Most of the residences of that period were on Main street between Walnut and Poplar and on Chestnut and Pine between Main and Third streets. Golden weddings have been notable in the Glasgow family, this one in St. Louis in 1868 being the third that had occurred in the line of descent. It was said of William Glasgow when he celebrated his golden wedding anniversary that during over half a century of residence in St. Louis he had never been known to speak an unkind word to a human being. Members of his family asserted that they had never heard a cross word come from his lips. Mr. Glasgow had passed through troubles and reverses as well as successes in a long business career, but had borne them with a fortitude so extraordinary as to make his disposition a matter of marvel in the community.

Seven of the nine persons who organized the first Presbyterian church in St. Louis were women—Mary Hempstead, Britannia Brown, Chloe Reed, Mary Keeny, Magdalen Scott, Susanna Osborne, Susan Gratiot and Sarah Beebe.

The mother of Thomas H. Benton came to St. Louis, traveling on the steamboat "Whig," in the summer of 1831. She came on board at a landing called Trinity, six miles above Bird's Point. The boat had stopped there about midnight. The accommodations were exhausted; Mrs. Benton was turned over to a sleepy chambermaid and received very scant attention. She was so indignant that the next morning she sent for Captain Artus and ordered him to put her ashore anywhere on account of the treatment she had received on board the "Whig." Mrs. Benton at that time was about eighty years old, but very vigorous. It took considerable persuasion on the part of the captain to calm her and to induce her to continue her trip to St. Louis.

Charm of manner was not derived wholly from the French element in St. Louis. There were early families like that of Beverly Allen which exerted marked influence for good upon the social life of St. Louis and which contributed to give St. Louis its character for courtesy and hospitality. When St. Louis was not much more than in name a city, it was a custom of Beverly Allen to call upon young lawyers and business men coming to establish themselves here. He did more than offer a courteous welcome in words. He extended encouragement to them in ways that they never forgot. He invited them to his home. Beverly Allen was the son of a Richmond, Va., merchant. He was educated in the law at Princeton and came to St. Louis in 1827. Mrs. Allen was a daughter of Judge Nathaniel Pope, who moved the line of Illinois fifty-one miles further north than originally fixed and kept Chicago in the state. She was a sister of Major-General John Pope. The daughters of Beverly Allen married George D. Hall, Isaac H. Sturgeon and John C. Orrick.

Of Judge William C. Carr it was said that he crossed the Mississippi river one winter on floating cakes of ice at the imminent hazard of his life, floating down stream for miles before he could make the landing. He was coming from the east and was prompted to this act in order to be with his dying wife.

William L. Sublette married an Alabama lady, Miss Frances Hereford, to whom his younger brother, Solomon P., had been quite attentive. When the captain died he left his fortune to Mrs. Sublette, on condition that she would not change her name. After a period of mourning the widow became the wife of Solomon P. Sublette. She did not change her name.

A notable friend of libraries, of music and of art throughout the half century of his life in St. Louis was James Clark Way, of Pennsylvania Quaker descent, closely related to the family of which Bayard Taylor, traveler and author, was a member. Mr. Way was one of the group upon whom Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot depended to carry out his public spirited projects for making St. Louis a better place in which to live. He married in 1839 the niece and adopted daughter of John Perry, the pioneer lead miner, who had come to St. Louis and had built one of the most imposing private residences of that period at Sixth and Locust, where the Equitable building stands. Mary Ann Ellis was one of the beauties of St. Louis during the thirties. The Perrys spent their summers at White Sulphur Springs and there President Van Buren was entertained by them.

One of the Virginia brides who brought grace and beauty to St. Louis womanhood was Angelica Peale Robinson, who became Mrs. Richard J. Lockwood. She was the granddaughter of the beautiful Angelica Peale who lowered the laurel wreath upon the head of George Washington as he rode under the triumphal arch at Philadelphia, going to New York to be inaugurated President the first time. She was a descendant of the famous portrait painter, Charles Wilson Peale. Hospitality in its most natural form has been characteristic of St. Louis womanhood through generations. That quality Mrs. Lockwood possessed in marked degree. Nearly fifty years the home of Mrs. Lockwood, both in the city and in the country, was one of the places from which the guest carried away most pleasant memories. Some one traveling in England met a lady, formerly of St. Louis but residing abroad, who asked about Mrs. Lockwood and added, "Of all the people I knew in St. Louis the one who stands out most pleasantly in my memory is Mrs. Lockwood." Such homes as that of the Lockwoods gave St. Louis its deserved reputation for perfect hospitality.

Two heroic characters of the war time in St. Louis were Mrs. Mary Ann Boyce Edgar and Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure. Mrs. Edgar was of southern nativity; she was born in Alabama. Her parents were of North Carolina families who traced back their descent from the colonial settlers on Albemarle Sound. With the beginning of the war this southern born woman promptly showed her devotion to the Union. She was one of a group of St. Louis women who met in July, 1861, a few days after the battle of Bull Run to plan how they could help the National government by relief work. Mrs. Edgar became the leader and the organizer. Fremont called for lint, for bandages, for other hospital supplies that women could prepare. The organization was called the Fremont Relief society. The room at headquarters that had been assigned was needed. Mrs. Edgar moved the society to her own residence. There for a year and a half great quantities of material for which the surgeons were calling were prepared and sent out. The early battles found the government without hospitals, with next to no preparation for the wounded. Mrs. Edgar assisted to find nurses, to assemble supplies, to prepare hospital accommodations. As the work increased the Western Sanitary commission and the Ladies' Union Aid society were developed. Not until the emergency had passed did Mrs. Edgar rest from her merciful efforts. She ably assisted James E. Yeatman, the head of the sanitary commission. Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure was of Pennsylvania birth. Her grandfather laid out the town of Williamsport, which became Monongahela City. The Parkinsons for generations were prominent in Western Pennsylvania affairs. Finely educated, of strong character, accustomed to think for herself, Mrs. McLure believed firmly in the justice of the southern cause. She did not hesitate to let her sentiments be known and was made a prisoner in her own house. In the spring of 1863, with other women who felt as she did, Mrs. McLure was put on board a boat and sent down the river to the Confederate lines. She had given her eldest son to the cause. Exiled from home for her convictions, she devoted herself to the parole camps and hospitals, doing all that she could to relieve and comfort the Confederate soldiers. Returning to St. Louis, Mrs.

McLure became the leading spirit in the Daughters of the Confederacy, and in the relief work of that organization for the widows and orphans of Confederates. Twenty years after the war a daughter of one of these noble women married a son of the other.

Organization and work of St. Louis womanhood to mitigate the horrors of war took on a variety of forms in 1861-5. The Ladies' Union Aid society gave special attention to the hospitals. Of this body Mrs. Alfred Clapp was the president. In the military hospitals of St. Louis during the first three years of the war, there were cared for 61,744 patients, of whom 5,684 died. Negro refugees straggled into St. Louis from the south. They were just out of bondage and as helpless as little children. The Ladies' Freedmen association undertook to meet the pressing necessities of these unfortunate people. Thousands were cared for until they could be put to work. The president of this society was Mrs. Lucien Eaton. In the summer of 1864, the work of relief had reached such proportions that the women of St. Louis met in Mercantile Library hall and organized the Ladies' National League with 1,200 members. The wife of Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post was the president of the league. A star was worn as the badge of membership. The vice presidents were Mrs. George Partridge, Mrs. Frank P. Blair, Mrs. R. P. Clark, Mrs. Wyllis King, Mrs. Charles D. Drake, Mrs. Charles W. Stevens. The treasurer was Mrs. R. H. Morton.

To St. Louis, in 1881, came a group of distinguished French officers, visiting the United States to participate in the centennial observance of the surrender at Yorktown. They were descendants of the officers who fought with LaFayette and Rochambeau and de Grasse for American independence. Accompanied by the representative of the French legation at Washington, these Frenchmen were touring the country. They were entertained by the Merchants' Exchange and by United States army officers at Jefferson Barracks. But of the attentions bestowed by St. Louis upon the visitors nothing impressed them so deeply and awakened such enthusiasm among them as the reception given in their honor by Mrs. Mary F. Scanlan. There have been social affairs in St. Louis which were historic and this was one of them. Nowhere in the United States, said these officers, had they received a social welcome to compare with that given them by Mrs. Scanlan. General Boulanger, representing the French army, expressed the appreciation of himself and his associates for a reception which had deeply touched them. Mrs. Scanlan was the granddaughter of Nicholas Jarrot, a Frenchman full of the republican spirit which prevailed in St. Louis from the days of Laclede. He settled in Cahokia and built the historic Jarrot mansion, one of the first brick buildings in the Mississippi valley. Nicholas Jarrot's business relations were with St. Louis. His daughter, Melaine Jarrot, married Samuel C. Christy. Like so many others of the old French families, Mrs. Scanlan combined with her social graces practical zeal in the field of benevolence.

The Civil war was a period that tried the constancy of St. Louis womanhood. Robert Randolph Hutchinson was one of the Missouri Minute men whose flag hung from a window of the old mansion on Fifth and Pine streets in the spring of 1861. He was first lieutenant of a company at Camp Jack-

MISS MARGUERITE TOWER,
1906

MISS MARGARET CABELL,
1907

MISS DOROTHY SHAPLEIGH,
1908

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son at the time of the capture. Soon after the release he went south and became an officer in the First Missouri Infantry, which Colonel John S. Bowen organized at Memphis for Confederate service. When Mr. Hutchinson went away from St. Louis in 1861, an engagement existed between Miss Mary Mitchell, a descendant of William Christy, and himself. The two did not see each other until February, 1865, when Miss Mitchell obtained from President Lincoln a special permit to visit Colonel Hutchinson, then a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware. Three days after his release from prison, Colonel Hutchinson and Miss Mitchell were married.

St. Louis gained many excellent citizens through the war. The Steedmans were South Carolinians, an old family, the members of which had given account of themselves in every war from the Colonial period down. Five Steedmans were in South Carolina's famous Military Institute at one time. Dr. Isaac G. W. Steedman was colonel of the First Alabama at Island No. 10, when the Confederate forces were forced to yield after a six weeks' siege. He was brought to St. Louis and confined in Gratiot street prison, from the windows of which he received such an impression of St. Louis as prompted him to settle here at the close of the war. The family of James Harrison lived across the street from the Gratiot street prison, and showed the prisoners kindly attentions. When Dr. Steedman came to St. Louis after the war he renewed an acquaintance formed with Miss Dora Harrison. Marriage followed.

"Mimi" was a pet name for girls in the old French families a century ago. It was Indian and meant little pigeon. "Virginia" was a favorite name for daughters among the French families. The suggestion did not come from the Old Dominion state. Baby girls were christened Virginia because the mothers had read, tearfully, the story of Paul and Virginia. Bernardine de Saint Pierre's novel came out in 1797. It circulated all over the world and reached St. Louis. The romance made the first literary impression on the village. It prompted the use of the name of the heroine many times.

The Sneed sisters were daughters of Rev. Samuel R. Sneed, a Presbyterian minister widely known through Kentucky and Indiana before the Civil war. Anna E. Sneed started Kirkwood seminary in one room with seven pupils the first year of the war, 1861. As the school prospered, Mary C. Sneed and Hattie E. Sneed became teachers. The Sneed sisters were born to teach. The career of Anna Sneed Cairns belongs to the history of education of American women. It has been of more than local significance. Anna Sneed graduated at the since famous Monticello seminary in 1858. She could enter no college. Higher education for her sex was a dim dream. The girl of seventeen wanted to know more of the classics. She had come from a great family of teachers,—including such men as Alpheus Crosby, who was the author of the Greek grammar; Dr. Dixey Crosby, and Chancellor Crosby, of New York. Her mother had been a teacher, prepared under Miss Lyon, the founder of Mt. Holyoke, and Miss Grant in their Ipswich school, which was the beginning of the New England movement to supply colleges for women. Anna Sneed, at seventeen, entered upon a lifetime of teaching, carrying on her studies in Latin, Greek, German and French, with tutors. She continued her history

and literature and the sciences. The Civil war played havoc with the schools in Missouri. It closed the seminary at Lexington, Missouri, where Miss Sneed had been engaged, and led to the establishment of the little Kirkwood institution out of which grew Forest Park University.

The indomitable courage of Anna Sneed Cairns, with the unfailing support of two steadfast friends of education for women, created Forest Park University. The site was a cornfield when Mrs. Cairns took possession and when the late John G. Cairns began to plan the group of buildings,—a homelike, brooding place for a teaching mother and her flock of studying maidens. No street cars approached that locality. During eighteen months, in all seasons, Mrs. Cairns drove to town and carried out to the institution everything that was placed on the table. Debt had been incurred. This heroic woman limited herself to one dress, one pair of shoes, one pair of black kid gloves a year. Hudson E. Bridge had been a mainstay of the institution while it was located in Kirkwood. The two friends of education who came to the rescue and stood by from the beginning of Forest Park University were Melvin L. Gray and Miss Ellen J. McKee. It is difficult to believe that Mrs. Cairns could have developed her institution to its present proportions without the help of these two. Mr. Gray indorsed all of the notes of the institution and gave wise legal advice without compensation during a period of years. Miss McKee made a gift of $5,000 at a crisis which saved the university. Becoming interested, this Christian lady, of unostentatious and far reaching benevolence, gave, when needs were greatest, sums ranging from $500 to $1,000, and contributed half of the cost of the McKee gymnasium.

Forest Park University has grown in ways other than the assembling of buildings. In 1888, Ernest R. Kroeger, composer and musician of wide fame, organized and took charge of the college of music as a department of the university. Five years later the college of liberal arts, under a charter drawn by Reverend Messrs. Martin, George, Burnham, Luccock and others of the city ministers, was established to give four full years of college education. Professors were drawn from the best colleges for women in the eastern states. Education at Forest Park does not sacrifice the spiritual for the intellectual. The Bible is studied daily. Evangelical Christianity is taught. Five of the trustees must be pastors of evangelical churches of St. Louis.

Perhaps in the history of Mrs. President Cairns' activities there is nothing quite so astonishing as the manner in which she carried the legislation which gave the south side of Forest Park and the university its street car facilities. Mrs. Cairns pushed the movement along until it reached the house of delegates. She discovered that the property owners who were cooperating with her had planned a wine dinner for the railroad committee. This was a shock to the woman who had worked for prohibition at Jefferson City and who had stumped all Texas as the representative of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Mrs. Cairns offered as a substitute a dinner to be served at the university by the young ladies. Thither Jim Cronin and the committee were conveyed. Cronin was impressed with the circumstances and the committeemen conducted themselves decorously until one of the bright girl students recited a piece entitled, "What makes your nose so red, Pa?" Mr. Cronin and

THE VEILED PROPHET

MISS GRACE SEMPLE

MISS FRANCES WICKHAM BRYAN

MISS LEAH VAN RIPER

Maids of Honor, 1908

the committee, then and there, declared the bill should go through and it did, although one delegate commented, "Think of a bill like that going through on turkey and ice cream!" The proposed ordinance reached the mayor and was vetoed. "The Lord's will be done," President Cairns said when the news was phoned from the city hall. Then came two years more of hard lobbying with President Cairns and Jim Cronin championing the measure. One delegate said to the good woman, "Why, Mrs. Cairns, doncher know this 'aint the way to get a bill through?"

"I don't know of any other way to get the bill through except by your votes," said Mrs. Cairns, looking the combine member straight in the eyes.

The session of the municipal assembly was within one day of the close. Two members came out to the university on Sunday and told the president that if she would come down to the city hall on Monday, get the bill engrossed with a couple of amendments, it should be taken care of Mrs. Cairns passed all of Monday at the city hall. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the council passed the bill and one hour later it went through the house of delegates. Pupils of Forest Park University a few months later rode to and from the institution.

Old newspaper men sustained a shock when first the skirts of the newspaper woman swept the bare floor of the city editor's room. It was a great innovation that introduced into the profession the refining influence of woman. It seemed to mean that the staff must learn to sustain the physical effort of writing without shedding coats. From the day the pen woman entered the newspaper field the old order of things was changed. The newspaper woman set the pace in many kinds of newspaper work. She did not like to write about crime, sociologically. If she was sent to report a trial, she told how the defendant was dressed, what mannerisms distinguished the learned counsel. She passed by the evidence as of little, or at least minor, consequence, but she wrote what people liked to read, and they asked for more. The newspaper woman of St. Louis from that earliest introduction to the present generation has been a credit to the profession, an honor to St. Louis womanhood.

Forest, O'Fallon and Carondelet added 1,700 acres to the park space of St. Louis. The city indulged in the pride of possessing more park area to the family than any other large city of the country. That was a distinction. But St. Louis did not acquire another acre of park until the distinction had been long outgrown. A third of a century passed. The population of St. Louis doubled. Then came an awakening to the manifold uses of parks. "Lungs for the city" the park advocates of 1870-80 felt they were providing. The next generation made something more than breathing places of the parks. Boating on small lakes, picnics, baseball diamonds, a trotting track, tennis courts added the elements of recreation. It remained for the instinct of motherhood to point the way to uses of the parks of St. Louis far beyond the anticipations formed in the earlier years. Within the first decade of the new century, this city has come into realization of possibilities for moral as well as physical good in the parks.

In the summer of 1900 a committee of ladies from the Wednesday club obtained the use of two yards, the basement and the kindergarten rooms of the

Shields' school and at their own expense carried on a vacation playground for little children. Every year the movement has expanded with the evidence of its value until St. Louis has a public recreation commission, half a score of equipped playgrounds,—not in borrowed schoolyards but in parks,—public baths, and public convenience stations.

During the first decade of the new century St. Louis has gone forward with leaps and bounds in all things material and in education and religious facilities. In keeping with this progress,—material, intellectual and spiritual,—is the movement which takes into account the welfare of the city's childhood. Attendance upon these playgrounds has gone far beyond the half million mark. The commission has its authority founded upon ordinance. The revenues of the city provide for the playgrounds and the baths as consistently as for any other municipal function.

The municipal administration of Rolla Wells and the park administration of Philip C. Scanlan made permanent and expanded the public recreation movement. The inception, the early impetus, the positive encouragement of the movement came from the Wednesday club, through the vacations playground committee composed of Mrs. Dwight Tredway, Mrs. Frank P. Crunden. Mrs. George S. Mepham, Miss Sarah Tower, Miss Nellie Richards. Miss Charlotte Rumbold, Mrs. E. C. Runge, Mrs. Charles L. Harris, Mrs. A. H. Blaisdell, Mrs. E. A. DeWolf. When the municipal government took over and enlarged the movement, Miss Charlotte Rumbold's genius for such work was utilized. Miss Rumbold became secretary to the public recreation commission and active manager of the playgrounds.

The second year after the Wednesday Club ladies tried the experiment at the Shields school, they enlarged their work by adding two other schools. The next year the pocketbooks of the civic league men were opened and three new playgrounds were conducted by the open-air playground committee of that body. Mr. and Mrs. John Fowler met all of the expenses of a public playground for several years. Notable impetus was given to the local movement by the establishment and conduct of a model playground during the World's Fair. When the Exposition ended the equipment of this playground was purchased and put into permanent use in Forest Park. In 1906, the playground had become a part of the city's life. It commanded the attention of the municipal government. Upon the recommendation of Mayor Rolla Wells, the Municipal Assembly authorized the Park Commissioner to maintain four playgrounds in parks. These expanded the work which was still being carried on by the volunteer St. Louis Playground association, fostered by the Wednesday club and the Civic League. The next year the municipality, by ordinance created the Public Recreation commission. The Park commissioner became the chairman ex officio. The four members were citizens who served without compensation.

"Public recreation" under the St. Louis commissioners came to mean more than keeping children out of mischief. It wasn't limited to the physical benefits of the gymnastic apparatus. Every playground soon had its little library. For the children under five years, carts, hammocks, swings and sand boxes were supplied. But above that age, up to fifteen, there was manual

training mixed with the games. Minds were stimulated and fingers were taught. The close of the playground season, which was the beginning of the public school session in September, 1908, brought to the meet in Forest Park, from all of the playgrounds, for the finals of skill and the comparison of manual training work, thousands of children and a surprising collection of useful and artistic handiwork. The work was optional with the children. The classes were made up of volunteers. A tea party was a Saturday morning feature, with little girls making and serving and dishwashing. Story-telling by amateur romancers was introduced upon certain days of the week. The first public bathhouse came into existence naturally as a supplement to the playgrounds evolution and then followed the establishment of the public convenience stations. All of these innovations met with heartiest commendation of public sentiment. They led up quickly to the demand for more parks,—not great outlying tracts, for lungs of future generations, but small parks for more playgrounds, and bathhouses and public convenience stations in the crowded centers of population.

Emerson Bainbridge, an eminent engineer of Great Britain, visited the United States in 1904. He spent some time in St. Louis. He investigated business methods as well as conditions. He looked into the industries of St. Louis. Upon his return to England, Bainbridge published his "Notes," and put upon the title page, "for private circulation." Some portion of his stay in St. Louis, the engineer gave to the Exposition, of which he wrote "it is impossible to speak too highly." He added this comment: "To the ordinary observer, one of the most striking things in the St. Louis World's Fair is the good order observed by everybody." After giving in considerable detail the result of his investigation of business methods in St. Louis, Mr. Bainbridge paid a tribute to the business women of this city:

> In looking for reasons for the quick manner in which the United States build up successful enterprises, one cannot overlook one element of vitality which appears to constitute a very important factor, viz., the manner in which the young women of the lower middle and working classes give their lives to business work. For instance, there is no comparison between the appearance of English cities at midday, and that of a city like St. Louis. In the neighborhood of the banks and brokers' offices, the streets are filled with many hundreds of trim, neatly dressed, superior looking young women, all with an air of business, either going to or from their lunch or their business houses. There is no doubt that this class is doing much more active commercial work in America than in Great Britain.

A native of the south, educated in the east, experienced in professional life of the west, Dr. David Franklin Houston found and was impressed in St. Louis with "the wholesome state of the social mind and the ordering of the domestic life, which presents a spectacle of gentility, decency and purity almost unique in the life of the large cities of our day." A higher tribute to St. Louis womanhood of today could not be put in language.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE USEFUL CITIZEN.

In my judgment the best citizen who devotes himself most earnestly to the public service receives from the community he serves far more than he can give. For myself, I have experienced nothing but kindness from the people of St. Louis for me and mine; and the balance sheet of the fifty years' residence shows me largely their debtor.—William Greenleaf Eliot, at his Semi-centennial.

The useful citizen of St. Louis! For a day, a week, a decade, in an emergency, through a crisis,—he was the person who did something signal for the welfare of the community.

The first useful citizen of St. Louis was the founder. He made no false start, no mistake; he builded with marvelous wisdom.

Pierre Laclede, in the month of December, traversed what is now the city and the eastern part of the county, by a zigzag course of many miles with such thoroughness that he was able to select the best possible site for St. Louis. There was nothing haphazard in this prospecting. When he had completed the exploration, Laclede stood on the hill, the present site of the court house, and told Auguste Chouteau he was "delighted to see the situation." He did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment which he proposed. And from that day, 145 years ago, nobody has found anything better. St. Louis is just where Pierre Laclede located it.

The founder had the vision of the born engineer. His mind was comprehensive in its action. Time determined the wisdom of the choice. Laclede studied the shore line to the cliffs overlooking the Missouri. He examined the country back from the Mississippi front. He had no second choice. He did not waver or confer. Here was to be his settlement. Here was just what he had been looking for.

In his experience below, Laclede had suffered from high water. He selected for St. Louis a site that would never overflow. And yet the elevation was not impossible of ascent on the river side or difficult of approach from any other direction. Down the river and up the river were bottom lands. Farther to the north and to the south were higher limestone bluffs. Back of them the country was more rugged. Laclede passed over the high bluffs and low lands. He came to the plateau which his vision told him was the fortunate medium of elevation above the water. With Auguste Chouteau beside him, the founder came in from the west over the series of gentle ridges. He noted the prairies and the groves. Winter though it was, his agricultural training revealed to him the natural fertility of the soil. Laclede knew something of geology. He saw the outcroppings of limestone. He recognized the abundance of building material, stone and wood, at hand. To be sure, it was not for him to realize what the vast beds of underlying

clays promised. The age of cement and concrete was in the future. In so far as a mind keenly observant, informed upon material conditions of the middle of the eighteenth century could fathom, Laclede knew he had found an ideal site. He looked no farther. He committed himself unreservedly. He marked the trees for his own house and business. He located them where for more than one hundred years was to be the center of the commerce of St. Louis.

Leadership of men is a quality bred. Laclede inherited it. He developed the trait while forming his settlement. When the expedition reached Ste. Genevieve in November, 1763, winter was beginning. A thin crust of ice formed mornings in the still shallow water along shore. Laclede learned for the first time of the treaty ceding French possessions east of the Mississippi to England. Timorous excitement was in every French household. French garrisons were receiving the word to get ready to go south. French settlers of the Illinois country were of more than half mind to abandon their homes and follow. Laclede pushed on his flotilla a few miles to Fort Chartres. He unloaded his goods and warehoused them in the fort. The panic spread. The influence of actual military preparation to evacuate was reinforced by the urgent advice of the commandant to the settlers to go with him.

In the midst of winter Laclede found his location. He hurried back to Fort Chartres to spread the information of his plans. He delegated the actual work of clearing the ground and erecting the first buildings. Against the ill-advised exodus Laclede opposed his power of persuasion. He won. Settlers turned from the official head to the born leader. When Neyon de Villiers floated away down the Mississippi, only the weaklings of the pioneer communities followed him. Laclede mastered the situation. Relations with de Villiers were strained. The commandant saw his purpose to draw away to New Orleans the entire population thwarted. He was resentful. Yet such was the tact of Laclede that no open outbreak occurred and the founder carried on his campaign to win habitants for St. Louis up to the very day of de Villiers' departure. He drew to his settlement the strong and courageous.

Before St. Louis was six months old Laclede had given further evidence that his was no ordinary character. He had drawn the plan of the settlement for the guidance of Auguste Chouteau even before he left Fort Chartres and the disturbed communities on the east side of the river. Influenced by Laclede's courageous reasoning rather than by de Villiers' ruinous forebodings the settlers began the migration to the new settlement. Some moved before de Villiers and the soldiers left for New Orleans. Others came later. But as these new settlers arrived they found the town laid out. They were assigned, by Auguste Chouteau first and by Laclede after he took up his residence, sites on which to build their new homes.

The word of Laclede was accepted as law. By what authority? His charter from the French governor-general at New Orleans was the exclusive trade with the Indian nations of the Missouri country for a period of eight years. This privilege was quickly enforced. One of the early acts of

Laclede was the expulsion of a trespassing fur trader. This was done summarily. The moral effect on the settlement was marked. Laclede was the governor of the new settlement. He had no commission. He had what was stronger—recognition of his authority by common consent of the governed. Laclede's house was the seat of this government. If the founder had no written authority, no code, he was a man born to lead, and was accepted by those he led.

Not alone were the settlers and traders of the Illinois country in their recognition of Laclede's influence. When, in 1765, St. Ange de Bellerive turned over Fort Chartres to Captain Stirling and the English, he faced the question of his future. Without hesitation he marched his garrison of forty French soldiers to St. Louis and remained there. He lived in Laclede's house. He performed the duties of commandant. The news had come up the river that St. Louis was in Spanish territory. In Lower Louisiana there was revolt. The right to self government was proclaimed at New Orleans. Over St. Louis the flag of France still floated. Through those years of uncertainty and bloodshed at New Orleans, the settlement of Laclede passed without anything more than well controlled excitement. Laclede was a republican at heart. He awaited the issue in Lower Louisiana. If Lafreniere and his compatriots won, Laclede and St. Ange would join in the organization of the republic. They had created the capital of Upper Louisiana. While the revolution below went on, Laclede was cultivating the fur trade. He was laying foundations for the greater St. Louis.

The plan which Laclede drew for his settlement is the basis of the present map of St. Louis. The founder laid out three streets following the curve of the river front. These are today Main, Second and Third streets; they agree with the lines of Laclede's map. In his planning the founder showed in one particular more foresight than those who came after him. He established a public square, or park, on the river front in the heart of his settlement. The Place d'Armes was the name he bestowed upon the reservation. Its boundaries were the river, Main, Walnut and Market streets. The locality was not a steep slope from Main street to the water in those days. The river, when of good stage, swept along the base of a cliff or bluff of rock, about thirty-five feet high. The Place d'Armes was a little plateau with this bold front on the river. In the year 1908, the Civic League of St. Louis planned and proposed to the people of St. Louis a treatment of the river front which was almost an artificial reproduction of Laclede's Place d'Armes, as he tried to preserve it one hundred and forty-five years ago. Utilitarian St. Louis put a market house on the Place. When the French names of the streets gave way to English, Market street took its title from the practical use to which Laclede's square had been put. Then came the day when St. Louis, looking westward, saw nothing beautiful in a river front. The Place d'Armes passed into private possession. Across the street from where Laclede located his house and place of business, was built the Merchants' Exchange to become the city's trade center until the removal to the Chamber of Commerce on Third and Pine streets.

St. Ange came to St. Louis in 1765. Just after the beginning of 1766 he began to govern. Until that time the habitants had held the locations which Laclede assigned them for homes. They wanted titles, evidences on paper, of ownership. Laclede and St. Ange considered the problem. Two lawyers, Labusciere and Lefevre, who had moved from the east side of the river, were called into the conference to help frame the forms to be adopted. St. Ange added to his functions the issue of grants or titles. Among the first to take out these grants to the property they occupied were Laclede and Labusciere. The founder showed the people his faith in the land system which he had devised. In making his allotments to newcomers, Laclede usually bestowed a quarter of a block. In some cases, which were exceptional, he gave half a block. In a very few instances the assignment covered an entire block. The deeds or grants which St. Ange issued to the holders to confirm the assignments made by Laclede were recorded in a book. The system of Laclede stood the test of Spanish authority first and of American authority later. Laclede's distribution of land to settlers, confirmed in instruments of writing by St. Ange, remains today undisturbed, with all of the authority of government sustaining it. The livre terrien of Laclede, St. Ange, Labusciere and Lefevre is the beginning of the realty records of St. Louis.

The year came round which terminated the period of exclusive trading in the Missouri country by Maxent, Laclede & Company, if indeed that privilege was really in force after the cession by France to Spain. In 1770 arrived the Spanish governor, Piernas, with a garrison to put into effect Spanish authority. Laclede met the new conditions readily. He had made St. Ange a member of his household. He now welcomed the Spanish governor and gave him headquarters in his house. A new flag went up in front of the stone house, the yellow between the red. But Laclede still continued to be the power behind the government. He still controlled the fur trade of the Missouri. The personality of the founder was greater than the flag.

In 1774 St. Ange died. Perhaps the old soldier hadn't much to leave. His will was the expression of his confidence and admiration. He named Laclede as the executor of his will.

In 1778 Laclede coming up the river from New Orleans on the tedious three months' journey, was stricken. He died near the mouth of the Arkansas river. His body was buried at the foot of a tree. The next year an expedition was sent down to bring the body of the founder to St. Louis. The effort was useless. In the flood period the river had undermined the bank. The body of Laclede and the tree which marked his grave had been carried away. The founder's days of useful citizenship for St. Louis were ended.

When the estate of Laclede was inventoried one item told the story of the founder's sacrifice of self interest for the help of others. It was:

Notes of various parties irrecoverable.....27,891 livres.

Laclede left the mill and the water power, which sold at auction for 2,000 livres. He left a farm on the grand prairie. This farm brought 750 livres or $150. Colonel Maxent, the New Orleans partner in the firm of

Maxent, Laclede & Co. was the chief creditor of Laclede. He chose Auguste Chouteau to be the executor of Laclede's estate. Chouteau was Laclede's stepson. He had been the chief clerk of the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co. More than this, he had been the trusted confidant of the founder from the beginning of the settlement. The selection of Auguste Chouteau showed two things—the complete confidence Colonel Maxent had in Laclede's family and the disposition to treat his heirs with liberality. In New Orleans as well as in St. Louis, the public spirit of Laclede was known. His invaluable services to St. Louis were recognized. The governor general took a personal interest in the settlement of Laclede's affairs. He wrote from New Orleans to the lieutenant governor at St. Louis asking him to interest himself:

"Endeavor to have the heirs of Laclede satisfied as far as possible in regard to what is due the deceased."

Chouteau, after a year, was able to pay Colonel Maxent 2,625 livres and to deliver to him sundry notes, the face of which was 38,523 livres. But this included 27,527 livres "irrecoverable" and 7,527 livres "which may be collected."

Upon the memorandum submitted to him by Auguste Chouteau, Colonel Maxent wrote "from all of which I release said Chouteau from any responsibility, he having executed his commission."

This was all there was to show for the fifteen years Laclede had devoted to the founding and upbuilding of St. Louis. He had secured to his wife and children a home on Main and Chestnut streets. To protect his partner, Colonel Maxent, from loss on account of the notes, bad and doubtful, which he was carrying, Laclede, the year before he died, conveyed to Colonel Maxent all of his interest in the block of ground and in the buildings thereon, bounded by Main, Second, Walnut and Market streets. His principal asset of value was the mill. Even that had not been a source of profit to him personally. In 1767 he had purchased the mill because it was not equipped to meet the needs of the community. He had expended a great deal of money, increasing the water power and enlarging the capacity. So liberally had Laclede managed the mill for eleven years that it had cost him much more than he had made out of it.

The founder of St. Louis did not amass wealth. He formed "a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities of America." With foresight which seems marvelous now, he located his settlement and planned it. He carried the community through the crisis of organization and established government. He drew to him strong men from half a dozen other settlements, much older and seemingly permanent. He distributed the lots without cost to the newcomers. He obtained for the holders formal confirmation of the holdings. He made St. Louis the capital of Upper Louisiana with a population nearly half as large as New Orleans. He was a useful citizen.

Until May, 1840, the working day of St. Louis was "from sun up to sunset." Mechanics and laborers, when employed by the day, began as the sun rose and stopped as it set. This made a day of varying length. In the sum-

mer time, when the sun rose very early, an hour from six to seven o'clock was allowed for breakfast. The day was broken by a full noon hour from twelve to one. This was custom, but it was well settled custom. Bricklayers started a movement to have ten hours made a working day. The employers refused to accede. The journeymen stopped work and paraded the streets without disturbance. They called a mass meeting in the afternoon of May 23rd. Members of all trades attended the meeting. By some one's happy inspiraton Thornton Grimsley was nominated to be chairman. He was a manufacturer who had built up a large business and had found time to perform many public duties. If a celebration was to be gotten up, Thornton Grimsley was the first one thought of for the committee to make the arrangements. He was the grand marshal of more processions than any other man of his generation in St. Louis. He was a high officer in the military organization of his day. He was responsive to every kind of a public call and he always did the right thing. So when a hard-fisted bricklayer moved "that Colonel Thornton Grimsley" take the chair, the colonel didn't flinch. He went forward and called for order with as much dignity as if he were to preside over a gathering of "the best citizens."

The colonel expressed the sense of the honor he felt upon being called upon to be chairman of a mass meeting of journeymen. He told his hearers that he would discharge the duties as well as he was able. And then Colonel Grimsley proceeded in his own excellent way to solve the first labor problem presented to St. Louis. He said he wasn't a bricklayer, but a maker of saddles and harness; that he employed many journeymen. His hearers might think from that he was not in sympathy with such a movement as the mass meeting represented. That would be a mistake, for he believed a ten-hour day was honorable and just.

"I see many employers of journeymen in other trades before me," Colonel Grimsley went on. "If they come into this ten-hour system, they may in some instances lose a little time of painful toil, but they will be rewarded for the sacrifice in better, willing labor, and will enjoy the smiles of wives and little children at the early return of their husbands and fathers from labor if they will go and see them."

Thus Colonel Grimsley talked until he had sentiment all one way. Other employers of labor followed him with expressions of willingness to make the concession. Without legislation, without disorder, with a single day's strike that was not attended by an unpleasant incident, the ten-hour labor day went into effect in St. Louis.

Wage-earners from the earliest times found good treatment in St. Louis. When this was no more than a fur trading settlement, labor was recompensed at the rate of two livres a day. That was $11.25 per month. At the same time similar labor in the American colonies and later in the American states on the Atlantic coast was paid six dollars a month. The flat boatmen, who constituted the lowest class of unskilled labor, received not less than eight dollars a month at St. Louis.

Consideration for employes has gone farther in St. Louis than in any other city of the United States. A fine example of this, not exceptional per-

haps, is given in the policy of the Norvell-Shapleigh Hardware Company. Of 450 employes in the Washington avenue house of this company, 150 are women. They have a rest room with a matron who, on proper representation by a woman employe that she needs to rest for a few minutes or an hour, approves an application-for-leave card to the proper department head, and the female employe is released. The hours for work and lunch are so arranged that the women work one hour less than the men, and go to and return from lunch half an hour later. One hour is allowed for lunch, and there are lunchrooms in the building. A roof garden with gymnastic apparatus is provided for lunching and for outdoor exercise in good weather. At Christmas the company makes a present to every employe of a half month's salary. Nine months in the year the house observes the Saturday half-holiday, except that it is an essential part of its system that a force shall remain Saturday afternoons to finish the week's work in the entry and invoicing departments. No invoice received Saturday is ever carried over till Monday. The staff which works the Saturday half-holiday is given a Wednesday half-holiday. The company maintains a sick-benefit fund, made up of fees received by all officers and employes for jury and witness fees. This is a considerable fund, as the total of employes, including the force employed in the company's big warehouse, numbers over six hundred. There is also a house physician, whose services are given employes without charge, at the expense of the company.

In five weeks of 1832 five per cent of the population of St. Louis died of cholera. It was as if in 1909 the deaths from an epidemic disease had numbered 35,000 in a little more than a month. The visitation came in October. The weather was cool and cloudy. Laborers stopped work and stood on the street corners. Business was almost suspended. The feeling of depression was general. Men were seen one day and missed the next. Those who kept their minds occupied with ordinary affairs, made no changes in the habits of dress and food, seemed lest liable to attack and had the best chance of recovery. The panic stricken, those who stopped work, those who doctored themselves with preventatives, were easy victims.

The epidemic of cholera which most severely afflicted St. Louis, which brought out the ability of the city to deal with a great emergency and which led to permanent measures of protection from these visitations was in 1849. The community consisted of 63,000 people. The number of deaths from cholera, according to Dr. Engelmann, was 4,317 and from other causes 4,000 more. St. Louis dealt with the unprecedented situation through a committee of public health. Colonel Robert Moore, the author of "Notes on the History of Cholera in St. Louis," says:

> On the 25th of June, a mass meeting was assembled at the courthouse, at which the propriety of quarantine was at last suggested, and the authorities strongly denounced for their inaction. A committee of twelve, two from each ward, was appointed to wait upon the city council and urge immediate action. The latter body was not at that time in session, and many of its members had sought places of safety outside the city. By vigorous efforts, however, they were hastily assembled on the afternoon of the next day (June 26), and audience given to the prayer of the committee. By way of answer, an ordinance

was passed at the same sitting, and approved by the mayor, Jas. G. Barry, by which the city government was virtually abdicated in favor of the petitioners. The committee of twelve appointed by the mass-meeting the day before, composed of T. T. Gantt, R. S. Blennerhasset, A. B. Chambers, Isaac A. Hedges, James Clemens, Jr., J. M. Field, George Collier, L. M. Kennett, Trusten Polk, Lewis Bach, Thomas Gray, and Wm. G. Clark, were made a "committee of public health" with almost absolute power. Authority was conferred upon them to make all rules, orders, and regulations they should deem necessary, and any violation of their orders was made punishable by fine up to five hundred dollars. This authority was to continue during the epidemic. Vacancies in the committee were to be filled as they themselves should determine, and $50,000 was appropriated for their use.

The committee, thus suddenly clothed with the sole power and responsibility, at once took up their task. At their first meeting, held on Wednesday, June 27, certain school-houses in each ward were designated as hospitals, and physicians appointed to attend them. They also provided for a thorough cleansing of the city, to be begun at once, with an inspector or superintendent for each block. Among these "block inspectors," as they were termed, were many of the best citizens of the city, who entered into the work with the utmost zeal, and declined afterwards to receive any pay.

On the next Saturday, June 30, the committee recommend "the burning, this evening, at 8 o'clock, throughout the city, of stone coal, resinous tar, and sulphur"—a measure which seems to have met with much favor, for in the next day's paper we are told that on the night before "in every direction the air was filled with dense masses of smoke, serving, as we all hope, to dissipate the foul air which has been the cause of so much mortality." The committee also appointed Monday, July 2, to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer—a recommendation with which, as with that for bonfires, there was general compliance.

The committee, however, did not content themselves with prayers and smoke alone. Thus, we are told that on Sunday the block inspectors continued their work of purification without regard to the day, and on the very day of fasting and prayer appointed by themselves, the committee dictated to the city council an ordinance, which was passed the same day, establishing quarantine against steamboats from the South.

On the first day of August the committee of public health in a proclamation declared the epidemic to be over. At the same time they closed their accounts, turning back to the city treasury $16,000 of the $50,000; resigned their trust and adjourned sine die.

During this epidemic there was not a case of cholera among the students or in the faculty of St. Louis University. The institution at that time was at Ninth and Washington avenue, near some of the most fatal centers of the disease. In the vicinity of the Sheridan Exchange, on Franklin avenue, were two wells with only the thoroughfare separating them. It seemed as if everybody who drank from one well was smitten with the cholera while all who drank from the other were immune. One of the victims of the cholera epidemic in 1850 was General Richard V. Mason. He was living at Jefferson Barracks and was in charge of construction work there.

Masterful treatment of a crisis St. Louis showed in 1854. One of the spasms of Know Nothingism occurred that year. Immigrants had been flocking to St. Louis for several years. Irish and Germans were numerous among the newcomers. They had votes. They were eager to embrace political opportunities. American residents of the city were resentful and inclined to regulate the brand new citizens. At the city election of 1852 the Germans who were classed as Benton Democrats took control of the First Ward polls at Soulard market and prevented Whigs from voting. Dr. Mitchell was mobbed and Mayor Kennett, the Whig candidate for reelec-

JOHN O'FALLON

OLIVER D. FILLEY

JAMES E. YEATMAN

USEFUL CITIZENS

tion, was hissed. When the report was brought up-town, Bob O'Blennis, the gambler, and Ned Buntline, the story writer, assembled 5,000 men and marched down to Soulard market. Pistol shots were fired. Stones were thrown. The crowd from up-town fired into the market house. A shot from Neumeyer's tavern, on Seventh street and Park avenue, killed Joseph Stevens of the St. Louis Fire company. The Americans charged the tavern, gutted it and burned it. They got two six-pounders and located them on a Park avenue corner to rake the streets to the south but did not fire. One party of fifteen hundred started for the office of the Anzeiger to clean it out, but met the militia and turned back. This trouble wore itself out in a day. It was the curtain raiser for the election tragedy of August, 1854. Antagonism toward foreigners had become intense. Foreign born citizens offering to vote were challenged and called on to show their papers and then declared to be disqualified.

At the Fifth Ward polls an Irishman stabbed a boy and ran into the Mechanics' boarding house. The crowd followed, smashed the windows and broke the furniture. Shots were fired; other boarding houses in the neighborhood were attacked. The crowd, swelled to several thousand, marched to Cherry street and continued the wrecking of the boarding houses. It started for the levee and met a crowd of Irishmen. In the fight two were killed. Battle Row on the levee was stoned. Doors were broken in and furniture destroyed in many houses. The mob went up-town, wrecking Irish boarding houses on Morgan, Cherry and Green streets. At Drayman's hall on Eighth street and Franklin avenue, the mob divided into parties, which continued the work of destruction on the saloons until the militia dispersed them. The next day the Continentals while proceeding along Green street were fired on. Two militiamen, Spore and Holliday, were wounded. Near Seventh and Biddle, under the shadow of St. Patrick's church, E. R. Violet, a well known and much liked citizen, attempted to disarm a man, who was flourishing a pistol, and was killed. Fighting occurred about the same hour at Broadway and Ashley street. A saloon keeper named Snyder was killed. Three men were wounded. The rioting went on until late that night. The next morning a meeting of citizens at the Merchants' Exchange was called by the mayor. James H. Lucas was chairman and Hudson E. Bridge was secretary. The inherent sentiment of the community for law and order asserted itself. After an expression, the gathering adjourned to the court house. A larger meeting was held. Captain N. J. Eaton was commissioned by the voice of popular will to get up an organization to suppress the disorder. Before the afternoon was over a force of seven hundred citizens had been recruited. Major Meriwether Lewis Clark was given the command. He had thirty-three captains in command of squads. This force, composed of the best class of citizens, went on duty. The ordinary police force was withdrawn. The rioting ceased immediately.

As they walked home from the breaking of ground near Fifteenth street and Walnut street for the first railroad out of St. Louis, the Missouri Pacific, James E. Yeatman asked John O'Fallon:

"Colonel, do you think it will pay?"

"No," said Colonel O'Fallon, with deliberation; "not in my time. Perhaps not in yours. Eventually it will be profitable."

Colonel O'Fallon was one of the largest subscribers to the stock of the original company. He had made his investment with the conclusion that he would not see financial returns from it. After a little pause he resumed the conversation:

"Mr. Yeatman," he said, "you will please not mention the amount of my subscription."

John F. Darby, twice mayor of St. Louis, wrote of Colonel O'Fallon as "the most open, candid and liberal man the city of St. Louis ever produced, the leader of every public enterprise. He sprang to every business man's assistance, without waiting to be called upon. He has done more to assist the merchants and business men of St. Louis than any man who ever lived in the town."

In the old days of banking in St. Louis those who desired loans wrote their requests and dropped them in a box. On stated days, once or twice a week, the box was opened; the applications were considered by the directors. John O'Fallon was regular in his attendance at these meetings to consider loans. He followed closely the reading of the requests. The mention of names well known, of business men of established credit, interested him in only routine way. But when an application from some one unknown to him was read, he was all attention. Noting a disposition to turn upside down the request, which was the token of disapproval, Colonel O'Fallon would ask: "Who is that man? What does he do? How old is he?"

The last question was the most important. Often the responses were meager. The applicant was almost a stranger to every director present. Did anyone know anything to his discredit? If the answer was negative, Colonel O'Fallon would say: "Let him have the money. I will indorse his paper."

Not once, not scores, but hundreds of times John O'Fallon did this. The younger the man, the stronger the sympathy. The less known of the man, provided that little information was not discreditable, the quicker the action in favor of the loan.

Very rapidly St. Louis was expanding from 1840 to 1860. These were years in which John O'Fallon, from his fiftieth to his seventieth year, staked the trade and commerce of the rising city. In ways entirely his own, John O'Fallon was the useful citizen of that period. He was the great indorser among St. Louis business men. When the Polytechnic Institute was opened in the new building on Seventh and Chestnut streets in 1857 John How said this:

> It is not considered wise to indorse paper, and I shall not here justify the practice; still this I may say on the authority of Colonel O'Fallon, that it is pleasant to look around you as you descend into the vale of tears, and see the good done, business created, families comfortable, city prospering, even if it has been brought about by the want of common prudence in indorsing. True, as Colonel O'Fallon said, he had been often disappointed in those he had aided, yet, on the whole, he was satisfied with the result.

John O'Fallon organized the first Sunday school in St. Louis. He continued his well doing all of his life. And when John O'Fallon died Bishop Hawks told the people of St. Louis his philanthropies are "lithographed in your very streets."

"I never permit myself to feel so bitter against a man that I cannot speak to him." One who could say that and act it in 1861 was qualified to be chairman of the Committee of Public Safety. The orator and resolution writer were busy in St. Louis that winter. Captain Sam Gaty went into the office of his lawyer, Samuel T. Glover, on Fourth and Olive streets, and saw a gun in the corner. He asked a question and was answered with one.

"You secessionists don't expect to drive the Union men out of the city, do you?" the lawyer said to his client in a rasping tone which had no good humor in it.

On the 8th of January those who sympathized with the south resolved "that we pledge Missouri to a hearty cooperation with our sister Southern states, in such measures as shall be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of northern fanaticism and the coercion of the Federal Government."

On the 9th of January the Constitutional Union men met and organized for the purpose of opposing Black Republicanism.

On the 11th of January the Union men met in Washington Hall and took steps to organize Union clubs, inviting all Union men to act together. Shortly before the meeting Thornton Grimsley met his son-in-law, Henry T. Blow, and warned him that the Washington Hall meeting was to be broken up. He told him that one hundred secessionists had pledged themselves to do this. Colonel Grimsley sympathized with the South. Colonel Blow was just as strongly a Union man.

On the 11th of January Mayor O. D. Filley sent to the common council the following:

A very general and unusual excitement prevails in our community, and, although I do not apprehend that any actual disturbance or interference with the rights of our citizens will ensue, yet I deem it best that all proper precautionary measures should be taken to prepare for any event. I would, hence, recommend that the members of the council, from each ward, select from among their best citizens such a number of men as the exigencies of the case may seem to require and organize them to be ready for any emergency. Our citizens are entitled to the full protection of the laws and must have it.

On the 12th of January Archbishop Kenrick published a card to the Catholics of St. Louis advising them to avoid all occasions of public excitement:

To The Roman Catholics of St. Louis:

Beloved Brethren: In the present disturbed state of the public mind, we feel it our duty to recommend you to avoid all occasions of public excitement, to obey the laws, to respect the rights of all citizens and to keep away, as much as possible, from all assemblages where the indiscretion of a word, or the impetuosity of a momentary passion might endanger public tranquillity. Obey the injunction of the Apostle, St. Peter: "Follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man can see God."

PETER RICHARD KENRICK,
Archbishop of St. Louis.

In the presidential campaign of 1860 there were "wide awakes" on the republican side and "broom rangers" on the democratic side. Two months before the inauguration of Lincoln, armed organizations, built upon the political clubs, were drilling in St. Louis. Those whose sympathies were with secession were "minute men." This organization came into existence at a meeting in Washington hall the first week in January. Simultaneously began the formation of union clubs, which were called "union guards," "black jaegers," " home guards." The minute men had headquarters in the Berthold mansion at Fifth and Pine streets. They hung out a southern flag with its single star and crescent.

In six weeks sixteen companies of the union guards had been formed. The minute men were numerous. The drills were nightly. There was little attempt at secrecy. In the central and northern parts of the city the minute men were overwhelmingly strong. South of Market street were the strongholds of the union guards. Every hall was an armory.

Giles F. Filley bought fifty Sharp's rifles, the crack fighting piece of that day, and armed the men in his factory. Governor Yates of Illinois sent two hundred muskets which were wagoned to Turner hall, covered by beer barrels and distributed to union guards. To get more guns a fund of $30,000 was raised. These historical incidents show how sentiment was seething in St. Louis during the winter and spring of 1861.

Isaac H. Sturgeon had nearly $1,000,000 of gold and silver in the subtreasury. He was apprehensive about Federal property and made inquiry as to conditions at the arsenal. Mayor Bell told him that there were 60,000 stand of arms, 200 barrels of powder, many cannon and war supplies, with only one man on guard over them at night. Mr. Sturgeon quickly reported this situation to Washington. Lieutenant Robinson came with forty men. Troops were moved up from the barracks. Captain Nathaniel Lyon arrived with a company of regulars from Fort Riley but was not immediately put in charge. He wrote to Blair in Washington of the inadequate plan of his superior, Major Hagner, to defend the arsenal. "This," he said, "is either imbecility or villainy."

Coming to St. Louis from Jefferson City about this time, Governor Claib Jackson remarked "that if his advice had been taken the arsenal would have been seized, when he could have walked in with ten armed men and taken it, as it had no protection, but to do so now would cost the lives of a great many men and the probable destruction of the city."

The Committee of Public Safety deserved the name. It saved the priceless contents of the arsenal to the government. It held St. Louis loyal. It mastered the most critical situation in the history of the city. It averted bloodshed through the months while two hostile armies of its own fellow citizens were camped within eyesight and earshot.

At the head of the Committee of Public Safety was Oliver Dwight Filley. The other members were Samuel T. Glover, Francis P. Blair, Jr., J. J. Witzig, John How and James O. Broadhead. These six men received their commission to act from a mass meeting of unconditional Union men. Republicans, Douglas Democrats and Bell and Everett Democrats united

in this movement. They had but one plank in their platform—"unalterable fidelity to the Union under all circumstances." Previous to the 11th of January a little group of Union men met in Mr. Filley's counting room from time to time and planned the course which was followed. The Committee of Public Safety was an evolution. When the six men had been chosen, they made the Turner hall on Tenth near Market street the headquarters. Their meetings were held daily.

Those winter and spring months of 1861 were a continuous crisis in St. Louis. The marvel is that the city was not a battlefield long before Sumter was fired upon. The fact of martial law long preceded the form. Again and again the feeling approached dangerously near the line of mob violence and was checked. On the side of those who sympathized with the South were men who clung to the hope that war could be avoided by pacificatory measures. They were Constitutional Union men. Among them were Henry Overstolz, D. A. January, Albert Todd, J. W. Willis, William T. Wood, H. S. Turner, N. J. Eaton, George Penn, Lewis V. Bogy, L. M. Kennett, P. B. Garesche, John D. Coalter. The influence of these men was exerted to restrain the minute men and their leaders from any overt act. Especially was it exerted to prevent the seizure of the arsenal. No other city in the Union was so distracted as was St. Louis in that period. But the bloodshed would have been much greater if it had not been for these men who hoped to hold the southern states in the Union by pacification. The Committee of Public Safety formally organized, with Oliver D. Filley as president and James O. Broadhead as secretary. Black Republicans who had voted for Lincoln were looked upon as enemies to the public peace. Their expulsion from St. Louis was openly advocated. In a county adjoining St. Louis a school teacher named Landfield, who had voted for Lincoln and talked republicanism, was told to leave. He asked for a hearing. A committee of twenty-eight leading citizens of the county heard what the teacher had to say and confirmed the order of banishment. Citizens resolved "that they would do what they could to remove from St. Louis the stigma of being an anti-slavery Black Republican county hostile to the institutions of Missouri."

That gun in the corner of Samuel T. Glover's law office was not the only one made ready. The stock of arms and ammunition in Woodward's hardware store on Main street was depleted. More than one respectable church-going resident swore occasionally in those times. The conditions, if they did not justify, mitigated the offense of profanity.

The personal composition of the Committee of Public Safety was most fortunate. Mr. Filley was from Connecticut, a descendant of one of the families which came over in the Mayflower. Mr. How had been reared in Pennsylvania. Mr. Witzig represented the great influx of German population. Mr. Blair was of Kentucky birth, the son of a Virginia father. Mr. Glover was a Kentuckian. Mr. Broadhead was of Virginia parentage. The widespread sources of St. Louis population were well represented in the formation of the group. Glover and Broadhead were lawyers of high standing, known personally to Mr. Lincoln. John How had been mayor two terms and was a business man of wide influence. Witzig had the confi-

dence of his fellow countrymen. Blair was the Washington connection. He had served one term in Congress and was Representative-elect. To tell what manner of man the chairman was detracts nothing from the honor due the men who were his associates on the committee. Familiarly he was called "O. D." He was kindly and approachable. When the Committee of Public Safety had won, when it had become safer in St. Louis to be a Union man than a secession sympathizer, the spirit of retribution was indulged. Men were arrested and punished for words. Mr. Filley protested. "Let them talk," he said. "If they do no overt act, do not disturb them." But behind the kindly disposition was the spirit which knows neither variableness nor shadow of turning when right is at stake. When cloth was wanted to uniform the force he was recruiting, O. D. Filley gave his word it would be paid for, and his word was accepted where another man's note would have been asked. That was the reputation the chairman had in the community.

Protection of persons prompted in the beginning the movement which took form in the Committee of Public Safety. Then Mr. Filley and his associates planned and armed to save the arsenal for the government. Next they engineered the course which saved Missouri to the Union. The companies of union guards grew into regiments. There wasn't enough blue cloth in the city to uniform all. The committee sent one regiment, John D. Stevenson's, into service clad in Kentucky homespun. When the committee called on Colonel Robert Campbell for cloth he refused to sell; he said he would uniform Blair's regiment at his own expense, and he did. The committee was making headway.

Delegation after delegation came from the south to show Missouri that it was her duty to secede. Vest, of Cooper, offered the bill providing for a convention to determine what course Missouri should pursue, the decision of the convention to be submitted to the people for popular vote. St. Louis had fifteen delegates in that convention. The unconditional Union men nominated a ticket on which there were four Republicans and eleven Douglas, and Bell and Everett Democrats. The ticket carried the city by a majority of 5,000. The Committee of Public Safety not only had an army but it had scored a political victory. The convention met in Jefferson City. Its purpose, as defined by the Legislature, was "to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." The convention, after two days, adjourned to meet in St. Louis on the day that Lincoln was to be inaugurated. The convention met in Mercantile Library hall, up two long flights of stairs, in the old building on Fifth and Locust. Two blocks down Fifth street the southern flag floated in front of the Berthold mansion. In the convention the advocacy of secession grew weaker session by session. Uriel Wright, the great advocate who had moved juries as had no other man of that day at the bar of St. Louis, spoke:

I looked one day toward the southern skies, toward that sunny land which constitutes our southern possessions, and I saw a banner floating in the air. I am not skilled in heraldry, and I may mistake the sign, but as it first rose it presented a single dim

and melancholy star, set in a field of blue, representing, I suppose, a lost pleiad floating through space. A young moon, a crescent moon, was by her side, appropriately plucked from our planetary system, as the most changeable of all representatives known to it, a satellite to signify the vicissitudes which must attend its career. The sad spectacle wound up with the appropriate emblem of the cross, denoting the tribulation and sorrow which must attend its going. I could not favor any such banner.

Hamilton R. Gamble, from the committe on Federal relations, reported to the convention the resolutions for adoption. These resolutions declared

That while Missouri cannot leave the Union to join the southern states, we will do all in our power to induce them to again take their places with us in the family from which they have attempted to separate themselves. For this purpose we will not only recommend a compromise with which they ought to be satisfied, but we will endeavor to procure an assembly of the whole family of states in order that in a general convention such amendments to the constitution may be agreed upon as shall permanently restore harmony to the whole nation.

Missouri had gone on record against secession. The Committee of Public Safety continued to hold its meetings in Turner Hall. For three months the committee had existed without official recognition. It had created, and uniformed and drilled regiments. The government at Washington called upon Missouri for four regiments. On the 17th of April Governor Jackson replied to the call, refusing to furnish the troops. He wrote to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, that the requisition was "illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary." Four days later Lyon, at the arsenal received a telegram from Washington, sent to East St. Louis and carried by messenger across the river for greater security. The message directed him "to arm the loyal citizens to protect public property. Muster four regiments into the public service."

Before nightfall the regiments raised by the Committee of Public Safety, commanded by Blair, Boernstein, Sigel and Schuttner, were within the arsenal walls, armed and supplied with ammunition. The Committee of Public Safety had its own detective force, organized soon after the committee came into existence. The head of the detective force was the ex-chief of police, J. E. D. Couzins. One of the reports brought by the secret service to the Committee of Safety was that the minute men were making preparations to attack the arsenal on the night of the day the four regiments of union guards were mustered in. The night passed without incident. The minute men wanted the guns and powder in the arsenal. Their leaders discussed the possibilities of capture. They were held back by those who sympathized with the south, but who still hoped for a pacific settlement.

The last day of April brought from Washington complete recognition of the Committee of Safety. The adjutant general sent, bearing the approval of "A. Lincoln," this order to Lyon: "You will, if deemed necessary by yourself and by Messrs. O. D. Filley, James How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig and F. P. Blair, proclaim martial law in the city of St. Louis."

The Committee of Public Safety was to all practical purposes the government, so far as St. Louis was concerned. Perhaps never before was such power placed in the hands of half a dozen men. These men derived their

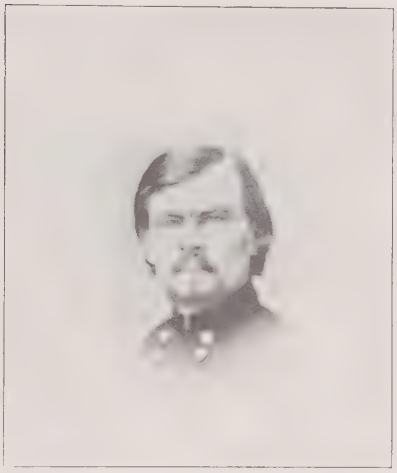
representative capacity from no election. The committee was the result of a mass meeting of citizens. It had earned its recognition by what it had accomplished. The work went on. A fifth regiment, Colonel Salomon's, was organized. A brigade was formed with Lyon as general. The regiments were numbered. Blair was colonel of the First and his major was J. W. Schofield, who was to reach the highest rank in the regular army, lieutenant-general. Five additional regiments were organized as the reserve corps. Their colonels were Almstedt, Kallman, McNeil, B. Gratz Brown and Stifel.

Governor Jackson called a special session of the legislature for the second of May to "enact such measures as might be deemed necessary for the more perfect organization and equipment of the militia." At the same time he ordered the commanders to assemble their men in each militia district. The organized militia of the St. Louis district obeyed orders. On the 6th day of May, General D. M. Frost assembled the First and Second regiments on Washington avenue and marched to Camp Jackson, which had been laid out in Lindell grove, a beautiful slope dotted with large trees on the east side of Grand avenue, extending from Olive street on the north to Laclede avenue on the south. The camp was named in honor of the governor, as custom required. Three troops of militia cavalry under Major Clark Kennerly arrived in the camp the next day. The First Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel John Knapp commanding, was composed of long established military companies. The majority, perhaps two-thirds of the members of this regiment and of the Engineer Corps, National Guards, were Union men. Many of them afterwards served with distinction in the Union army. The Second Regiment, Colonel John S. Bowen, was composed largely of the minute men who had been organized as militia in January from the "broom rangers" of the political campaign of 1860. The United States and the Missouri State flags floated over Camp Jackson.

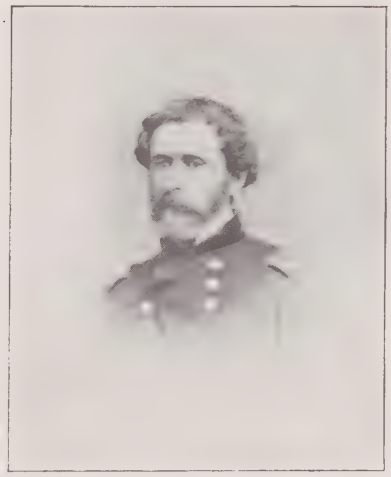
The general spirit of the camp was not warlike. Many of the militia obtained daily furloughs and attended to the business down town, reporting for dress parades and sleeping in camp. Of the plans of the governor very few were informed. The forms of loyalty to nation as well as to state were maintained. This concession to the strong Union element in the older military companies was necessary.

What the governor of the state had planned he was not given opportunity to carry out. "O. D." and the committee, sitting long and late, knew better what was going on than did the citizen soldiers under the tents in Lindell grove. Couzins' detectives were alert. When he called the legislature in extra session and ordered the Missouri State guard into camp, Governor Jackson sent Captains Duke and Green on a secret mission to President Jefferson Davis at Montgomery, Alabama, the Confederate capital. He asked for cannon to enable him to take the arsenal at St. Louis by siege and assault.

The President of the Confederacy was quickly responsive. He was a soldier and a fighter. He knew the arsenal and its surroundings. As an officer in the regular army he had been stationed at Jefferson Barracks.



GEN. FRANZ SIGEL



GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT

GEN. U. S. GRANT

GEN. W. T. SHERMAN

GEN. JOHN McNEIL,

GEN. P. J. OSTERHAUS

Giving the officers from Missouri an order on the arsenal at Baton Rouge for two 12-pound howitzers and two 32-pound guns, with a supply of ammunition, Jefferson Davis wrote to Governor Jackson: "These guns from the commanding hills will be effective against the garrison and to break the enclosing walls of the place. I concur with you as to the great importance of capturing the arsenal and securing its supplies. We look anxiously and hopefully for the day when the star of Missouri shall be added to the constellation of the Confederate States of America."

The Committee of Public Safety learned of the visit of the officers to Montgomery. On the evening of the 8th of May, two days after the column had marched out to Camp Jackson, the steamboat, J. C. Swon, with a southern flag flying, arrived at the St. Louis levee. She had taken on board at Baton Rouge the cannon and the ammunition intended for the siege of the arsenal. The guns and the powder and ball were in boxes of various sizes marked "Tamaroa marble." They were addressed to "Greeley and Gale." Carlos S. Greeley and Daniel Bailey Gale were New Hampshire born. They were most pronounced Union men. They were in the wholesale grocery business. When the boxes of "Tamaroa marble" were unloaded Major James A. Shaler was there to receive them, and the secret service men were there to see what became of the consignment. Major Shaler was a staff officer of Colonel Bowen's regiment of minute men. He removed the boxes quickly to Camp Jackson. The detectives followed and then reported to the Committee of Public Safety at Turner hall. The information was at once sent to Lyon at the arsenal. By midday of May 9 Lyon, in disguise, was at Camp Jackson, examining the surroundings. The boxes of "Tamaroa marble" were there, but unpacked. It developed long afterwards that but very few officers and probably no men in the ranks knew of the arrival of the shipment. At four o'clock in the afternoon Lyon was back in the arsenal and sending out messages to the members of the Committee of Public Safety to come to him at seven o'clock in the evening. Lyon, like Davis, was soldier and fighter. He had made up his mind what to do. He wanted the committee to approve his plan. He proposed to take Camp Jackson. Late into the night the members of the committee talked. They were divided. There was no question of the gravity of the situation. The guns and ammunition from the government arsenal at Baton Rouge were in Camp Jackson. But the United States flag floated over Camp Jackson. There had been no "overt act"—how those two words did roll from the tongue in 1861. The lawyers on the committee favored a legal process. They proposed to Lyon to get out a writ of replevin for government property and have it served on General Frost as the first step. That was law, they said, and should be the first step. But Lyon said it was not war. Perhaps, in his mind he saw those big guns on the high grounds south of him toward the marine hospital and west of him where the Anheuser-Busch brewery is now. He insisted that the bringing of the guns and the ammunition from Baton Rouge and the removal of them to Camp Jackson was sufficient provocation. Late that night the committee voted. Four approved Lyon's proposition to take Camp Jackson. Two opposed and urged the

legal process be tried first. One of the two was Samuel T. Glover. He insisted that the writ of replevin be sworn out and that the United States marshal march at the head of the troops, carrying the writ to serve as the first step. He went so far as to prepare the writ and place it in the hands of United States Marshal Rawlings. But when the marshal went to the arsenal next morning he was denied admittance. Another early morning visitor was not only refused admission, but the written note he carried was not accepted by Lyon. He was Colonel Bowen, commander of the Second regiment, the minute men. Colonel Bowen bore a letter from Frost to Lyon in which the commander of Camp Jackson denied that he or any of his command had any hostile intention toward the United States government. He referred to the reports that Camp Jackson was to be attacked, and expressed the hope that they were unfounded. He concluded: "I trust that after this explicit statement we may be able by fully understanding each other to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unfortunately afflict our common country."

Bowen carried the letter back to Camp Jackson. He was a West Pointer, a Georgian. He had resigned from the regular army and had established himself in St. Louis as an architect. There was no question as to his sympathies. He believed in the right of secession. He was undoubtedly in sympathy with Governor Jackson's purpose to get the arsenal. Frost, also, was a West Pointer. His service in the army had been marked by special bravery. He was a New Yorker by birth and of one of the old families of that state. Strangest of all to tell, he had graduated at West Point in the same class with Lyon. Other classmates of Frost were Grant, McClellan, Rosecrans and Franklin, all to become famous Union generals. In the same class was Beauregard, of Louisiana. Frost carried the class honors in such company.

Bowen reported to Frost he was certain from what he had seen Lyon was about to move on Camp Jackson. There was a hurried consultation. These were brave men, but they had been trained in military precedents. They had 650 men in camp, some of them unarmed. Bowen had not been able to get guns for all of his minute men. Resistance was folly. So the leaders, who had studied in the same school that Lyon had, waited while the battalion of regulars and six regiments of the ten recruited by the Committee of Public Safety, marched up from the arsenal. Blair took Laclede avenue; Boernstein, Pine street; Schuttner, Market street; Sigel, Olive street; Gratz Brown, Morgan street; McNeil, Clark avenue. In this order the regiments moved westward toward Grand avenue; thousands of men, women and children filling the sidewalks and many following. The men who were marching were St. Louisans. They were going out to kill or to take prisoners several hundred of their fellow citizens. Lyon went through all of the forms of war. He posted his artillery. He disposed of his troops so that the camp was surrounded. He demanded surrender. He had been a captain in the regular army when he came to St. Louis. He was in command of the army raised by a Committee of Public Safety, but was still without the commission suitable to the rank. He was calling for the sur-

render of his former classmate who had stood above him in the class at West Point and who was a brigadier general of State troops. When his force was in position Lyon sent his demand in writing. His note set forth that Frost was in communication with the Confederacy, and had received war material therefrom which was the property of the United States. He charged Frost with "having in direct view hostilities to the general government and cooperation with its enemies. Thirty minutes was given for the answer. Frost replied, protesting against the action of Lyon as unconstitutional. He added that being wholly unprepared to defend his command from the unwarranted attack he was forced to comply.

Lyon offered immediate parole to all who would take the oath of allegiance. Several accepted the terms. The others refused, stating that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and to repeat it would be an admission that they had been enemies. The regulars gathered up the arms, including the "Tamaroa marble." The State militia were marched out and formed in a line as prisoners, with armed guards on both sides of them. A long wait occurred. The crowds which had followed the regiments from down town pressed closer. They became noisy. They guyed the soldiers. They grew bolder. Insults were shouted. Clods were thrown. A pistol was fired. Then came war of the character which Sherman described—"War is Hell!" Ninety men, women and children were shot. Twenty-eight of them died on the streets or in the hospitals. A baby in its mother's arms was killed. The column moved on slowly, armed men and prisoners, to the center of the city and then southward to the arsenal. The prisoners were paroled. The baptism of blood, which the Committee of Public Safety for four months stayed, had come at last.

From the steps of the Planters House, Uriel Wright, who had fought secession in the convention, Virginian born though he was, addressed a great throng of excited men. He denounced "the Camp Jackson outrage." He said: "If Unionism means such atrocious deeds as have been witnessed in St. Louis, I am no longer a Union man." Mobs formed and wildly cheered the violent speeches made by secession orators. One body of men started down Locust street to destroy the Missouri Democrat office. Mayor Daniel Gilchrist Taylor, who had succeeded Oliver D. Filley as the city's executive a few weeks before, met the rioters and warned them to go back. Behind the mayor was a line of policemen under Chief McDonough, blocking the entire street. The police were armed with guns. Their instructions were to use the bayonet and then fire. In the Democrat office the shooting stick had been laid aside for the shooting iron. The force was armed. The building was prepared for desperate resistance. This coming of a mob was the fulfillment of many threats from those who sympathized with the secession movement. For this night the newspaper force had been waiting weeks. The mob listened to the words of the mayor and went back to the Planters to be satisfied with oratory.

The next day one of Lyon's regiments marched through the city. At Fifth and Walnut streets a crowd hooted the soldiers. At Seventh and Olive streets, the demonstrations became more hostile. Shots were fired. The

troops replied with a volley. Another long list of wounded was added. Sunday came with a wild panic over reports that Lyon had determined to turn loose his regiments to teach the city a lesson. By thousands, people fled from the city, to return a day or two later. Union men were shocked. One delegation went to Washington to urge the removal of Lyon. Another delegation went to urge Lyon's retention. The Committee of Public Safety sent on its report of the Camp Jackson affair, and every member signed the declaration that Lyon's act was justifiable. The answer came in the relief of General Harney from the command of the Department of the West on the 16th of May. The next day Lyon was appointed brigadier-general to date from the 18th of May. He followed up the success of Camp Jackson by stationing strong detachments of his troops in different parts of the city. General Harney was out of the city when Camp Jackson was taken. He returned the next day. Before the order relieving him was delivered to him Harney sent for Sterling Price, the major general commanding the Missouri State guard. Price had been president of the convention which had declared against secession. He was classed as a Union man, while sympathizing with the south. With Harney, Price entered into an agreement that peace and order should be maintained in "subordination to the general and state governments." This meant that Missouri would remain in the Union, but that there must not be military movements by the general government in the state. Harney was relieved the last of May. Governor Jackson and Sterling Price came to St. Louis and sought a meeting with Lyon. A conference was held on the 11th of June at the Planters. Governor Jackson proposed that the regiments raised by the Committee of Public Safety and the state militia be disbanded. He promised that no munitions of war should be brought into the state; that citizens should be protected in their rights; insurrectionary movements should be suppressed; that strict neutrality should be preserved. Lyon listened and replied. The discussion occupied several hours. It ended when Lyon, rising from his chair, said:

> Rather than concede to the state of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the state whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into or out of or through the state; rather than concede to the state of Missouri for one single moment the right to dictate to my government in any matter, however unimportant, I would see you (pointing in turn to each man in the room) and you, and you, and every man, woman and child dead and buried.

Addressing the Governor, Lyon concluded: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines."

The high moral courage of one man averted what threatened to be a gross injustice. In the summer of 1862 there issued from the general commanding at St. Louis an order "to assess and collect without unnecessary delay the sum of five hundred thousand dollars from the secessionists and southern sympathizers" of the city and county of St. Louis. The order stated that the money was to be "used in subsisting, clothing and arming the enrolled militia while in active service, and in providing for the support of the families of such militiamen and United States volunteers as may be destitute."

The unpleasant duty of making and collecting the assessment was imposed upon half a dozen of the best known citizens of St. Louis. The assessment was begun. Collections were enforced by the military. Suddenly the board having the matter in charge suspended the work. The order countermanding the assessment came from Washington. It was terse: "As there seems to be no present military necessity for the enforcement of this assessment, all proceedings under the order will be suspended."

Two weeks before General Halleck directed discontinuance, a letter was sent to Washington saying "that the 'assessment' now in progress, to be levied upon southern sympathizers and secessionists, is working evil in this community and doing great harm to the Union cause. Among our citizens are all shades of opinion, from that kind of neutrality which is hatred in disguise, through all the grades of lukewarmness, 'sympathy' and hesitating zeal up to the full loyalty which your memorialists claim to possess. To assort and classify them, so as to indicate the dividing line of loyalty and disloyalty, and to establish the rates of payment by those falling below it is a task of great difficulty."

Reviewing the work as far as it had progressed, the writer continued: "The natural consequence has been that many feel themselves deeply aggrieved, not having supposed themselves liable to the suspicion of disloyalty; many escape assessment who, if any, deserve it; and a general feeling of inequality in the rule and ratio of assessments prevails. This was unavoidable for no two tribunals could agree upon the details of such an assessment either as to the persons or the amounts to be assessed without more complete knowledge of facts than are to be attained from ex parte testimony and current reports."

The writer appealed for a stay of the assessment proceedings. When the letter was written the intention was to have it signed by a number of loyal citizens of St. Louis. But the leading Union men declined to sign. Their feeling against the southern sympathizers was bitter. The war sentiment gripped. Business had been paralyzed. Sentiment rather sustained a policy which proposed to make sympathizers pay heavily toward the war expense. One man, with a deep sense of justice, stood out alone. He had been among the foremost the year previous in counseling the aggressive measures which made St. Louis a Union city. But now, when the Union elements were all powerful, his appeal for fairness toward the minority, got no hearing. He signed his letter and sent it to Governor Gamble who forwarded it at once to Washington. Years after the war this letter was printed in a St. Louis newspaper but without the signature and without mention of the name of Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot.

The character of the assessment proceedings will seem almost incredible to this generation. When the board had organized to make the assessment the president addressed a request to "the unconditional Union men of St. Louis" to send in "such information as they have in their possession which will aid in carrying out the requirements" of the orders. He concluded his request with, "the board wish it to be understood that all communications and evidence will be considered strictly private."

Unpreparedness was the state of the Union when Civil war broke out. Men could be enlisted. Guns and uniforms could be bought. Cartridges could be made. The fighting began as if no thereafter was taken into account. Back from the front trickled the earliest human stream of wounded and sick. It swelled rapidly as the months passed. The fighting became heavier. The campaign told on the unseasoned. Born of a great emergency, late in the summer of 1861, the Western Sanitary commission came into existence.

Fremont gave the Western Sanitary commission its being. The Pathfinder's military career at St. Louis was brief. It was of sufficient duration to show the need of an organization to mitigate the suffering. Fremont launched the organization on its career of mercy by declaring in a military order: "Its general object shall be to carry out, under the properly constituted military authorities, and in compliance with their orders, such sanitary regulation and reforms as the well-being of the soldiers demands."

The general proceeded to indicate in specific details some of the services which might be porformed. These were the selection and furnishing of buildings for hospitals, the finding of nurses, the visiting of camps, the inspection of food, the suggestion of better drainage, the obtaining from the public of means for promoting the moral and social welfare of soldiers in camp and hospital.

To avert friction and enlarge usefulness, Fremont concluded his order with the following: "This commission is not intended in any way to interfere with the medical staff or other officers of the army, but to cooperate with them and aid them in the discharge of their present arduous and extraordinary duties. It will be treated by all officers of the army, both regular and volunteer, in this department with the respect due to the humane and patriotic motives of the members and to the authority of the commander-in-chief."

The hour had come. Where was the man? The people recognized the emergency. Hearts were throbbing with sympathy. Hands were ready to contribute. St. Louis was the center of activities for an extensive military front. Here troops were mobilized. Hence armies moved southwest and south. Here supplies were received and forwarded. Back to St. Louis came the boatloads and trainloads of wounded. Whether Fremont's Western Sanitary commission meant much or little depended upon the head. The man was found. He was southern born, a native of Tennessee. He had lived in St. Louis nearly twenty years. He was a banker, a little past forty years of age.

James E. Yeatman made the Western Sanitary commission. Good men of St. Louis held up his hands. They were named with him—Carlos S. Greeley, Dr. J. B. Johnson, George Partridge and Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot. They were wise in counsel, efficient in assistance. But Mr. Yeatman was "Old Sanitary" to the soldiers in a thousand circling camps. This banker, in the prime of manhood, had a bed put in a room connected with his office so that he might be ready to respond to any call. He was on duty while he slept. A great organization was gradually built up under Mr.

Yeatman's direction. Everywhere in the north were local branches of the Western Sanitary commission. The great work of relief was systematized and made effective. The collection and forwarding of supplies contributed were directed and controlled as a banker might deal with his country correspondents. There was no waste.

One of the first acts of Mr. Yeatman and his associates was to fit up and open a hospital for five hundred soldiers on Fifth and Chestnut streets. In this building were received the sanitary stores contributed from hundreds of cities, towns and villages. As needed, these stores were distributed. Hospital after hospital was prepared and opened as the wounded increased in numbers. Hospital boats were put in service to bring the wounded from the battle fields. A soldiers' home was opened in St. Louis to care for the furloughed and discharged sick as they came from the front. The military prisons in and around St. Louis were filled with Confederate soldiers and those who sympathized. The Western Sanitary commission carried its work of relief into the prisons. Refugees flocked to the city and were temporarily cared for. Homes for soldiers' orphans were provided.

Nowhere else in the country was there a like center of suffering and misery from the war. Nowhere else were relief measures of such magnitude undertaken. The efficiency of Mr. Yeatman's organization came to be recognized the country wide. An appropriation of $50,000 by the state of Missouri was made for the commission. Another of $25,000 came later. The government of St. Louis made appropriations and placed the money in Mr. Yeatman's hands. Contributions came from all parts of the country. Here was the suffering. Here came the contributions. In the midst of business depression, of war hard times, the Mississippi Valley Sanitary fair held in St. Louis produced more than $500,000. When the books of the Western Sanitary commission closed they showed that Mr. Yeatman had handled in money and stores for mitigation of the horrors of war $4,270,098.55. The magnificent liberality had been begotten of implicit confidence in the integrity of the Western Sanitary commission.

Year after year, almost from the very beginning of hostilities, Mr. Yeatman gave himself to this work. Repeatedly he left the headquarters of the commission in St. Louis and went to the front to see for himself the needs. He sought the suffering and applied the measures of relief. It was this personal visitation and inspection that won for him the tender regard of the soldiers and the affectionate title of "Old Sanitary."

Catholic in his conception of the commission's purposes, this southern born man, once a slave-holder, recognized the necessities of the freedmen. Great numbers of these ex-slaves had drifted away from the plantations and into communities. The commission sent physicians and nurses and then teachers. Mr. Yeatman suggested the plan of the Freedmen's Bureau. He recommended the leasing of abandoned plantations to negroes, to encourage them to become self supporting. These views were indorsed as offering an "absolute solution of the cotton and negro questions." They appealed so to President Lincoln that he sent for Mr. Yeatman and offered him the commissionership of the Freedmen's Bureau. Four years previously Mr.

Yeatman, accompanying Hamilton R. Gamble, had called upon Mr. Lincoln, He was a Union man. His step-father, John Bell, had headed the Union ticket as the Presidential nominee the year before. Mr. Yeatman and Mr. Gamble believed that a pacificatory policy, such as General Harney was pursuing in St. Louis, was wiser than the more radical course advocated by Francis P. Blair, who wanted Harney superseded. Mr. Lincoln rejected the advice of his visitors. Mr. Gamble and Mr. Yeatman came back to St. Louis, Mr. Gamble to become the provisional governor of Missouri and to hold it in the Union at the cost of his life, Mr. Yeatman to devote himself unsparingly to the mitigation of the horrors of war.

A committee of public safety dealt with the railroad strike of July, 1877. It was composed of General A. J. Smith, Judge Thomas T. Gantt, General John S. Marmaduke, General John S. Cavender, General John D. Stevenson and General John W. Noble. Here were men who had faced each other on opposite sides in the Civil war of the previous decade, men of northern and men of southern birth. They were named by the mayor. The situation was put in their hands. The committee announced recruiting offices in various localities and called for volunteers. Within twenty-four hours five regiments were organized and the distribution of arms from the state government followed. The force was called a posse comitatus. The second day found these volunteers on guard duty at all public buildings and central points. Without uniforms, with cartridge belts strapped around their waists and with guns on their shoulders these citizen soldiers went on duty like minute men. The civilian army of law and order was 5,000 strong. Business was suspended. In the doorways of stores stood or sat squads of men with guns. The rioters marched through the streets two days, compelling industries to shut down. At Schuler's hall on Broadway and Biddle streets an executive committee of the strikers sat in continuous session issuing proclamations and orders "in the name of all workingmen's associations." This revolutionary junta addressed the governor of the State, John S. Phelps, calling for a special session of legislature to pass the eight-hour law and provide for its stringent enforcement:

> Your attention is respectfully called to the fact that a prompt compliance with this, our reasonable demand, and that living wages be paid to the railroad men, will at once bring peace and prosperity such as we have not seen for the last fifteen years. Nothing short of a compliance to the above just demand, made purely in the interest of our national welfare, will arrest this tidal wave of industrial revolution. Threats or organized armies will not turn the toilers of this nation from their earnest purpose, but rather serve to inflame the passions of the multitude and tend to acts of vandalism.

To Mayor Overstolz "we the authorized representatives of the industrial population of St. Louis" addressed a request for "cooperation in devising means to procure food." Then followed the declaration: "All offers of work during this national strike cannot be considered by us as a remedy under the present circumstances, for we are fully determined to hold out until the principles we are contending for are carried."

"The stringency of food," the address continued, "is already being felt; therefore to avoid plunder, arson or violence by persons made desperate

by destitution, we are ready to concur with your honor in taking timely measures to supply the immediate wants of the foodless."

Another of the announcements of the "executive committee" notified physicians and surgeons, members of the medical profession, that they would be "professionally regarded during the present strike by wearing a white badge four inches long and two inches broad, encircling the left upper arm, bearing a red cross, the bars of which to be one inch wide by three inches long, crossing each other at right angles, allowing the bars to extend one inch each way."

The day before the appeal for food, a mob broke into the Dozier, Weyl & Co. bakery where the Globe-Democrat building stands on Sixth and Pine streets and appropriated the bread and cakes. At Ninth street and Franklin avenue a store was gutted and the drygoods, soap and other stock were thrown into the street "so that the poor people might pick them up." At the Atlantic mills, the proprietor George Bain, with sturdy Scotch determination, protested against mob dictation to close. He was assaulted by a negro who attempted to brain him with a hatchet.

The day after the issuing of the pronunciamentos the police and a large force of the citizen soldiery marched to Schuler's hall, dispersed the crowd assembled there, made some arrests and raided the offices of "the executive committee." Members of the committee escaped over the roof and through adjacent buildings. The industrial revolution was ended. The citizens' military organizations continued under arms until the 31st, paraded through the business section of the city and disbanded. This show of law and order strength was impressive. St. Louis passed through the crisis without the loss of a life and with very little loss of property. It suffered far less than most of the other large railroad centers of the country. The quickness of the preparation to meet the exigency was wonderful. The cool courage and perfect plan of the campaign were admirable. Out of the test the city came with added evidence that her self-government had reached its best development.

Out of the emergency of 1877 grew a military organization unique in the martial life of St. Louis. The citizen volunteer companies did not disband wholly. John F. Shepley, John W. Noble and other advisers passed upon the legal questions and found the way clear to form Police Reserves. The crisis of the railroad strikes had come so suddenly that it taught the lesson of quick action. The state militia law required certain forms to be complied with. The sheriff must apply; the governor must feel assured of the necessity. Police Reserves could be called upon by the mayor. The citizen volunteers were consolidated into a full strong regiment of Police Reserves. Colonel James G. Butler supplied the military genius which fashioned and trained the regiment of Police Reserves into one of the most effective bodies of citizen soldiery any American city ever had. The Police Reserves were uniformed and armed like militia. They drilled, according to regular tactics, in the most convenient police stations. They were subject to call at any hour of the day or night and the summons was sounded

on fire alarm bells. Colonel Butler perfected a plan which made the Police Reserves minute men. If the Reserves' alarm sounded at night a policeman was under instructions to arouse the nearest Reserve on his beat, whose name and address he held. The first Reserve out had charge of the members of his squad living in his neighborhood who were to be summoned by himself and the policeman. Those Reserves living farthest from the police station were called earliest. By the time the last of the Reserves were called the movement in twos and threes and in groups of half a dozen toward the police station was under way. So well was the plan of alarm and summons arranged by Colonel Butler that the members of a company arrived at a station almost simultaneously. The entire regiment, with the exception of the most distant companies could be mobilized at the Four Courts with amazing quickness.

To realize the importance of this organization to the city, the inadequacy of the police force of that period must be recalled. It must be remembered, too, that those were the days of the red flag, of the International, of mysterious brotherhoods, of anarchical oratory. Labor and the trades had not organized with the intelligence and conservatism they now show. A strike was almost invariably seized upon as an opportunity by the lawless and the vicious. The Police Reserves served St. Louis well. They became thoroughly drilled. So strong was the esprit de corps that changes among the officers were rare. For a long period the only officer to resign was Captain Shepard Barclay who reluctantly ceased to be a Police Reserve because his fellow citizens had elected him to go to Jefferson City as a justice of the supreme court.

About the middle of the last decade of the century,—1895,—there developed marked changes in St. Louis. Younger men forged to the front. The tendency of organization and of public spirit for the common good began to show results of great importance to the community. The Business Men's League, headed successively by Samuel M. Kennard, Cyrus P. Walbridge and James E. Smith, entered upon a career of beneficial effort such as no other organized body of business men in the country has achieved in the past fourteen years. It came into virile force just in time to make possible the World's Fair. The Civic Federation, organized in 1896, with J. Charless Cabanne as president, also entered upon a career of great usefulness. It drafted a school law which leading educators of the country pronounced the best in existence. It pressed the bill through the legislature and secured the reorganization of the board in spite of opposition. A saving of $250,000 the first year with greatly improved facilities was the immediate result. Isaac M. Mason, Elias Michael, Daniel G. Taylor, Rev. Leon Harrison, Everett W. Pattison, Frederick N. Judson, Albert Arnstein, Henry Kortjohn and A. L. Berry were notably active in this movement. Out of the Civic Federation grew the Civic Improvement league and then the Civic league with George B. Leighton, Edward C. Eliot, Henry T. Kent and H. N. Davis, successively giving time and energy to the work, as presidents of the league.

1901-1909

Water Purified
New City Hospital built
First Public Bath House
First Playground opened
The City Hall completed
Five Playgrounds conducted
Seventy miles of Alleys paved
Home of Detention established
Water Rates reduced 25 per cent
Tuberculosis Commission Created
Two Branch Dispensaries provided
City Forestry Department organized
Public Buildings Commission named
A Municipal Testing Laboratory built
Public Recreation Commission created
Nine new Parks of 150 acres acquired
Public Service Commission established
Tonnage Tax on Steamboats abolished
Smoke Abatement Department organized
Board of Examiners of Plumbers selected
City divided into seven sanitary Districts
Expended upon Public Works, $3,844,920
Quarantine and Smallpox Hospital rebuilt
Commission of Hydraulic Engineers created
Two hundred and five miles of Streets paved
Six Engine Houses added at cost of $273,354
Emergency Hospital purchased at cost of $50,417
King's Highway Boulevard Commission appointed
Juvenile Court and Probation System inaugurated
Diphtheria Antitoxin supplied those unable to buy
Plans prepared for first section of Des Peres Sewer
Steel Hull Harbor Boat acquired at cost of $69,000
Work House placed on almost self-supporting basis
Assessed Valuation of Realty increased $98,785,520
One hundred and fifty miles of Sewers constructed
House of Refuge transformed into Industrial School
Office of City Bacteriologist and Pathologist created
Quarantine Launch substituted for Ambulance Service
Contract for Gas Lighting effected at saving of $957,363
King's Highway Boulevard, nineteen miles long, laid out
Fire Department Companies increased by additional men
Contract for Electric Lighting made at saving of $615,040
Betterments provided at Waterworks at Cost of $5,500,000
Board of Control, St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts, appointed
Twenty-five School Buildings provided at cost of $3,719,547
Two Public Bath Houses Built; sites secured for three more
Assessed Valuation of Personal Property more than doubled
Interest saved on Bond Purchases before Maturity, $546,680
Three Branch Libraries completed and two under construction
Additions to Insane Asylum under Construction to cost $546,680
Improvements at Insane Asylum cut down death rate 50 per cent
Appropriated for Public Works in course of Construction, $859,771
About $2,000,000 saved annually to business by Terminal Commission
Four new Buildings added to Poor House and Old Buildings remodeled
Sanitary Inspection of Groceries, Meat Shops, Bakeries and Restaurants

On the 13th of April, 1909, the World's Fair mayor, Rolla Wells, concluded eight years at the head of the municipal government and was succeeded by Frederick H. Kreismann. On the evening of the 14th, a testimonial dinner was given in honor of the retiring mayor by 440 citizens, embracing all vocations, without regard to party. The president of the Business Men's League, James E. Smith, was the chairman of the evening. The participants in the program were the Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls, Mayor Frederick H. Kreismann, Former Mayors Cyrus P. Walbridge and David R. Francis, Archbishop John J. Glennon, and Frederick W. Lehmann, president of the charter commission. A notable feature was the concise presentation of municipal achievement and advancement during the eight years, 1901-1909, the World's Fair period and the administration of Mayor Wells.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WORLD'S FAIR

Open ye gates. Swing wide ye portals. Enter herein ye sons of men and behold the achievements of your race. Learn the lesson here taught and gather from it inspiration for still greater accomplishments.—David R. Francis, Opening Day, April 30, 1904.

A descendant of the founder of St. Louis was the father of the World's Fair of 1904. To the group of men and women who were keeping alive the sacred fire of historical sentiment in St. Louis, Pierre Chouteau, in 1897, talked of the coming centennial. He was insistent. He did not so much as suggest at first the form of the universal exposition. But he dwelt upon the coming anniversary and urged the celebration of it in a manner commensurate with the character of the occasion and with the importance of the city.

Others besides Mr. Chouteau had been inspired. William Vincent Byars, Charles M. Harvey, Will C. Ferrill and perhaps some other editorial writers had repeatedly and forcibly directed public attention to the propriety of a celebration. As early as the selection of Chicago for the location of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, David R. Francis had reminded a Congressional committee that in a decade more another great anniversary would be claiming attention.

But in the rooms of the Missouri Historical society, the movement which culminated in the Universal Exposition of 1904 had its inception and the pronegitor was Pierre Chouteau, great great grandson of Pierre Laclede. What Pierre Chouteau advocated in the beginning was a celebration which should worthily commemorate the century of American sovereignty west of the Mississippi and which might result in an adequate fireproof building for the Missouri Historical society. Up to that time no formal step had been taken anywhere within the Louisiana Purchase looking to the observance of the centennial, then half a dozen years away.

The Historical society acted. The subject was taken up by the advisory committee, which is the governing body of the society, composed of:—

Marshall S. Snow, Chairman.

Joseph Boyce,
D. I. Bushnell,
Pierre Chouteau,
Melvin L. Gray,
Anthony Ittner,
George E. Leighton,
J. B. C. Lucas,
P. S. O'Reilly,
Charles D. Stevens,
John H. Terry.

W. J. Seever, Secretary.

On the 11th day of January, 1898, the advisory committee appointed a special committee on "centennial celebration of the Louisiana Purchase." The

Historical society approved the report. The committee was composed of:

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

Charles F. Bates,
Goodman King,
J. B. C. Lucas,
Isaac W. Morton,
Marshall S. Snow.

Mr. Chouteau smiled grimly as he saw the result of his agitation had brought upon himself the leadership of the movement. He half suspected his associates in the society had taken this course to unload responsibility on him. But the special committee was strong in character. The members were energetic. Goodman King was especially active. After several meetings Mr. Chouteau's committee determined to ask through the Historical society the appointment of a conference committee by the Business Men's League.

While Mr. Chouteau and his committee were holding meetings, Congressman Bartholdt, at Washington, in February, 1898, introduced a bill for an international exposition at St. Louis to be held in 1903.

A few days previous the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis adopted resolutions favoring a World's Fair.

On the 26th of April, 1898, the Business Men's League acceded to the request of the Historical society and named this conference committee:

George W. Brown,
L. D. Dozier,
Frank Gaiennie,
Clark H. Sampson,
C. P. Walbridge,
John C. Wilkinson.

These gentlemen, without exception, entered into the spirit of the movement. As yet there was not even the suggestion of a World's Fair. But the propriety, the advisability of a centennial celebration of some character was assumed with enthusiasm from the first meeting. Outside of the two committees the movement had attracted at this time only languid interest. The conference resulted in a recommendation that the Missouri Historical society call a meeting of professional, business, social and trades organizations. On the 17th of May, 1898, the call went out. It was addressed to these bodies inviting their officers to a meeting to consider the observance of the centennial:

Academy of Science.
Bar Association of St. Louis.
Business Men's League.
Commercial Club.
Engineers' Club.
Exposition & Music Hall Ass'n.
Implement & Vehicle Board of Trade.
Latin American Club.
Master Builders Ass'n.
Mercantile Club.
Merchants' Exchange.
National Building Trades Council.
Noonday Club.
Round Table.
St. Louis Board of Fire Underwriters.
St. Louis Clearing House Ass'n.
St. Louis Chapter, American Institute of Architects.
St. Louis Club.
St. Louis Cotton Exchange.
St. Louis Real Estate Exchange.
St. Louis Furniture Board of Trade.
Union Club.
University Club.
St. Louis Manufacturers' Ass'n.

The meeting was held. Those who attended resolved that the centennial should be fittingly observed. They provided for a temporary organization to be composed of a committee of fifty, such committee to be selected by a committee of fifteen. The fifteen were chosen on the 30th of June, 1898. They were called "the nominating committee for preliminary organization." They were:

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

D. R. Francis,	H. W. Steinbiss,
Wm. Hyde,	John H. Terry,
E. C. Kehr,	W. H. Thomson,
L. D. Kingsland,	Festus J. Wade,
Isaac W. Morton,	Prof. S. Waterhouse,
Julius Pitzman,	James A. Waterworth,
Chris. E. Sharp,	John C. Wilkinson.

The committee of fifteen acted promptly. The committee of fifty to form the preliminary organization was selected and brought together on the 12th of July, 1898. The committee of fifty was widely and strongly representative:

E. B. Adams,	E. C. Kehr,
Robert S. Brookings,	S. M. Kennard,
George W. Brown,	George E. Leighton,
Adolphus, Busch,	F. W. Lehmann,
Pierre Chouteau,	George D. Markham,
Seth W. Cobb,	Isaac W. Morton,
George O. Carpenter,	Charles Nagel,
Murray Carleton,	F. G. Niedringhaus,
H. I. Drummond,	Julius Pitzman,
Wm. Duncan,	Charles Parsons,
Edward Devoy,	H. W. Steinbiss,
James J. Early,	Christopher Sharp,
W. S. Eames,	A. L. Shapleigh,
Benj. Eiseman,	E. O. Stanard,
D. R. Francis,	Wm. H. Thomson,
Frank Gaiennie,	John H. Terry,
Jacob Furth,	John W. Turner,
August Gehner,	Dr. William Taussig,
William Hyde,	Prof. S. Waterhouse,
H. C. Haarstick,	J. A. Waterworth,
D. S. Holmes,	Festus J. Wade,
H. Hitchcock,	C. P. Walbridge,
Anthony Ittner,	C. G. Warner,
H. C. Ives,	M. C. Wetmore,
L. D. Kingsland,	John C. Wilkinson,

W. J. Seever, Secretary.

At the first meeting, the committee of fifty named a sub-committee "on design and form of celebration," composed of the following:

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

W. S. Eames,	Frederic W. Lehmann,
D. R. Francis,	Julius Pitzman,
William Hyde,	William Taussig,
Halsey C. Ives,	John H. Terry,

Sylvester Waterhouse.

When this committee on design was appointed a motion was offered in the committee of fifty that the members be instructed to not consider the advisability of a World's Fair. On the argument that the committee ought to be left unhampered, the motion was withdrawn. That it was offered may be taken as evidence of the sentiment prevailing at the time. There was no doubt the feeling against the exposition form of celebration was strong.

The committee worked zealously and intelligently. Regular meetings were held at what was then the St. Nicholas hotel, now an office building, on Eighth and Locust streets. While they lunched together the members took up and discussed various forms of celebration. To each meeting was invited the representative of some interest of the city and suggestions and opinions were sought. Four months, in the late summer and fall of 1898, these meetings continued, until the committee of ten had heard and deliberated upon every suggested form of celebration. A park on the city front was considered. A monument to Jefferson was discussed. A fireproof historical museum found much support. But out of the four months of deliberation came more and more clearly the crystallized conclusion that only by a universal exposition could the centennial be properly observed.

On the 28th of November the committee of fifty was called together. A unanimous report from the committee on design and form of celebration was presented by Pierre Chouteau. It was a report which revealed the virile pen of Frederic W. Lehmann. Taking up the various suggestions and showing their inadequacy, meeting the several objections to an exposition, the committee concluded:

> For the purposes of a general commemmoration your committee is of opinion that only some form of exposition will serve, at which the development and progress of the arts of civilized life in the territory during the last hundred years may be appropriately displayed.
>
> We have to deal with a territory that a hundred years ago was, throughout almost its entire extent, a wilderness and a desert. The white settlements within its borders were not of our nationality. The people spoke not our language nor did they profess our laws. In no spirit of boasting may we say that now no portion of the United States is more thoroughly American than the Louisiana territory. In public spirit and in private enterprise it stands with the first. The achievements of this people during the hundred years that have passed since the American flag was planted here, may well challenge the attention of the world, and an exposition of them must prove to be an object lesson of universal interest.
>
> We believe, too, that St. Louis is the place for such an exposition, and that once determined upon, our people would make it worthy of themselves and of the great occasion.
>
> But the exposition should be in no sense a local one. It should be not only by the city of St. Louis, nor even by the state of Missouri, but by the entire Louisiana territory. That it may be so, nothing should be forestalled. All those who are to take part in it should have a voice in determining where it shall be held and what shall be its characteristics.
>
> To this end we recommend that there be called a convention of representatives from all the states in the Louisiana Purchase to meet in St. Louis at an early day to determine the time, place and manner of commemorating the acquisition of this territory by the United States, and we submit herewith a resolution to that effect for the consideration of the Committee of Fifty.

The report was adopted unanimously by the committee of fifty. Resolutions requested Governor Lon V. Stephens to invite the governors of states and territories within the Louisiana territory to send delegates, one for each congressional district and two at large for each state, to a convention at St. Louis on the 10th of January, 1899, "for the purpose of determining the time,

place and manner of fittingly commemorating the centennial anniversary of the acquisition by the United States of the Louisiana territory."

Every governor responded. The convention was held. It declared unanimously in favor of an exposition, chose St. Louis for the place, pledged support of the states and called upon the general government to aid the project.

St. Louis lost no time in perfecting the temporary organization for actual preparation. A committee of ten to select a general committee of two hundred was appointed. This committee of ten consisted of:

David R. Francis, Chairman.

James L. Blair,
Adolphus Busch,
C. W. Knapp,
D. C. Nugent,
H. C. Pierce,
Jonathan Rice,
W. H. Thomson,
Festus J. Wade,
Rolla Wells.

Breckinridge Jones, Secretary.

On the 10th of February, 1899, the Committee of Two Hundred was named. This was the organization which carried through the preliminary work making possible the Exposition. It is the roll of honor of the World's Fair of 1904. These men raised the $5,000,000 in subscriptions, carried through the legislation and the election which secured $5,000,000 from the municipality and conducted the campaign which inspired the United States Government to support the movement on a scale of liberality which was beyond all exposition precedents. They did it in just two years and two months. For the necessary expenses these gentlemen raised a fund by voluntary contributions.

COMMITTEE OF TWO HUNDRED ORGANIZED.

February 10th, 1899.

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

D. R. Francis, Chairman Executive Committee.
W. H. Thompson, Chairman Finance Committee.
F. W. Lehmann, Chairman Committee on Legislation,
J. L. Blair, Chairman Legal Committee,
James Cox, Secretary,

A. A. Allen,
George L. Allen,
D. Bowes,
George W. Baumhoff
George D. Barnard,
James Bannerman,
S A. Bemis,
L. R. Blackmer,
Henry Blackmore,
C. F. Blanke,
Wilbur F. Boyle,
Henry Braun,
A. D. Brown,
George W. Brown,
E. P. Bryan,
Adolphus Busch,
J. B. Case,
J P. Camp,
James Campbell,
Murray Carleton,
George O. Carpenter,
D. W. Caruth.
A. C. Cassidy,
Enos. Clarke,
Charles Clark.
Theo. P. Cook.
D. A. Cowan.
Charles A. Cox.
Seth W. Cobb.
D. Crawford,
G. Cramer,
T. W. Crouch.

W. W. Culver,
John D. Davis,
John T. Davis,
Edward Devoy,
H. N. Davis,
Alex. N. DeMenil,
S. M. Dodd,
P. J. Doerr,
C. J. Dougherty,
L. D. Dozier,
W. H. Dittman,
F. A. Drew,
Wm. Druhe,
J. T. Drummond,
R. B. Dula,
William Duncan,
George F. Durant,
W. S. Eames,
James J. Early,
Benjamin Eiseman,
George L. Edwards,
H. W. Eliot,
Howard Elliott,
Daniel Evans,
J M. Faithorn,
J. S. Finkenbiner,
Nathan Frank,
R. Graham Frost,
S. W. Fordyce,
C. August Forster,
Jacob Furth,
Frank Gaiennie,
G. W. Garrels,
Charles F. Gauss,
August Gehner,
H. W. Gays,
Morris Glaser,
Emile Glogau,
B. B. Graham,
Norris B. Gregg,
J. D. Goldman,
W. T. Haarstick,
Russell Harding,
A. B. Hart,
Walker Hill,
F. D. Hirschberg,
Henry Hitchcock,
Joseph M. Hayes,
B. F. Hobart,
W. D. Holliday,
D. S. Holmes,
J L. Hornsby,
Richard Hospes,
D. M. Houser,
E. R. Hoyt,
W. L. Huse,
C. H. Huttig,
Anthony Ittner,
Halsey C. Ives,
George T. Jarvis,
Breckinridge Jones,
F. N. Judson,
John W. Kauffman,
E. C. Kehr,
S. M. Kennard,
J. H. Kentnor,
R. C. Kerens,
Goodman King,
L. D. Kingsland,
George J. Kobusch,
Max Kotany,
Charles W. Knapp,
J. J. Lawrence,
Arthur Lee,
George E. Leighton,
Wm. J. Lemp,
I. H. Lionberger,
Isaac P. Lusk,
J. H. McCabe,
W. S. McChesney,
Wm. N. McConkin,
Robert McCulloch,
J W. McDonald,
Thomas H. McKittrick,
Wm. N. McMillan,
T. S. McPheeters,
George A. Madill,
George D. Markham,
F. E. Marshall,
E. Mallinckrodt,
C. F. G. Meyer,
Haiden Miller,
Isaac W. Morton,
Charles Nagel,
L. C. Nelson,
T. K. Niedringhaus,
John W. Noble,
W. F. Nolker,
Byron Nugent,
J. B. O'Meara,
E. S. Orr,
W. J. Orthwein,
Charles J. Osborne,
C. F. Parker,
H. C. Pierce,
Julius Pitzman,
H. S. Potter,
Emil Preetorius,
David Ranken Jr.,
Joseph Ramsey Jr.,
James A. Reardon,
Charles Rebstock,

Leo Rassieur,
Valle Reyburn,
Jonathan Rice,
E. C. Robbins,
D. B. Robinson,
L. M. Rumsey,
C. H. Sampson,
Wm. J. Scott,
E. G. Scudder,
John Scullin,
R. M. Scruggs,
Louis Schaefer,
W. E. Schweppe,
Isaac Schwab,
E. H. Semple,
M. Shaughnessy,
Chris. Sharp,
A. L. Shapleigh,
M. S. Snow,
C. H. Spencer,
Wm. J. Stone,
H. W. Steinbiss,
C. A. Stix,
E. J. Strauss,
E. O. Stanard,
Adiel Sherwood,
L. B. Tebbetts,
John H. Terry,
Wm. H. Thomson,
Zach W. Tinker,
Charles H. Turner,
John W. Turner,
J. J. Turner,
David S. Tarbell,
Wm. Taussig,
C. E. Udell,
C. P. Walbridge,
W. H. Walker,
Richard Walsh,
C. G. Warner,
James A. Waterworth,
Julius S. Walsh,
Festus J. Wade,
Ellis Wainwright,
Sylvester Waterhouse,
Thomas H. West,
Ben Westhus,
Nat. Wetzel,
M. C. Wetmore,
Rolla Wells,
J. J. Wertheimer,
John C. Wilkinson,
Edwards Whittaker,
W. H. Woodward,
Florence White,
O. L. Whitelaw,
Thomas Wright,
George M. Wright,

The same careful regard for representation of all interests in the city that had governed the composition of the Committee of Two Hundred was observed in the selection of the ninety-three directors. In eight years of the corporation's existence comparatively few changes took place in the board. For the most part vacancies were caused by death. The ninety-three memberships were filled within the period mentioned by one hundred and eighteen persons. With one exception the elective officers remained the same from the organization of the company. They were;

David R. Francis, President.
Corwin H Spencer, First Vice President.
Samuel M. Kennard, Second Vice-President.
Daniel M. Houser, Third Vice-President.
Cyrus P. Walbridge, Fourth Vice-President.
Seth W. Cobb, Fifth Vice-President.
Charles H. Huttig, Sixth Vice-President.
August Gehner, Seventh Vice-President.
Pierre Chouteau, Eighth Vice-President.
Wm. H. Thompson, Treasurer.
Walter B. Stevens, Secretary.
Fred. Gabel, Auditor.

The only exception was the election of Franklin Ferriss, General Counsel, in place of James L. Blair. Judge Ferriss resigned from the Circuit bench of St. Louis to take the position of General Counsel and held it from the date of his election, through pre-exposition, exposition and post-exposition periods.

A list of all persons who served as Directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company between the date of incorporation and 1909 is as follows:

Allen, Andrew A.
Anderson, Lorenzo E.
Baker, George A.
Bell, Nicholas M.
Bixby, Wm. K.
Blanke, Cyrus F.
Blair, James L.
Boyle, Wilbur F.
Brown, Alanson D.
Brown, Geo. Warren
Brown, Paul
Busch, Adolphus
Butler, James G.
Campbell, James
Carleton, Murray
Chouteau, Pierre
Cobb, Seth W.
Coyle, James F.
Cram, George T.
Crawford, Hanford
Davis, John David
Davis, H. N.
De Menil, Alexander N.
Dodd, Samuel M.
Dozier, Lewis D.
Drummond, Harrison I.
Dula, Robert B.
Edwards G. L.
Elliott, Howard
Felton, Samuel M.
Ferriss, Franklin
Fish, Stuyvesant
Francis, David R.
Francis, Thomas H.
Frank, Nathan
Frederick, A. H.
Gabel, Fred.
Garrels, Gerhard W.
Gehner, August
Greene, William M.
Gregg, Norris Bradford
Haarstick, W. T.
Hart, Augustus B.
Hill, Walker
Hirschberg, Francis D.
Holmes, John A.
Houser, Daniel M.
Huttig, Charles H.
Ingalls, M. E.
Ives, Halsey C.
Jones, Breckinridge.
Kennard, Samuel M.
King, Goodman.
Kinsella, W. J.
Knapp, Charles W.
Lawrence, J. J.
Lee, William Hill.
Lemp, Wm. J.
Lemp, Wm. J. Jr.
Lehmann, Frederick W.
McDonald, James W.
McKeen, Benjamin.
McKittrick, Thomas Harrington.
Madill, Geo. A.
Markham, George D.
Marshall, Finis E.
Meyer, C. F. G.
Michael, Elias.
Miller, Henry I.
Morton, Isaac W.
Niedringhaus, F. G.
Nolker, W. F.
Nugent, Daniel C.
O'Neill, Peter A.
Orr, Edward S.
Parker, George W.
Pierce, Henry Clay.
Ramsey, Joseph, Jr.
Ranken, David Jr.
Rice, Jonathan.
Sampson, Clark H.
Schotten, Julius J.
Schroers, John.
Schwab, Isaac.
Scruggs, R. M.
Scullin, John.
Shapleigh, Alfred Lee.
Simmons, E. C.
Smith, James E.
Spencer, C. H.
Spencer, Henry B.
Spencer, Samuel.
Steigers, William C.
Steinbiss, Herman W.
Stevens, Walter B.
Stix, Charles A.
Stockton, Robert H.
Tansey, George Judd.
Taylor, Isaac S.
Thompson, Collins.
Thompson, Wm. H.
Turner, Charles H.
Turner, J. J.
Van Blarcom, Jacob C.
Wade, Festus J.
Walbridge, Cyrus P.

DAVID R. FRANCIS

Walsh, Julius S.
Warner, C. G.
Wells, Wm. B.
Wells, Rolla.
Wenneker, Charles F.
Wertheimer, Jacob J.
Whitaker, Edwards.
Whitelaw, Oscar L.
Woerheide, A. A. B.
Woodward, W. H.
Wright, George M.
Yoakum, B. F.

The high honor of directorship carried weighty responsibilities. The financial obligations were not light. After the city had been well canvassed for subscriptions, the men selected for directors, each assumed the task of providing $10,000 additional subscriptions to make up the total necessary to secure the United States Government aid. They gave the following pledge:

WHEREAS, the undersigned, all citizens of the City of St. Louis, are deeply interested in the successful inauguration of a World's Fair in St. Louis, to be held in celebration of the Centennial of the Purchase of the Louisiana Territory; and

WHEREAS, we believe that the holding of said Fair will tend to enhance the value of our property by conducing to the general prosperity of the City and State; and

WHEREAS, it is necessary to the holding of said Fair that the popular subscription of $5,000,000 should promptly be completed.

Now, in consideration of the premises and of the mutual promises and undertakings of the several subscribers hereto, each and every one of us, each for himself and not for any other, does hereby agree to procure subscriptions in good faith, from solvent persons to the stock of the corporation to be organized for the holding of said Fair to an amount of $10,000 and in the event of his failure or inability to secure the full amount of said $10,000 of subscriptions on or before the second day of January 1901, then, on demand, to subscribe and pay for in accordance with the usual subscription blank, such part of said $10,000 as he shall have not then procured, or such less amount as shall be fixed by the Finance Committee as his proportion of the then total deficit when such deficit shall have been equitably apportioned among all those of the subscribers hereto who are then in default, provided that each one who has made subscriptions in his own name hereunder shall have the privilege, from time to time, for sixty days thereafter, of substituting other solvent subscribers for all or any part of said subscription.

This agreement is not to become operative until there shall have been obtained a number of subscribers hereto, or to copies hereof, sufficient in the judgment of the Finance Committee, to complete, with the subscriptions already obtained, the total popular subscription of $5,000,000, and in no case shall any subscriber hereto be required to procure or subscribe for more than 1,000 shares of said stock of the par value of $10,000.

When the first call for ten per cent on the stock was issued the directors advanced $1,000, each, in addition to paying the assessment, that there might be no delay in the organization of the corporation.

In the pre-exposition period, the summer of 1903, there arose an emergency. Money was needed to keep the work going. Directors gave their notes, each for $5,000, guaranteeing in advance the collections on the stock.

To comply strictly with the law requiring repayment of the Government loan the directors at a subsequent time, in the summer of 1904, gave their notes, each for $10,000, to raise money in anticipation of revenues.

When bonds were to be given the city for the use of Forest Park the directors signed personally, obligating themselves to the amount of $200,000. Again and again during the progress of preparation and during the exposition, personal bonds upon land leases, upon loaned machinery, upon other conditions were signed by these directors.

To the president, the treasurer, the vice-presidents no salaries were paid. For the president, not long after the organization, a contingent fund of $25,000 was set apart. When the exposition closed less than $1,500 of the $25,000 had been expended and that had been used to pay for the service of a personal representative to look into complaints brought privately to the president's notice. Officers and directors not only gave time without compensation but they paid for personal expenses in the performance of their duties many thousands of dollars which might, without cavil, have been charged against the company's treasury. There was on the part of these directors a sense of personal honor and dignity which barred all littleness.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company was not a one-man or a two-man organization. It was a board of ninety-three directors, the strong characters, the positive individualities of the city's industries, trades and professions. That there was never schism nor faction nor revolt was because every one of the ninety-three was recognized as entitled to his opinion. More than that, his opinion was invited and weighed on fair scales. In the nine hundred typewritten pages of the proceedings of directors may be found the submission of every important proposition and question for judgment and decision before action. In the thirty-six hundred typewritten pages of the executive committee record is the evidence of the thoroughness with which all details were threshed out and settled by majority vote.

The manner in which sentiment for the celebration of the centennial of the acquisition of Louisiana made progress with the Administration, the Senate and the House at Washington was wonderful. Even the St. Louis people who had become imbued with the spirit were agreeably surprised at the rapidity with which the sentiment spread and the strength which it displayed so far from its starting point. Congress never before warmed up so rapidly and so effectively to an exposition movement.

But sentiment, even of the strongest and best, must be backed by skillful handling when it comes to a question of taking $5,000,000 out of the United States Treasury. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition bill was managed without a single mistake in the methods employed. If some precedents had been followed the St. Louis delegation would have employed a lobby and would have spent money freely to expedite the legislation. Such employment would have been a handicap. The money for it would have been thrown away. Not a hired agent raised his voice for the bill. Not a dollar was squandered. It was from inception to finish at Washington "clean legislation."

The St. Louis delegation was peculiarly fortunate in that three men well versed in the ways of Washington had much to do with coaching the legislation. As a former member of the Cabinet, as a frequent visitor to the National capital on public business, David R. Francis possessed not only personal acquaintance with many in Senate and House, but practical knowledge of methods. Former Congressmen Nathan Frank and Seth W. Cobb, both having been strong men in their respective Congresses, had the advantage of floor privileges. Mr. Frank knew all of the leading Republicans in Congress and how to approach them. Mr. Cobb had been so recently a representative that

his appearance on the Democratic side was the occasion for renewal of agreeable acquaintance.

In the House the three St. Louis Republican representatives, Richard Bartholdt, Charles F. Joy and Chas. E. Pearce devoted themselves day and night to this measure, having the cordial cooperation of their twelve Democratic colleagues in the Missouri delegation. If Representative Wm. A. Rodenberg of East St. Louis had been a Missouri member he could not have been more loyal or effective in the World's Fair movement. The appearance at Washington from time to time of prominent St. Louisans, of the type of Corwin H. Spencer, D. M. Houser, Charles W. Knapp, Cyrus P. Walbridge, S. M. Kennard and J. G. Niedringhaus had the effect to convince Congress that the entire city was enlisted in the movement.

Individuals, firms and corporations contributing to the stock of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company numbered 16,927. The payments on subscriptions had reached, in April, 1909, the sum of $4,925,000. The stockholders were classified as to amounts paid, as follows:

No. of Subscribers	Amount paid by Each.
2169	Less than $10. each
5118	$10.
4607	$10. to $50.
2276	$50. to $100.
204	$100. to $150.
535	$150. to $200.
488	$200. to $300.
60	$300. to $400.
530	$400. to $500.
80	$500. to $750.
353	$750. to $1,000.
179	$1,000. to $2,000.
208	$2,000. to $5,000.
56	$5,000. to $10,000.
61	$10,000. to $50,000.
1	$75,000.
1	$210,000.
16,927	

Vice President Walbridge spoke of William H. Thompson as "the hitching post of the movement from the time of his connection with it." This was said when the first stake for the World's Fair was driven in Forest Park. The description was a happy one for the occasion. If a hitching post can be conceived to be animate, to have the faculty of moving itself when and where it is most needed, the description applied many times in the history of the Exposition.

In successive crises the World's Fair movement tied to Mr. Thompson and he was "the hitching post." While David R. Francis, Corwin H. Spencer

and their associates in the winter of 1901 were nursing the World's Fair legislation at Washington they were called upon to show that the city of St. Louis had provided its share of $5,000,000 for the Exposition. This was during the short session of Congress and what had to be brought about was record breaking action by the Municipal Assembly. Mr. Thompson accomplished it but when both branches of the Municipal Assembly had passed the ordinance Mayor Ziegenheim couldn't be found. James Cox carried the bill to the Mayor's house and waited on the door step hour after hour one cold winter evening until the mayor returned and his signature was secured. The vital news was flashed to Washington and poor Cox went home with a heavy cold which took him to his grave a few months later.

Mr. Thompson was not a "dominating influence" in the World's Fair organization and never wished to be so considered. He was a positive man. He expressed his opinions and they had great weight. On more than one occasion he found himself in a minority of the executive committee. When he was out voted he took the result good humoredly. If events demonstrated that he had been in the right he never said "I told you so." Early in the pre-exposition period there occurred one of these differences of opinion when Mr. Thompson found himself almost alone. So strong was the antagonism of sentiment that some of the directors were apprehensive of the consequences. They feared that Mr. Thompson might withdraw from the Exposition board. The issue was taken. Instead of manifesting any resentment Mr. Thompson when sounded as to his future action said with a trace of a smile:

"I never go back on my partners."

And he didn't. He was a "partner" in the World's Fair enterprise from start to finish, in all that the word "partner" implied.

"Had it not been for the steady brain, the iron will and the quick perception of Mr. Thompson this stake would not have been driven." Vice President Walbridge did not put the sense of dependence of the World's Fair directors upon the sustaining qualities of the treasurer too strongly. The treasurer of the Exposition was all that Mr. Walbridge described him. He was more. He possessed an attribute which contributed not little to make him the mainstay of the Exposition. Mr. Thompson was self controlled, strong willed and far sighted but he was at the same time winning. The combination character was extraordinary. Here was a man respected for his ruggedness of temperament, admired for his native ability and loved for himself. Mr. Thompson drew to him the affections of those with whom he was associated. He was a reticent man. He was a positive man. He was a courageous man. He was a stubborn man. He was a most lovable man.

The sentimental regard which so many entertained, in some cases with surprise to themselves, toward Mr. Thompson was a powerful lever for the financial success of the Exposition. Men and interests that could have been affected in no other way were drawn into the support of the movement by the personal influence of Mr. Thompson, until the entire city's backing was behind the enterprise. After the subscriptions were in and the amount necessary was on paper; after this community had contributed as never before did a city of like population and wealth to a public enterprise Mr. Thompson's call upon

his fellow directors for checks of large amount was honored again and again to meet emergencies. To no other man in St. Louis would such a tribute of confidence in four and five figures have been paid.

It is an oft-told story that the solid men of St. Louis were not of one mind as to the advisability of a World's Fair. Some held a conviction that the city ought not to take upon itself such a burden. They stood aloof even after the money had been pledged and the company had been organized. Then, without ostentation, and in some cases without any publicity, one after another they went to Mr. Thompson and handed to him personally their contributions in large sums.

The exposition passed through a series of financial crises, in every one of which the vital value of William H. Thompson's personality was expressed. The first subscriptions were taken in the Spring of 1899. When the company was organized in the Spring of 1901 the finance committee was able to show the sum of $5,070,845 pledged. There is not of record such a manifestation of public spirit on the part of any other community. In what degree this splendid result was due to the wise suggestion, the indefatigable effort, the personal influence of William H. Thompson only those who were with him throughout that campaign can appreciate.

The realization upon the pledges was another chapter. The first call on the subscriptions was in the Spring of 1901. Thereafter Mr. Thompson devised and pursued a systematic policy of appeal to subscribers. So well considered and so tactfully executed was the policy that the collections on the subscriptions had reached $4,766,472.57 on the 18th of May, 1904. That was the date of the filing of the first suit. Up to that time the cost of collections had been only $20,071.02, a little more than one-third of one per cent to cover all expenditures for salaries, stationery, rent, printing, postage and incidentals. In the history of expositions there is no parallel to this successful management of the subscriptions. To this record of exposition finance without precedent, belongs the item of interest. Mr. Thompson collected from the banks and trust companies with which he placed the funds of the Exposition company over $200,000 for interest on the deposits pending disbursements.

High ideals in the evolution of the Universal Exposition, resources generous beyond precedent for such an enterprise, historic sentiment of great strength for motive, flood tide of National prosperity—these formed a combination of conditions to encourage. As preparation progressed there were no backward steps. There were no blunders to be excused. From inception to culmination this World's Fair movement passed successfully through the periods of agitation, of legislation, of financiering, of construction, of installation, of attendance, to a glorious finish. It grew in magnitude with the passing months. The Exposition gained in impressiveness upon the public mind until in its closing days it became the theme of praise on every tongue.

The greatness of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was not in its acres of length and breadth. Possibly, physical bigness was the first impression made upon the minds of most visitors. That speedily gave way to more discriminating and more worthy credit. Those who planned, occupied more ground; they built larger; but they did not stop with acres and palaces. This World's Fair

of 1904 was designed in plan and perfected in execution during a period of three years to a month. It opened within three days of the third anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company's organization. The first year saw the site secured, the foundations laid and the Exposition palaces planned—on paper. During the remaining two years the creation of the Exposition—those vital and essential parts of it which were not comprised in grounds and buildings—progressed through the days and nights of unceasing thought and toil. Frequently this was spoken of as "The St. Louis Exposition" or "The St. Louis World's Fair." From the creative point of view the title was not a misnomer. The Universal Exposition of 1904 was the more comprehensive and appropriate title. The movement had its beginning with this community. The great burden of responsibility was carried by the city and citizens of St. Louis, but the Universal Exposition of 1904 in its entirety, physical and spiritual, was due to the combined genius and experience of the whole world. From the day the commission of architects convened in St. Louis, summoned by wire, to view the grounds and to outline the main picture, it was more than "The St. Louis World's Fair." As details of architecture and landscape were added to the original scheme the construction and embellishment became more and more the work and the glory of cities, states and nations until the Exposition grew into its just designation of Universal.

Never in the world's history has there been such an assembling of nations in competition, of that which was best in art and industry, of that which represented the civilization of each. To St. Louis came commissioners and exhibitors of sixty-two independent nations, dependent sovereignties, if that expression may be permitted, and colonies. The world conditions had changed since 1893 when the Columbian Exposition was held at Chicago. The American market, as well as the American territory had expanded. This country had in the year preceding the Exposition of 1904 bought of other countries more than $1,000,000,000 worth of what they had to sell. This was considerably more than $100,000,000 above any preceding year in the history of American commerce. The commercial argument or inducement for participation at St. Louis was unanswerable. The political argument was of like potency. As a world power this country had assumed vastly increased importance in a decade. The warmly pressed invitation of the President of the United States to all the nations of the earth to join in this "exhibit of arts, industries, manufactures and products of the soil, mine, forest and sea" was entitled to most respectful heed and received it.

A condition which materially encouraged and promoted universal participation by nations and their colonies, as well as by the states of this Union, was the high and distinctive character of the plan and scope of this Exposition. Foreign commissioners, returning to their homes from their first visits to St. Louis and from their first acquaintance with the advanced policies of this Exposition, almost without exception, increased their space applications. State commissioners, after visiting St. Louis and conferring with the World's Fair management, carried back the wondrous story until the whole world knew that this was to be an Exposition upon higher planes and with loftier ideals than any preceding World's Fair. Parts of the world may have been Expo-

sition tired when the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was suggested. They awakened rapidly to the fact that this was a new kind of an exposition.

A radical departure in the theory of exposition organization was made at St. Louis. No director-general was appointed. The president of the board of directors was made the administrative and the executive head. Four grand executive divisions were organized to report to the president: They were Exhibits, Works, Exploitation, and Concessions and Admissions. The title of the head of each division was director. These four coordinate officers, chief lieutenants to the President, were:

Director of Exhibits.
Director of Works.
Director of Exploitation.
Director of Concessions and Admissions.

This innovation in exposition practice was adopted after deliberation extending through several months. Doubt as to the practical operation of the plan was expressed by some persons with exposition experience. It proved to be not well founded. An unusual condition existed. The president of the board of directors had been with this exposition movement from its inception. He was the master spirit in all preliminary stages. His counsel prevailed in the convention of delegates from the Louisiana Purchase states and territories. He headed the executive committee which survived that convention, entrusted with its recommendations. He became chairman of the executive committee of the Committee of Two Hundred which constituted the preliminary local organization. Withdrawing gradually from his own business affairs, he permitted the interests of the exposition movement to engross his mind and his time. Leading the delegation selected to visit the National capital he came to be recognized, abroad and at home, as the head of the movement. When national, state and city aid had been pledged and the time arrived to incorporate and organize the Louisiana Purchase Exposition company, he alone was considered for the presidency of the board of directors. Committed in his own mind, responsible in the opinion of the public, the president of the board of directors dedicated himself to the success of the Exposition. The four directors of divisions, Frederick J. V. Skiff, Isaac S. Taylor, Walter B. Stevens and Norris B. Gregg, were the staff.

Not the least interesting or significant of the motives which prompted David R. Francis to give so generously his energies and time to the World's Fair is embodied in this expression regarding the influence such a movement would have upon the people of St. Louis: "St. Louis has needed something like this," reasoned Mr. Francis. "We are a peculiarly self centered people. We own our own city. We have always stood ready to furnish capital to others. We are strong and prosperous financially. But we are perhaps too independent. We need to be brought more closely into contact with the outside world. We need to have a certain narrowness of vision altered. We need to learn something of our own merits and possibilities, so that many of our own people will realize a little better than they do that St. Louis is, in its way, as great a city as any on the continent."

The man of the World's Fair hour cannot be characterized in fine words or with elegant phrases. His personality and his acts made the impression which did him justice.

In the early summer of 1901 Mr. Francis sat with the World's Fair directors in a meeting of the house of delegates of St. Louis, called to consider the merits of a proposed ordinance, essential to the success of the enterprise. He spoke earnestly and persuasively of the Exposition as a great public enterprise, entitled to consideration from the municipality. He introduced others. In the midst of the hearing a pale-faced man came down the aisle and whispered to him:

"Northern Pacific has gone to $1,000 a share."

"We haven't any," replied Mr. Francis in an undertone, "What of it?"

"Everything else is down fifteen to twenty-five points. There's a panic on Wall street. We've been called for $450,000," the bearer of news went on from bad to worse.

"Go back and get the money together. I'll be down town in a couple of hours." And so dismissing his private affairs, Mr. Francis arose and introduced another friend of the World's Fair to urge upon the delegates prompt performance of duty. It was characteristic of his perfect self-command.

Devotion to detail was another marked trait. Members of the executive committee of the World's Fair came into their room one afternoon, for regular session and found Mr. Francis lunching on a sandwich. He had lingered too long over business with one of the directors of divisions and had missed his usual luncheon. The committeemen chided him for neglect of himself. The president looked thoughtful.

"I suppose you are right," he said. "Cold lunches are bad. They made me sick at one time. When I got out of college I owed $300. I got a place as shipping clerk at $50 a month with a commission house and thought I would save money to pay the debt by carrying my lunch to work. Jim! I expect you remember when we used to carry our lunches, don't you?"

"Yes," said Mr. Campbell, "I remember."

"Well," continued Mr. Francis, "one day I became dizzy and fell against a wall. The doctor told me to stop carrying a cold lunch. The committee will come to order. What is the first business to day?"

The executive committee was in session almost daily for many months. The members, besides the president, were:

William H. Thompson, vice-chairman.

Charles W. Knapp.	Corwin H. Spencer.
Wilbur F. Boyle.	Murray Carleton.
C. G. Warner.	L. D. Dozier.
John Scullin.	James Campbell.
Rolla Wells.	A. L. Shapleigh.
Nathan Frank.	Breckinridge Jones.

Howard Elliott.

The expenditures by the sixty-two foreign nations and colonies participating amounted to $8,134,500. This amount does not take into consideration the expenditures of private exhibiters from foreign countries, but only the

THE STATUE OF ST. LOUIS,

Presented to the City of St. Louis by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company

disbursements by foreign government officials. At Chicago, in 1893, were represented forty-five foreign nations and colonies by expenditures aggregating $5,982,894. Even the Paris Exposition of 1900, did not approach the measure of foreign participation which characterized the Exposition of 1904 at St. Louis.

There was world wide significance in the extent of Asiatic participation. The oriental sleeper awakened. Until this time no World's Fair had known the official presence of China. Not only did that country officially accept but the government proceeded with an impressive measure of vigor in this new enterprise. The assistant commissioner general of China, with a retinue, was the first of the foreign commissioners to take up residence in St. Louis. The flag of the yellow dragon was raised quickly on the World's Fair grounds, following France, Germany, Mexico and Great Britain, which had in that order taken formal possession of their sites for government buildings. A prince of the imperial blood was the head of the Chinese commission.

Japan constructed and exhibited upon a scale beyond all previous Exposition participation by her enterprising government and people. Siam, Ceylon, Formosa, India, New Zealand were well represented.

It was to be expected that France, the country which gave to the United States for $15,000,000 the domain which made all things possible to this country, would respond to the sentimental movement which prompted the celebration of the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase by a world's fair. France accepted the invitation of the President of the United States quickly. That set a pace for European action. Germany followed. Then came Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Austria and Hungary, Belgium, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Greece, Bulgaria, Monaco, Switzerland, Portugal, Turkey.

Following so closely upon the Paris Exposition of 1900, this Universal Exposition encountered in some European quarters inertia based upon a complaint of exposition tiredness. The indisposition was temporary. It gave way to rivalry and spirit of competition which rapidly occupied all of the floor space allotted to foreign nations and clamored for nearly twice as much more.

From Alaska to Patagonia, with few and insignificant exceptions, the republics and colonies on mainland or island belonging to the western hemisphere joined in greater or lesser degree to make this a truly universal exposition. Among South American republics, Brazil led with an appropriation of $600,000, American money. Canada's participation was independent of Great Britain, which decision when made was greeted with cheers in the Canadian legislative body. Canada participated in magnitude and in character to emphasize Dominion enterprise and inclination toward the best of new world development. Mexico's government building was the first of the foreign structures to be completed. The pavilion of the youngest nation stood side by side with that of the oldest nation. China and Cuba were such close neighbors that only an imaginary line separated their reservations in the Universal Exposition. The presence of China and Cuba at this World's Fair told the story of the evolution of a world power. No doubt China remembered that in recent dire international peril the little finger of an American secretary of state

had proven more potent than the thigh of European diplomacy. Cuba had not been born into the family of nations when the World's Columbian Exposition was held.

Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, the greater South Africa and the dependencies of Central Africa were represented. British and Boers came to set up their mementos of war and their evidences of restored peace and returning prosperity.

In point of magnitude, utility and importance, foreign representation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition greatly excelled that at any previous undertaking of a similar nature and established a record that will be difficult to equal for generations to come.

Twenty-three foreign national pavilions were erected on the World's Fair grounds at St. Louis, while there were only eighteen at the Columbian Exposition. Those at St. Louis aggregated sixty per centum more in cost, $1,439,000, and were forty per centum greater in combined area, 189,258 square feet.

The keen interest felt in this Universal Exposition was also well exemplified by the unprecedented character and number of representatives sent to St. Louis by the foreign countries. Three of the leading nations sent commissions presided over by princes of the blood royal, while the remainder had ambassadors, officers of high rank, and other distinguished men at the heads of their commissions.

When Georgia in the early summer of 1903 placed upon her statute books a World's Fair appropriation, forty-nine states, territories and island groups of the United States had made financial preparation to be represented. Included were New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Alaska, the Philippines and Porto Rico. Subsequently three more states joined the World's Fair movement.

Briefly epitomized the growth of the United States found expression in the participation of forty-three states, by five territories and by all territorial possessions save Hawaii. This participation at St. Louis cost $9,346,677. Eleven years before, at Chicago, forty-one states and two territories expended on their exposition participation $4,539,428, and were proud of it.

Every state and territory within the boundaries of the United States except one responded to the invitation to participate in the Exposition, either through the appropriation of funds by legislative enactment or by popular subscription. Many of the states resorted to both methods. In addition to the states and territories within the United States proper, the District of Alaska, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and Hawaii provided for participation through proper official channels. All of these were worthily represented except Hawaii, where the appropriation made by the legislature was rendered invalid by a decision of the supreme court. The legislature of South Carolina made a preliminary appropriation but the state failed to complete the plans through complications which arose in the succeeding legislature. South Carolina, Delaware and Hawaii were, therefore, the geographical subdivisions of the United States which did not take active part in the exposition.

Forty-four states, territories and possessions had their own buildings on the grounds; some of them had more than one. Never before in the history of expositions were the states and territories of the American Union so comprehensively represented. The total value of the participation, $9,346,677, included all moneys appropriated by legislative assemblies, all funds raised by popular subscription, and all exhibits loaned or donated to the commissions representing the states and territories. The amount of money actually expended by the commissions; derived from legislative enactment and popular subscription was $7,092,786. The difference between the total cost of state participation, $9,346,677, and the cash expenditures, $7,092,786, represented the value of exhibits donated or loaned to the commissions of the states and territories.

For the first time in the history of expositions the United States Government made appropriations to defray the cost of exhibits of the resources of Alaska and the Indian territory.

For the first time in the history of expositions a special feature was made of municipal exhibits. To the exploitation of this feature was given much attention. The rapid advancement and development of the larger American cities within the past decade and the numerous reforms and innovations made in the management and government of municipalities prompted the Exposition management to expect that the various cities would be able to illustrate the methods which have made this development possible, in ways to elicit the admiration and wonder of the millions of visitors. The Exposition erected the town hall and laid out the Model Street along which the various cities were invited to erect buildings in which to place their exhibits. The management also erected an emergency hospital and provided for a children's playground. The paving of the street was done with a variety of material—asphalt, brick, macadam, concrete—at an expense of several thousand dollars. San Francisco, New York, Minneapolis and St. Paul and Kansas City erected buildings and installed municipal exhibits therein. Boston had no building but placed splendid exhibits in the Town Hall.

Under far spreading roofs of the palaces of Manufactures and Varied Industries nine hundred industries found expression. Miles of aisles were bordered by exhibits utilitarian and exhibits artistic. The House Beautiful, The Home Comfortable, the Thing Useful and the Person Adorned were exemplified. Two lessons were taught to the thousands of visitors who daily wandered over the twenty-eight acres embraced within these two buildings. The luxuries of life for the few in the Nineteenth century may become the utilities of life for the many in the Twentieth. The artistic and the beautiful are no longer beyond the reach of those moderately circumstanced.

New wants were born in millions of minds as the means to meet them passed in countless review. Discriminating judges considered the displays in the two hundred and thirty classes of exhibits of this department. When their work was completed more than seven thousand grand prizes and medals had been awarded for the superior excellence of things which con-

tribute to comfort of body and to pleasure of eye. Not merely progress in industrial art since the Columbian Exposition of 1893 was marked, but advance since 1900 was shown in comparisons with the Palace of Industries at Paris.

From "Old Ironsides" to "Saint Louis" the history of the steam locomotive in this country was told in the exhibits of the Transportation Department. Its first successful chapter was the crude and clumsy product of 1831. This was strikingly similar to the Planet which George Stephenson invented in England a year or two earlier, a model of which was shown. In the group of earlier inventions was a model of the locomotive which Napoleon's engineer, Cugnot, fashioned in 1792, and which upon its initial trial on the streets of Paris became unmanageable, butted into the church La Madeline and was condemned as a device of Satan. "The Spirit of the Twentieth Century," weighing two hundred thousand pounds, turning slowly upon a great steel turn table, with drive wheels revolving, with electric headlight penetrating the remotest recesses of the great building, with mechanism running noiselessly, completed the history. But the record was not without forecast. Week after week, month after month, from the opening to the closing of the Exposition, the latest products of the locomotive builders of this and other countries were submitted to tests, scientific and practical. Coal was weighed. Ash was measured. Steam was gauged. Speed and power were recorded. The iron horse has reached his maximum growth. His future development is the refining and perfecting process. The locomotive tests of the Universal Exposition, conducted under the most perfect conditions and under the closest technical supervision, became the standards to guide the builders for years to come.

In many respects the Exposition at St. Louis stood for years of lasting influence and practical benefit to the world. There were tests and competitions of various kinds conducted publicly and by unbiased experts. In the Mining Gulch were carried on throughout the Exposition tests of coal. The products of the coal fields north and south, east and west were brought in carload lots. Day and night the fires burned. Under the supervision of the United States government the progress of consumption was studied in all of its stages and bearings. Results of the coal tests constituted a record of permanent value.

Six months before the Exposition opened model dairy barns built upon the most approved plans for such construction and with the latest improved devices were occupied. Besides them were silos filled with milk-producing forage crops. The dairy tests according to closely defined conditions and under rigid rules began in December 1903. They continued through many months. Food was measured. Temperature and appearance of the cows were noted day by day. Milk product was weighed. Cream, butter and cheese came under critical examination by experts as to the quantity and quality. Successively the barns were occupied by representative animals of various breeds. The findings were based upon perhaps the most elaborate dairy tests ever conducted in this country.

Under scientific auspices balloons containing delicate instruments were sent up to obtain records of temperature, of currents and of other upper air conditions to add to the knowledge of aerostatics. Associated with these ascensions were kiteflying experiments and aeroplane trials. While no navigator of the air was able to meet the conditions for the $100,000 airship flight, a new world's record, well in advance of what had been done, was made in dirigible ballooning.

Processes rather than products, which it was proclaimed should distinguish the plan and scope of this Universal Exposition, were conspicuous in every department. Wireless telegraphy was illustrated by daily operation of the mechanism in the Department of Electricity. Under the observation of judges, officially appointed, messages were transmitted three hundred miles. The successful sending of aerograms short distances, from one to ten miles, was demonstrated in numerous instances. Transmission of sound without wire was shown to be possible. Rays of light for medical purposes were produced in several forms.

It was this policy of processes which filled to overflowing the great palaces and which demanded such an assembling of power makers. The heaviest single exhibit required one hundred cars, hauled by three engines. It weighed 3,325 tons. In the sixteen boilers of this exhibit were fourteen miles of four-inch tubes presenting two acres of heating surface. Yet this exhibit was only one and a small part of the power plant required to make the innumerable wheels go round. Steam was generated in a building of fireproof material about three hundred feet square. It reached the engines occupying a space six hundred feet long in another building, being carried in great pipes through a tunnel. The power created represented the combined strength of forty thousand horses. It was needed. A single process in the department of Manufactures was a complete cotton mill occupying space eighty-one feet long and sixty-nine feet wide. Marvelous performances with machinery were shown in weaving, in shoe making and in scores of mechanisms. Twice the power provided at Paris in 1900 and three times that required at Chicago, 1893, proved to be none too much in the Universal Exposition of 1904. The value of the exhibits in the department of Machinery exceeded $8,000,000. They demonstrated the wonderful progress in creation of power. The prime movers of half a dozen countries worked side by side in competition.

If travel is educational, how could be estimated the benefits to almost twenty millions of visitors by the Philippine Exposition, occupying thirty-five acres and including in epitome, the resources, the industries, the government and the life of the Archipelago; by Jerusalem with its reproduction of the sacred and historic structures of the Holy City; by the Tyrol with its Alpine scenery; by the Kraal from South Africa; by the Cliff Dwelling community; by the Bazaars of Stamboul; by the Streets of Cairo; by India; by Fair Japan; by the Chinese Village?

If the proper study of man is mankind what should be said of the opportunities afforded by object lessons such as the Pygmies of Central

Africa; the massive Patagonians; the polite Ainus, original people of Japan; the Vancouver Islanders with their wealth of folk lore; the Igorotes; the Negritos; the Visayans; the Moros; the Esquimaux; the Cliff Dwellers; the representatives of seventy tribes of Indians?

If there is satisfaction in close acquaintance with historic and typical national architecture, among the benefits of the Exposition must be taken into account the Castle of Charlottenberg, reproduced by Germany; the Grand Trianon, reconstructed in the midst of a French garden; the Palace of a prince of the royal family of China; the Orangery with its quaint surroundings after the landscape methods of two centuries ago; the Villa of Italy; the Town Hall of Belgium; the Temple of Ceylon; the Chalet of Switzerland; the Imperial structure of Japan; the home of Holland; the country mansion of Sweden; the sacred edifice of Siam; the characteristic structures of Spanish America. If there is inspiration in the lowly homes of some of the world's greatest men, then among the cherished memories of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition should be the cottage of Robert Burns; the cabin in which Abraham Lincoln, a boy of ten, lived; the log house erected by General Grant, built in his earlier manhood; the hunting ranch cabin of Theodore Roosevelt during his wild western, health seeking experiences.

If historic sentiment is worthy of cultivation in these later days, let it be recalled that the Exposition included in its construction many buildings which helped to familiarize this generation with the past. Notable were the New Jersey tavern where Washington had his headquarters during one of the memorable campaigns of the Revolution; the home of Swedenborg, founder of a religious philosophy; the Hermitage associated with Jackson; Monticello the pride of Thomas Jefferson; the Beauvoir of Jefferson Davis; the Cabildo of Louisiana; the colonial mansions of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

The Exposition was satisfying. It was grand as a whole. It was beautiful in detail. This verdict the visiting millions rendered with enthusiastic unanimity. The architectural picture first amazed and then charmed. The scene southward from the Louisiana Monument embracing the Grand Basin, the classic facades of Education and Electricity, the Cascades in motion, the majestic Colonnade of States, with the gem of all, Festival Hall, in this setting, must live as long as the memory abides in those who saw it. The music of the famous bands, of the orchestra swayed by Komzak, of the greatest of organs responsive to Guilmant are recalled as the years pass. The stately maples, the Sunken Garden, the flowers, the lagoons and above all, the myriads of lights remain fond recollections.

To those who participated, actively or as lookers-on, the ceremonies and the social events are pleasing reminiscences. In millions of lives the Universal Exposition was an experience to be treasured to the end.

But what did the Universal Exposition inspire? In magnitude, in participation, in number and character of exhibits it was far in advance of its

predecessors. The competition of the world was passed upon by a jury system superior to any yet devised. The forty thousand awards to exhibiters stood for excellence and superiority which cannot be questioned.

When the plan and scope of this Exposition was laid before one of the crowned heads of Europe he listened without much comment until was reached the proposal to bring together in a Universal Congress of Arts and Science the wise men of all the world. Thereupon the Emperor gave, more than his assent to participation, his hearty approval. The new thing of this Exposition was the harmonizing, the unification of all knowledge to the uplifting of humanity, to the betterment of mankind. That was the great lesson attempted. That was to be the distinguishing note of progress in this Universal Exposition. Time only can demonstrate the fulfillment of the high purpose.

Upon the one hundred and eighty-four days of the Exposition there passed through the turnstiles and were counted 19,694,855 persons. On a balmy spring day, the last day of April, the invocation of the Opening Ceremonies ended with the Lord's Prayer while 187,000 people stood reverent. At midnight, the first day of December the lights died away for the last time while a vast mass of decorous humanity filled the Plaza of St. Louis. From first to last of these impressive scenes one reads the history of this Universal Exposition in vain for a record of unworthy demonstrations. There have been expositions where fences have been razed to gain entrance, where riotous acts characterized closing hours, where panics led to much distress, where holocaust or crime cast gloom over all. The Universal Exposition of 1904 was remarkably, exceptionally free from disorders and untoward incidents. The life of the World's Fair is entitled to the award of most notable of all of the exhibits.

During the official hours of the Exposition the population averaged much more than 100,000 persons daily. When the gates closed the population rarely fell below 20,000. A site far exceeding that of any preceding World's Fair encouraged conditions which were without precedent. A hotel within the grounds with thousands of guests and hundreds of employes was an unusual exposition feature. The Philippine camps and villages housed a permanent community the equivalents in numbers to a small city. The colonies of primitive peoples scattered their habitations over many acres and numbered some hundreds of persons. Within their camps the battalions of Boers and British dwelt in harmony by night as well as by day. The Jefferson Guard and the Fire Brigade were intramural contingents having no occasion to pass the gates when off duty. Barracks and camps accommodated visiting bodies, military or semi-military in character, numbering at times several thousand uniformed men. The Pike was an avenue of nations, upon which communities, brought from all parts of the world, had their habitations throughout the exposition period. There were other not inconsiderable elements of permanent population. Many buildings on the Plateau of States and in the Place of Nations had living and sleeping rooms

as well as their public accommodations. Commissioners, their staffs and employes remained within the grounds.

When the music ceased, when the lights went out, when the Forest City rested, here was still a great community of souls. This resident population gave to the Exposition a character of its own. The two square miles of territory during the seven months was a city of 100,000 and more by day and of 20,000 and more after midnight. Into this city were gathered the peoples of all hues and of all climes. Babel had not so many tongues. Manners and customs ranged from highest to lowest types of humanity.

Wonderful facts of this World's Fair community are to be recorded. Not a contagious disease of serious character was reported. No universal exposition has come and gone with so few casualties, so little crime. An intramural railroad of thirteen miles operated under the supervision of the director of transportation, John Scullin, who gave his time without compensation, transported 6,274,000 passengers without serious accident to any of them. The holiday spirit never degenerated to that license which prompted disorder. The pastimes were of endless variety but never degrading. The utilities never failed before the demands of the greatest gatherings. The provisions for safety as well as for comfort were always adequate.

Analysis of the attendance led to several interesting conclusions which tended to give this Exposition a character of its own. No other exposition, universal, technical, or local, drew such a large proportion of its attendance from students and school children. No other exposition was so thoroughly studied as was this by young visitors. From the middle of June to the Thanksgiving holidays, the presence of the student and teacher was a very noticeable fact. The Exposition made encouragement of this kind of attendance one of its pronounced policies. During the summer, on certain days of the week, children coming in company of adults were admitted without charge. When the schools opened in September, children coming as schools or as classes, accompanied by teachers to conduct them for study, in a systematic manner, of the exhibits, were admitted on nominal charge. Day after day during the fall months, flocks of children led by teachers were to be seen everywhere. Courses of study of exhibits were laid out by teachers for their pupils and were pursued faithfully. This was the first of expositions to elevate the educational above the commercial in its plan and scope. The practical application of this theory was made by the exposition management of lasting good by the encouragement of attendance on the part of the teachable.

The fact may be stated that the rule of radius in attendance was not borne out in the experience of this Universal Exposition of 1904. The usual proportions between local and distant attendance was not sustained at St. Louis. Greater attendance than experience promised came from considerable distances. Many cities, towns and localities about equi-distant from St. Louis and Chicago sent larger numbers of their citizens to this Exposition than they did to the Columbian. This was demonstrated by the railroad statistics.

Attendance from foreign countries was much greater at St. Louis than at

By Niehaus

ST. LOUIS AND GUIDING SPIRITS

Chicago. The Pacific slope sent to this exposition perhaps three times as many visitors as went from there to Chicago. It was estimated that seventy per cent of the attendance at Chicago was local; of the attendance at St. Louis not fifty per cent was local.

Organized attendance never before was given such consideration in exposition management. In the life of no preceding exposition were the ceremonial programs so important; the social events so conspicuous. Along these lines the Universal Exposition of 1904 made for itself a distinctive character. It added millions to what otherwise would have been the normal admissions. It emphasized the permanent good.

In the evolution of the exposition the time has passed when exhibits are more than of coordinate influence to attract the public. The architecture, the landscape and the statuary are not of overshadowing interest. They can be photographed and lithographed and pictured in words to satisfy the curiosity and interest of many who must be moved by something more stimulating if their presence is secured. Professional amusements are not of far reaching attraction.

To 428 conventions, international, national and state,—professional, industrial, religious, political, fraternal, educational,—the Exposition owed millions of visitors who would not otherwise have seen its glories. The most of these bodies which convened during the World's Fair were of national organization. They drew their delegates from every part of the United States. They gave to the sight-seeing the zest which comes through companionship. The spirit of organization, of fraternity was strengthened by the coupling of the convention with the Exposition. The individual delegate, the body to which he belonged, the Exposition—all were gainers by the association.

In the light of the experience of this Universal Exposition, palaces and their inanimate contents will never again constitute an exposition. The ceremony, the special event, the anniversary celebration, the human performance, the social feature will be utilized and given increasing prominence. The exhibit, no matter how wonderful, and the picture, no matter how grand, no longer compel the attendance. Of 19,694,855 persons who passed through the turnstiles, the presence of 5,000,000 was due to other than the exposition sight-seeing motive. To realize this it was only necessary to take the days made of special interest by an unusual program appealing to the general public or to a section of it. Comparison of such days with those upon which the Exposition was at its best, but without this extraordinary appeal, showed the marked difference in attendance.

State and city pride responded to the appeal and brought together fellow citizens in great numbers. In exposition patronage the gregarious inclination of humanity must be taken more and more into account. There was an instance of this illustrated during the Exposition of 1904 when 2,100 of the 2,400 residents of a little Illinois city closed their stores, their shops and their homes, and came in one day to the Exposition. There were many instances in which fifty per cent of the population of a town came to the Exposition. The group, not the individual, is the unit in Exposition attendance. The swelling of the

groups, not the adding of the individuals, is the line of least resistance in promotion of Exposition attendance. The policy of the Universal Exposition of 1904 took this into account in a variety of methods adopted to increase the admissions. Special days were not limited to states and cities. Educational institutions, fraternal organizations, religious bodies, family associations were given meeting places, supplied music, and encouraged to carry out programmes of direct interest to their memberships. Hundreds of thousands of visitors spent days upon the grounds when they scarcely saw the interior of a single exhibit building. They were there for social reunion and for celebration; esprit de corps was above all. Sight-seeing was subordinated. It would not have been an exposition without the palaces and the exhibits. It might not have been an exposition with them.

Gate receipts did not alone measure the success which came to the Exposition through special days and extraordinary programs. The ceremonies, the receptions, the celebrations and the entertainments did much more than swell the admissions. They enlarged interest in exhibits, they enriched sense of grandeur in architecture and of charm in landscape. They rounded out the greatness of the Exposition. The millions of visitors more than marveled and admired. They lived the life of the Exposition.

From a plan and scope which determined that processes, not products, should characterize, which insisted that exhibits must be operative, the evolution of an Exposition life was entirely natural. Day after day, night after night, the heart of this Exposition throbbed; the mind of it brightened; the soul of it broadened.

Those who lived the Exposition life for a month, a week, a day even, went out having gained more than information, more than gratification of the artistic sense. They learned better consideration for fellowmen, stronger pride in country, deeper appreciation of the whole world.

This Exposition life was inspiring, uplifting, ennobling. It found expression in acts and utterances to become precious in memory, lasting in impressiveness. Its keynote was struck in the tone of the Dedication ceremonies. From that time the pitch was not lowered, the high purposes did not fail, the enthusiasm did not flag, the fascination of the Exposition life did not wane.

Something doing every minute was the forcible though perhaps inelegant tribute often paid to the Universal Exposition of 1904. It was truthful. Activities were scheduled from early morning to late evening. They were varied. There was no hour when special programs of entertainment or of instruction were not provided to meet widely different tastes. Long lists of announcements in the papers, the daily Official Program of many pages, the large bulletin boards about the grounds kept before the visiting public the current events. Those persons methodically inclined, the seekers after knowledge, the visitors of pronounced tastes were enabled and encouraged to form definite purposes in their exposition sight-seeing and study. Wide range of choice in recreation and amusement was made possible. No former Exposition carried the daily provision of special features to such an extent as did this.

Financial results of the World's Fair at St. Louis were satisfactory. It has come to be the accepted condition of these enterprises that they do not

return considerable dividends in cash. Expositions are "timekeepers of progress," "milestones of civilization," not money makers. The capital invested looks to indirect but not to direct returns. If an exposition pays its way in operation, makes to the greatest good of the greatest number, then the individual, the corporation, the government, the municipality considers the trial balance satisfactory. So judged, the Universal Exposition of 1904 passed into history as having been eminently successful.

The capital was $15,000,000 contributed in thirds by the United States Government, by the municipality of St. Louis and by individual and corporation stockholders forming the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company. This capital was invested permanently. It was the endowment of a great institution for the public benefit.

The revenue from various sources amounted to over $27,000,000 the chief of these yielding as follows:

Admission collections	$ 6,243,835.15
Concession collections	2,878,554.94
Concession rentals	218,187.50
Intramural railroad fares	627,473.84
Service, power and light receipts	669,745.30
Interest on deposits	213,575.10
Transportation department collections	222,305.32
Music department receipts	146,538.48
Premiums on souvenir coins	53,296.48
Photo pass receipts	50,336.00
Miscellaneous (refrigeration, garbage, etc.)	152,853.41
General Service settlement	83,934.15
Salvage	616,843.78
Government appropriation	5,000,000.00
St. Louis bonds	5,000,000.00
Collections on stock	4,908,958.65
Total	$27,086,438.10

The expenditures of the management to the close of the Exposition aggregated over $26,479,947 leaving a surplus sufficient to meet the necessities of the post-exposition period economically administered. The principal disbursements were classified as follows:

Preliminary expenses	$ 37,418.78
Construction, grounds and buildings	16,745,857.10
Maintenance and rents	2,379,721.79
Division of Exhibits	2,271,947.98
Division of Exploitation	1,498,537.03
Protection, police, fire insurance	1,113,209.66
Division Concessions and Admissions	590,244.18
Executive and Administrative	581,002.05
Division of Transportation	378,233.79
Special Installation	125,000.00
Board of Lady Managers	97,305.14
Park Restoration	308,370.27
National Commission	239,056.78
Miscellaneous	114,043.06
Total	$26,479,947.61

To the newspapers of St. Louis the Louisiana Purchase Exposition movement owed much. It might almost be said to have had its origin in a newspaper office, or perhaps more truthfully in several newspaper offices of the city. Publications were so nearly simultaneous as to suggest several newspaper minds moving abreast in the same channel. The St. Louis press advocated a World's Fair years before the preliminary organization. Newspaper encouragement kept alive the project at succeeding crises from the beginning to the assured fruition. Newspaper endorsement held up the arms of the men who were in the forefront of the movement.

The first structure completed and dedicated on the World's Fair grounds was fittingly the Press Building. President Francis paid this tribute:

> It is meet that the first building we dedicate upon these grounds should be devoted to the use of those whose labor and talents made known to the world our accomplishments and our ambitions. In these days when the earth is in reality girdled, and when deeds of import are related in words that burn, and heard by an audience more comprehensive than that included in the limits of the missionary hymn, it is proper to promote in every feasible way the facilities of those who represent agencies so useful and so potential.

From June, 1901, to December, 1904, covering the pre-exposition and exposition periods, the daily newspapers of St. Louis printed 31,625 columns of reading matter about the Exposition. The treatment was thorough. No previous exposition was so interestingly described in all its subjects and in all its phases. At no time was the tone of the St. Louis press unfriendly. The Exposition was never belittled. No fakes were put out. No misrepresentations were made which had to be subsequently explained. The result of the policy of the St. Louis newspapers was seen in the growing popularity of the Exposition from inception to closing day; in a favorable appreciation by the public more widespread, more earnest, more permanent than attained by any preceding world's fair.

The Globe-Democrat printed of World's Fair matter between the dates mentioned 1,006 pages, of which 400 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Republic, 1,012 pages, of which 421 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Post-Dispatch, 785 pages, of which 328 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The St. Louis Star, 482 pages, of which 204 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Chronicle, 148 pages, of which 65 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The St. Louis World, 272 pages, of which 107 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Westliche Post, 709 pages, of which 409 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Amerika, 154 pages, of which 60 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

There were published by weekly and monthly papers of St. Louis many hundreds of pages of World's Fair matter.

The World's Fair Bulletin, edited and published by Colin M. Selph, was the most ambitious periodical ever devoted to an exposition.

There came to the Exposition, accredited to the daily, weekly and monthly press, 52,706 writers. The treatment of the Exposition by these writers insured its lasting glory. The World's Fair at St. Louis was neither boomed nor discredited. The treatment in the main was fair, discriminating, just. While the Exposition was without form and void, it was in certain quarters a subject of press skepticism. The Exposition was three months old before it was accepted by newspapers three hundred miles away at its face value. The heart of the Mississippi Valley was not exactly Nazareth, out of which no good could come, but it was an unknown land to the most of the writers, and the ability of the people of St. Louis to produce such an exposition as they promised was doubted until long after the gates were opened. The ripples from this center of interest grew larger and stronger, spread farther and farther, gradually shocking apathy and overwhelming incredulity. It was not until the waning days of Autumn that the wise ones journeyed from the far east to acclaim that the half had not been told them. This Exposition grew upon the world as a discovery, a matter of marvel. It passed into history with a practically unanimous verdict by writers as the greatest of expositions, as better entitled to be called a Universal Exposition than any of its predecessors.

Five years passed after the close of the Columbian Exposition before Chicago began to realize what a World's Fair had done for that community. And ten years afterwards the impression of beneficial results was stronger than at any preceding time.

Twenty-five years after the Centennial Exposition, one of the foremost men of the city pointed out that the industrial activities of Philadelphia had their awakening in the World's Fair of 1876. He made it clear that Philadelphia had become the great manufacturing center because of the Centennial Exposition.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Cannon, visited the World's Fair of 1904 in November, the closing month. Some one in his company drew attention to the number of young people on the grounds. A remark was made about the benefit the youth would derive from such an experience as the Exposition afforded.

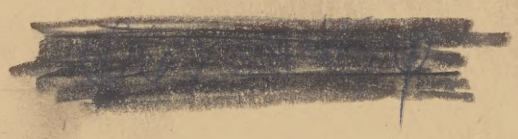
"My friends," said the Speaker, in his deliberate, impressive manner, "The good influence of this Exposition will be felt by a generation yet unborn."

THE DEAD OF OLD TIME.

In all they wrought, the souls of these still live;
Their deed, their thought, each brave word bravely said,
Live past the grave and master it, to give
The living help and strength when life is fraught
With sorest need of courage. All the length
Of years, of time and change, the hopes, the fears,
The failures and forgetfulness of lives between
Our lives and theirs, take nothing from their strength.

Their work still thrives unseen. And still their love,
Their faith, their hope endears each place they loved
And wrought in. The highest thought our lives conceal,
Their lives still mean. If they at length shall rise,
Or if in these low spheres, they never slept
Beneath this turf where those who loved them wept,
Do they not know the changes marvellous
Since once they seemed asleep? From graves grass-grown,
Dug deep into the clay, to hold them and to keep
Them surely for the time when yonder East
Shall flame with endless morning, do they rise
And sweep, with lifting wing and unsealed eyes,
Down all the vistas of these days of ours,
When life, with glories that they knew not, strives
With higher powers and vaster strength, to work
All that they left imperfect? It must be
That all their soul still flowers and bears its fruit
In fruit of ours; and all their loss is boot,
The gain of these our days, and those fair years to be,
When eyes now blinded, shall unclose and see,
All that the grave seals and the present hides.

Their life abides. They are not dead. For still
Our work is done to give them all their will.
Near and afar, from sea to sea across the land,
Their light is shed in light of every star,
Blent with the stronger flame of day and made
Intense, until our eyes are blinded, and betrayed
By glories of our day, we turn lest we should see
The dazzling radiance of the things to be,
When by our aftercomers, it is said
That we and these are of the old-time dead.
Yet still our work and all their work shall thrive
To win the years a light that shall not fade
Nor fail at last the stronger age, whose worth
From time's old stains and crimes and hopes betrayed,
Shall wrest the future of the ransomed earth.

—William Vincent Byars,
From "The Axemen-The Artifex." (Mss.)

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